

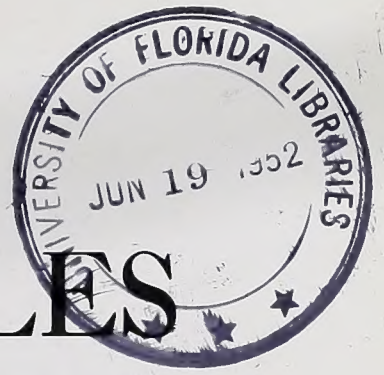
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The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

Spring, 1952



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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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THE ANDREW NAVE LETTERS: NEW CHEROKEE SOURCE MATERIAL AT NORTHEASTERN STATE COLLEGE

*By T. L. Ballenger**

There are many different kinds of history; all kinds are necessary perhaps in order to get a complete picture of the life of certain groups of people or of particular periods of time. But to the writer the most personal, the most living kind of history consists, not of records of rulers and governments or accounts of the so-called notables, but of first-hand records that reveal the real honest-to-goodness every day life of a people in their homes, on their farms, and in their workshops. It is with a small bit of this kind of history that this article deals.

A few years ago some members of the Nave family of Park Hill gave to Northeastern State College an old trunk filled with business accounts, letters, documents and miscellaneous items saved from the records of Andrew Nave who ran a store both at Park Hill and at Tahlequah over a hundred years ago. John Ross, Chief of the Cherokees, also conducted a store at Park Hill, first by himself and then in partnership with his son-in-law, Andrew Nave. Consequently, many of his letters and business accounts are included in this collection.

Andrew Nave married Mrs. Jane Meigs, the daughter of Chief John Ross by his first wife, Quatie. John Ross not only conducted a store by himself at Park Hill but he was also administrator of the estate of his deceased son-in-law, Return Jonathan Meigs. Then Ross and Nave were partners in a store at Park Hill and another at Tahlequah. Nave was active manager of both of these stores. Andrew Nave was killed by Confederate raiders near his home at Park Hill in 1863. This collection of letters includes something like one hundred items bearing the personal signature of John Ross: some of them letters, some orders for merchandise, and some giving brief directions of a business or social nature of one kind or another.

Through pressure of routine duties at the college these documents lay untouched for some time but, during the semester before the writer's retirement from Northeastern, he, together with efficient student help, spent considerable time copying, sorting, classi-

* Dr. T. L. Ballenger is a former contributor to *The Chronicles*, well known in Oklahoma educational circles as the head of History Department of Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, now retired, and as a writer and authority on the history of the Cherokee Nation.—Ed.

fying, and compiling this documentary material into some twelve volumes. The originals, together with a copy, are to be bound and kept for the use of research students, while the copies are to be made available for general student use. They are grouped under such titles as: Business Accounts, Business Letters and Accounts from Van Buren, Mrs. Jane Nave Accounts, Orders and Requests, Social Correspondence, Civil War Letters, John Ross Letters, Indian Affairs, Educational, Historical, and Miscellaneous. Some Cherokee biography, several messages of the chiefs, a few museum relics, many rare stamps and envelopes, and other interesting items are included in the collection. The Cherokee Nation was a part of Arkansas for a time, and we have letters postmarked Ft. Gibson, Arkansas and letters addressed to Tahlequah, Arkansas.

These records throw considerable light on Cherokee affairs from the time of the general removal of the Cherokees to this country in 1839 to the close of the War between the States. They reveal many interesting things about the economic life of the people, their poverty, their standards of living, their dependability, and their methods of transacting business. Some hundred or more personal and social letters portray much concerning the intellectual capacity, as well as the home and social life, of the Naves, the Meigs, and the Rosses. The Meigs family is spread over the whole United States from New England to California, and the Indian branch constitutes no inconsiderable part. Some of these letters were written from Rose Cottage shortly before its destruction by fire during the Civil War. Mrs. Andrew Nave lived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for four or five years during the Civil War period to supervise the education of a group of girls of the Nave, Meigs, and Ross families. There are literally hundreds of bills rendered by various business firms of Bethlehem to Mrs. Nave for books and stationery, food, clothing, music lessons, riding lessons, medical attention, jewelry, taxes, and other items. It seems that expenses there were high and war conditions down here around Tahlequah were trying, and Mrs. Nave sometimes found it somewhat difficult to make ends meet.

Many of these papers are straight business accounts showing items of merchandise bought by the people and the prices that prevailed a century ago, for food, clothing, and other items. Life on this early frontier was simple, though there are many evidences of culture and refinement among the people. They also show the wide trading scope of a business firm in Tahlequah at that time. Nave bought goods from large wholesale houses in Ft. Smith, New Orleans, St. Louis, and some even as far away as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. He also made large purchases from Van Buren, Boonesboro (Cane Hill), Evansville, and Fayetteville, Arkansas, and from Independence and Springfield, Missouri.

Van Buren, Arkansas was first known as Phillips Landing and had its beginning in the late 1820's. Its ability to supply merchan-

dise to interior points, like Tahlequah and Park Hill, depended upon the depth of the Arkansas river, as to whether steam boats could come up from New Orleans or not. Sam C. Hanby, a merchant of Van Buren, wrote Nave, on January 31, 1859, "Bless your Soul nary bag of coffee to be had in V. B. . . . River continues low. Dardanelle is expected up but she cannot bring much freight." On February 14th, he wrote again: "Steamer 'Dardanelle' *sunk* a few days since above Pine Bluffs. A *total loss*. She had on over 1200 Bags coffee for this place & Ft. Smith. . . . River very low." Almost every business letter from Van Buren has some comment concerning the shipping stage of the Arkansas. Freight rates by wagon from Van Buren to Tahlequah ranged from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per hundred pounds. On August 9, 1861, One Van Buren merchant wrote: "We are not doing much in the way of business and all we see now is Confederate Script or Louisiana Money." In 1862 the Van Buren merchants had to pay about twice as much for goods in the eastern markets in Confederate currency as they would if they paid in gold. Hermann & Wilhelm of Hermannsburgh (Cane Hill, Arkansas) wrote Mr. Nave: "We are selling superfine branded flour at \$3.75 a sac [*sic*] containing 98 lbs, or if you furnish the sac's 3.75 for 100 lbs." These business letters verify the close relationship that, in many ways, existed between the early settlements in western Arkansas and those of eastern Indian Territory.

The numerous names listed in these accounts almost furnish a census of a considerable part of the Cherokee Nation in this pre-Civil War period. Many of the full blood names, some with peculiar forms of identification, are interesting: such as, Noxe or Star Deer in Water, Polecat Sticker, Bark Flute, Rattlinggourd, Old Mrs. Hair—Conrad's Old Wife, Watty Lucy's Husband, George Baldrige (an Old White headed man), Danl Grasshopper Sister, Tayleeskee 1½ Son, Money Stealer, Caty Sleeping Rabbits Wife, Corn Silks, Guess (Wheelwright), The Heirs of the Mouse (Pentioner). During this period Negro slaves were a commodity of merchandise in the Cherokee Nation and a number of these letters deal with their purchase and sale. Merchants from Van Buren and other places wrote to Andy Nave asking him to buy for them a Negro slave of a specified description and price. A lottery company in Wilmington, Delaware is so anxious to expand their business into the Cherokee Nation that they offer Andy Nave free tickets and practically guarantee his winning a large sum of money, if he will only represent them as their agent in Tahlequah.

A number of the John Ross items are orders to Nave on the store for a plow, or for seed wheat, or for cans of oysters, for a loan of money, or for some other small favor. These orders were usually sent by some trusted negro slave. On January 25, 1862, he wrote: "Mr. Andw R. Nave



MRS. ANDREW NAVE
(née Jane Ross, daughter of Chief John Ross)



ANDREW NAVE, of the Cherokee Nation



D. Sir/

If you can loan me five Dollars in Gold or Silver, I will replace it soon as I get it, I am owing Mr. Bob Lovett that Sum and he wants the Specie—Send it by Johnny if you have it.

Yrs &c

John Ross."

His favorite slave messenger seems to have been Archey. Mr. Ross secured Archey and his mother, a mulatto woman, from J. D. Mulkey, September 1, 1854. For them he swapped Mulkey a twenty-six year old negro man. Others of the Ross letters deal with Civil War problems in the Cherokee Nation, and some are purely domestic and social.

The Northeastern Library hopes to further emphasize the collection of original documents, letters, books, and other items pertaining to Cherokee history and public affairs. Her museum is now confined to Cherokee items. This college district comprises practically the region of the old Cherokee Nation and this makes it all the more fitting that this emphasis be placed as it is. An accumulation of original Indian material here will make it possible for graduate students, either here or elsewhere, to get first-hand information in preparation for theses or other research publications. It is hoped that this college may be made a prominent center for the study of Cherokee history. If friends of the college have such material or know of its whereabouts the college would appreciate any information concerning these things.

PIERCE MASON BUTLER

*By Carolyn Thomas Foreman**

The position of Cherokee agent was undoubtedly considered important since several men of high standing were appointed to the position in the early days after the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes to the Indian Territory.

Governor Montfort Stokes became chief executive of North Carolina in 1830, and during the same year he was appointed on a commission to the Indians west of the Mississippi by Andrew Jackson. Ten years later Stokes was succeeded as Cherokee agent by Pierce Mason Butler who had been governor of South Carolina from 1836 to 1838. Stokes put up a spirited fight to retain his position although he had been appointed Register of the Land Office at Fayetteville, Arkansas. President Tyler wrote Stokes that he wished him comfort in "declining age, after long and valuable service," but he thought it wise to have a "more active man in so difficult a position." Besides Governor Butler had already arrived in the Cherokee country.¹

Pierce Mason Butler was born April 11, 1798, at Mount Willing, Edgefield County, South Carolina. He was the sixth child of William Butler² and Behethland Foote Moore Butler. Like his elder brother, Pierce was trained at Moses Wadell's Academy, at Abbeville. Through the influence of John C. Calhoun he was assigned to the Fourth Infantry, United States Army, as a second lieutenant August 13, 1819.

* In the preparation of this article, the writer gratefully acknowledges the assistance given her by Mr. Pierce Mason Butler, of Nashville, Tennessee, a direct descendant of Governor Butler. Mrs. Margaret Meriwether (Mrs. R. L. M.), of the South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, was most courteous and helpful in securing the photographs to accompany the account of Governor Butler, for which the writer also extends many thanks.

¹ William Omer Foster, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March, 1940), pp. 48-9.

² William Butler was born in Prince William County, Virginia, in 1759. He moved to South Carolina and was graduated from South Carolina College as a medical student. He served under General Benjamin Lincoln in the Revolution and became a brigadier general in the army and a major general in the militia. He was a member of the state convention which adopted the Federal Constitution and the state constitutional convention; member of the state legislature and a representative from South Carolina from the 7th to the 12th congress inclusive. He died at Columbia, South Carolina November 15, 1821.

The distinguished Andrew Pickens Butler, elder brother of Pierce M. Butler (born in 1796) after serving in the state legislature for several years was appointed United States Senator from his native state to fill the vacancy caused by the death of George McDuffie; he was subsequently elected and re-elected by the legislature, serving from December 21, 1846 to May 25, 1857.—*A Biographical Congressional Directory* (Washington, 1903), p. 423.



COLONEL PIERCE M. BUTLER



He was transferred to the Seventh Infantry on December 13, and became a first lieutenant March 1, 1822 and a captain December 16, 1825. He resigned from the service October 1, 1829.³

Pierce M. Butler did not arrive at the Cherokee Agency as a stranger, for he had previously been in the military service at Fort Gibson. Living conditions on the frontier must have been trying to a family accustomed to the comforts of an estate in the East and the luxury of the governor's mansion in Columbia.

In April, 1824 all of the troops stationed at Fort Smith, except a few under Lieutenant B.L.E. Bonneville, were removed to the site selected for a new post eighty miles above this Arkansas garrison. Three miles above the juncture of the Grand and Verdigris rivers, Pierce M. Butler began construction of the post which was named for Commissary General George Gibson.⁴ Congress authorized the marking of the Santa Fe trail in 1825 and at the same time provided for a military road between Fort Gibson and Little Rock. The portion of the road between Fort Smith and Fort Gibson was constructed under the direction of Captain Butler.⁵ In the autumn of 1826, Lieutenant James L. Dawson, assistant quartermaster at Fort Gibson, was absent with a detachment engaged in surveying the road to Fort Smith, construction of which began the next year, the first road within the limits of the present Oklahoma. Captain Butler, reported from Fort Smith on September 17, 1827, to the quartermaster general that "the public road from Cant. Gibson to this place, a distance of fifty-seven miles, has this day been completed"⁶

At a dinner given at Fort Gibson on July Fourth, 1826, thirteen toasts were drunk and speeches were made by Captain Butler and other officers. He saw most of his military service at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, and it was there that he met and courted his future wife, Miranda Julia Du Val, of Maryland, who was visiting her brother Edward Du Val, Agent to the Cherokees.⁷

Edward W. Du Val of Virginia and of Washington was appointed Indian agent in January, 1824, to succeed Colonel David Brearly. He removed with his family and landed at Arkansas Post on January 15 before going to Little Rock and from there to Dardenelle. Major Du Val was a young man when he reached Arkansas and he attempted to magnify his own importance by ignoring Governor George Izard,

³ Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1929), Vol. III, p. 365; Francis B. Heitman, *Biographical Register . . . of the United States Army*, (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, p. 270.

⁴ Henry Putnam Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1935) p. 69.

⁵ Grant Foreman, "Early Trails Through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (June, 1925), p. 101.

⁶ War Department, "Hall of Records, Fort Myer," QMG, Book VIII, No. 25; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 37.

⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 365.

who was Superintendent of Indian affairs in the West, by reporting directly to Washington. Later, Du Val tried to control Colonel Matthew Arbuckle but that officer promptly gave him to understand that he took no orders from an Indian agent. Du Val soon learned his lesson and he developed into a person liked and admired by Indians and the whites with whom he came in contact. Even Colonel Arbuckle loved to drop down to Dardanelle and spend a day with the major, as did the other officers of the fort. On May 22, 1826, Reverend Cephas Washburn was called over from Dwight Mission (in Arkansas Territory) to perform the marriage ceremony between Captain Pierce M. Butler of the United States army and Miranda Julia Du Val of Washington City. It was a gala day for Dardanelle, and the Indians were as much filled with wonderment over the great marriage feast prepared by Major Du Val as were the whites.⁸ Shortly after his marriage, Butler resigned from the army⁹ and settled at Columbia, where he became president of the State Bank of South Carolina. In 1833 he was elected a trustee of South Carolina College. He was an enthusiast for nullification and signed the ordinance in 1832.

When the excitement of the Seminole War was at its peak, Butler accepted a commission as lieutenant colonel of Godwyn's South Carolina Regiment. On his return to his native state he was elected governor in 1836, although he had not made a campaign for the office, saying the office should seek the man. He had great vision for a public school system in his state which was a rare ambition in antebellum days in the South. It was during his administration as governor that the era of railroad building commenced in South Carolina.

The following letter written by Mrs. John Nicks, wife of General Nicks, sutler at Fort Gibson, recounts some of the difficulties and gossip of the post. Although poor in spelling, she must have been a great charmer according to an account of her written by Washington Irving during his stay at Fort Gibson.¹⁰ This letter, together with a collection of other interesting Butler documents, was recently

⁸ Josiah H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1908), pp. 140-41. *The Arkansas Gazette* for November 13, 1827, noted that "Captain United States Army Butler and lady arrived in that city from Fort Gibson on a furlough of several months which they intend spending in South Carolina."

⁹ According to the Regimental Returns of the Seventh Infantry Butler was listed as sick in September, 1825. In December, 1826, Captain Butler of Company H was "Present in Arrest." In July, 1828 he was A.W.O.L. and he was still absent on December 28, 1828. On March, 1829 Butler was listed as absent since July 2, 1828 and on July, 1829 he was reported "on furlough for 4 ms. date 2 June '29." On July 22, 1829 the *Arkansas Gazette* stated that Captain P. M. Butler of Cantonment Gibson who had been recruiting for the United States Army in South Carolina for upwards of a year past has been elected cashier of the branch bank of South Carolina at Columbia.

¹⁰ For an account of Mrs. Nicks see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General John Nicks and his Wife, Sarah Perkins Nicks," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (December, 1930), pp. 389-406.

given to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Pierce Mason Butler of Nashville, Tennessee. It is postmarked "Cant. Gibson 19 Ap. 1830 Paid 25," and addressed to "Mrs. M. J. Butler, Columbia, South Carolina."

"Arkansas Territory Cant Gibson
April 18th 1830

"Dear Julia [Mrs. Pierce M. Butler]

"Your letter came to hand the first of December and I feel almost ashamed that I have not answered it before now—the only excuse I can make I have bin very much ingaged and I shall do better for the future, I was not hear at the time Dr. Towns was but I met him on the River. I told him you wished him to take on your things he said it was impossible that he in tended returning imedeatly in a skift.

"I requested Mrs. Carter if he should come in my absence to get him to take all of your things she could and particularly your Trunk marked letters she gave him your spoons it was the only thing he could cary, your things have been packed up for some time but there has bin no oportunity of shiping of them, the River has bin very low this winter and spring so much so that it has bin with great difficulty Keels could get up as high as this—un till a few Days past, the Steem Boat left hear on Monday last she brought up the publick suplies, your things were shiped on her for New Orleans—what house they were shiped to I do not know but I expect you will be informed by this mail by Genl. Nicks—your negroes are not yet sold Genl. Nicks has bin trying to make sale of them but has not yet succeeded, his price for them is \$600. Dram [?] has bin in bad health for some time, Mr. Vail wishes to purchase them—has bin down twice I believe on that business he is down now and I am of the opinion it will be closed this time

"I sent Sucky your Domestick frock a greeable to your directions—Mrs Carter and my self like wise received the things you directed Col. Arbuckle to give us for which I feel great ful for—Dear Julia you do not know what painful feelings it gave me when I saw your things opened some of them looked so familiar to me, it made me think of past events—which would never again be realized—

"I believe their is very little news about Camp that will be interesting to you there is not much alterations since you left hear Mrs. Dawson has a fine sun, and Mrs. Carter is prety far advanced again in the family way—I herd from your Brothers family a few days ago they were quite well Mrs. Du Val has a fine daughter and Capt Du Val at Fort Smith has a fine sun it is about three months old—

"You wished me to write you what has become of Lieut McNamara¹¹ he left hear six Weeks ago he said he intended returning to Virginia—

"Dear Julia I do not know whether we will ever see each other again but if we do not I wish you great happiness and prosperity—kiss your too little children for me and be lieve me to be your devoted friend—

"S P Nicks

"And give my best respects to [paper torn] Butler"

¹¹ Lieutenant Thomas McNamara, a native of Virginia, was appointed to the Military Academy September 26, 1818. He was graduated July 1, 1822, promoted to second lieutenant the same day and assigned to the Seventh Infantry at Fort Smith until 1824. He served at Fort Gibson from 1824-26, 1827-28, 1828-29, 1829-30. He resigned June 30, 1830. He died September 14, 1834.—George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1868), Vol. I; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

Governor Butler's commission as agent was dated September 17, 1841, and he promptly appeared at Fort Gibson to assume the duties of his office on Bayou Menard (about seven miles southwest of Park Hill). In a short time, however, he was ordered to move the agency to Fort Gibson where he first occupied the quarters formerly used by General Matthew Arbuckle, which consisted of a dilapidated three-room log house (built in 1834), a kitchen, smokehouse and a double log cabin which had been built for the servants. The Agent asked to be permitted to remove to the quarters of the First Dragoons off the reservation. He had Captain Nathan Boone survey a section of land adjoining the reservation on the south, including the Dragoon quarters, which he intended to keep as the agency reservation. He reported that the Dragoon barracks were so rotten that they were good for little or nothing, in fact, they were in such a bad condition that Colonel Kearney preferred to live in tents with his command.¹²

Soon after his arrival at the Agency Butler took up the case of Rosalie Chouteau, the half-breed Osage wife of the late Colonel Chouteau and was finally able to adjust the affairs of Rosalie and her family to their satisfaction and that of Chouteau's creditors.¹³

Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock wrote from Tahlequah on Monday, December 6, 1841:¹⁴

" Day before yesterday I returned to Mr. [Young] Wolfe's to dinner and found Gov. Pierce M. Butler of South Carolina, here, the recently appointed agent for the Cherokees with him, at the invitation of John Ross.

"Gov. Butler, the other day told a story of an Osage Chief who had a son killed in a ball game got up for the amusement of some officers and other gentlemen from Fort Gibson a number of years since. The chief came to Fort Gibson and demanded a hundred dollars as a compensation for the death of his son and in answer to a remonstrance that a hundred dollars was too much he justified the demand by pleading that the deceased was the best horse thief in the nation; an inferior man might be worth no more than 10 or 20 dollars but his son was worth a hundred."

The following letter from Butler was in reply to a rebuke by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford:

"Skin Bayou Cherokee Nation

23rd Feb. 1842

"Sir

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the first instant directing me 'to discontinue the further discharge of the *Special* duty imposed on me, if not already terminated'. These instructions will be most promptly executed.

¹² Grant Foreman, *Pioneers Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 289.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 290; Office of Indian Affairs, Butler to Crawford, Commissioner Indian Affairs, March 20, 1842, *Osage Reserve File B. 1463*.

¹⁴ Grant Foreman (ed) *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, 1930), pp. 44, 56, 57, 61, note 39.

"I will at further direction immediately discontinue the services of Col. S. C. Stambaugh 'as special Secretary'.

"The remaining part of your communication implying as I conceive a rebuke for a supposed neglect of official duty, I must be permitted to say—is as uncalled for—and as unmerited, as it is unexpected. I will return a full answer on my arrival at Fort Gibson where I have files of all my correspondence with your department. I will just now take occasion to remark that the murder to which you refer was committed by Mosy Alberty, a Cherokee, on Wm. Long a citizen of Arkansas on the 31 of Dec. last. In twenty four hours after the murder I repaired to the spot, in thirty six hours after I wrote you fully explaining all the facts connected with the unfortunate affair.

"I need scarcely add—that this order—to discontinue The investigation of the Cherokee Claims, will create surprise in The Cherokee Nation. The highest expectation had been raised among the people—and the fullest confidence manifested in the kind intentions of our Government.

"The feeling had allayed for a time at least the party divisions among the Cherokees themselves. But if I do not greatly mistake 'The sign of the times'—The sudden and unexplained disappointment of the highest anticipations will awaken an internal feeling—productive of the most painful results—in the Cherokee Nation. I have only recently been advised on some particulars—which although they may not be cause for immediate apprehension, are yet entitled to the *gravest* consideration. This information is derived from a source worthy of credit and affords information which will form the basis of a particular communication at any early day.

"I will write you three days hence—after I shall have had an interview with some of the principle men of the Nation. In the meantime as an explanation why my communications may not reach you in as many months—as days intervene between my dates. I have to add that there is only a weekly mail to and from Fort Gibson—Hence my communications through Capt. [William] Armstrong return to Fort Smith—where they are detained from three to seven days—remaining however at Capt. Armstrong's Agency first one week—They then start by a semi weekly mail from Van Buren to Little Rock. The mail often miscarries from two to three consecutive weeks (and which is monotonous here) situated as I am, it is not surprising that important information—especially of an exciting character—should not reach you through other sources. Nevertheless this delay is not attributable to me and I felt conscious before this time the imputation of neglect of duty on my part has been removed.

"I take the liberty of transmitting this communication direct to your department and send a copy to Capt. Armstrong.

"The object is to preserve it. In future all my communications will be sent through the superintendent of Indian Affairs as heretofore directed.

"Hoping that you may hereafter first ascertain that *censure is merited*, before it shall be so profusely applied.

"I remain with great respect

"Your Obt Servant,
"P. M. Butler,
"Cherokee Agent.

"T. Hartley Crawford, Exq.

"Com. Of Ind. Affairs,

"Washington City, D. C.

"P. S. I send this via Saint Louis, Mo., said to be the most expeditious route.

"P. M. B."

Moses Alberty, Jr., a Cherokee, killed a white man of the name George Long in the Cherokee Nation. This caused great excitement

and Governor Archibald Yell of Arkansas ordered the recruiting and rendezvous of a regiment in Washington County. It was also stated that the Long murder was committed in Madison County, Arkansas. At any rate, "Governor Yell wrote a petulant and abusive letter to the secretary of war saying that if the Federal Government would not protect the state he would call out the militia to do it. The secretary replied that there were plenty of Federal troops near to give the whites of the state all the protection necessary; but that the Cherokee Indians were peaceful and were not guilty of the disorders charged against them."¹⁵

Agent Butler claimed that the Cherokees were "greatly abused by being taken from their own country for minor offenses committed on white men" who had no business in the Cherokee country. "Such broils were eight times out of ten provoked on the part of itinerant persons from all parts of the United States, tempted or induced there by gain. It is too much the habit abroad to cry out Indian outrage, without a just knowledge of facts."¹⁶

President Jackson's method for compelling the Cherokees to remove to the West is disclosed in a letter from Agent Butler. This letter in the files of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs describes the negotiations and conclusion of the treaty of 1835:

"Mr. Butler says it is alleged, and claimed to be susceptible of proof, that Mr. Merriweather,¹⁷ of Georgia, in an interview with President Jackson, a considerable time before the treaty was negotiated, said to the President, 'We want the Cherokee lands in Georgia, but the Cherokees will not consent to cede them,' to which the President emphatically replied, 'You must get clear of them (the Cherokees) by legislation. Take judicial jurisdiction over their country; build fires around them, and do indirectly what you cannot effect directly.' "

Agent Butler wrote in the same letter:

" . . . Prior to the preceding October the Ross party had been largely in the ascendancy in the nation, but that at their last meeting preceding the election the question hinged upon whether the 'per capita' money due them under the treaty of 1835 should be immediately paid over to the people. The result was in favor of the Ridge party, who assumed the affirmative of the question, the opposition of Ross and his party being predicated on the theory that an acceptance of this money would be an acknowledgment of the validity of the treaty of 1835. . . . "

Another writer reviews the results of the New Echota Treaty:¹⁸

"On the settlement of this per capita tax, Mr. Butler remarks, will depend the peace and safety of the Cherokee Nation, adding that should

¹⁵ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1943), p. 325; *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 4, 1842, p. 4, col. 3, and p. 3, col. 2.

¹⁶ Butler to Commissioner Indian Affairs, *Report for 1842; The Five Civilized Tribes, op. cit.*, p. 325.

¹⁷ James A. Meriwether of Edenton, Georgia, was elected a member of the House of Representatives from Georgia to the Twenty-seventh Congress. This congress ran from May 31, 1841 to March 3, 1843.

¹⁸ Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1887), p. 297.

the rumors afloat be true, to the effect that the per capita money was nearly exhausted, neither the national funds in the hands of the treasurer nor the life of Mr. Ross would be safe for an hour from the infuriated members of the tribe."

Agent Butler's Annual Report for 1842 shows a remarkable insight into the character and pursuits of the Cherokee people. He also displayed sympathy for the needs of this dispossessed people and endeavored to arouse a response in the government officials in Washington. He described their government and asserted:

"They are rigid in the execution of their laws, generally impartial in the administration of justice, as yet necessarily in a rude state. As many as four executions have taken place in one year.

". . . . There are believed to be about two thousand professors of the Christian religion. . . . For intelligence and general integrity, there are about four thousand others who might be classed among the first. . . . When not under the influence of ardent spirits, they are hospitable and well disposed; but when under such influence, their worst passions seem to be roused.

"The evil of introducing spirits among them, invariably carried in by the lowest class of whites, I do not hesitate to say is the cause of all their troubles with the citizens of the United States. . . ."

Butler described the citizens of Crawford and Washington County, Arkansas:¹⁹

"Industrious, intelligent, and neighborly disposed. The inhabitants of those two populous countries are distinguished as laboring, intelligent, high-minded, and judicious people. It is not from them difficulties occur, or complaints are made, but from a plundering predatory class, upon whose oath before a magistrate the Cherokees are hunted down by the military, and taken a distance of 200 miles, to Little Rock, for trial; there lodged in jail, to await slow justice. . . ."

Frequent reports were sent to Fort Gibson concerning hostilities of the Plains Indians against the people of Texas along with rumors that the Mexicans were aiding them. Requests were made for the officers at Fort Gibson to make peace with these Indians on both sides of Red River. Under orders from the secretary of war, in March, 1843, Agent Butler left the post with an escort to attend a

The number of the *Cherokee Advocate* for May 15, 1895 contains a long article on page one, headed "Jackson's Doctrine will again be put into practice here. Fires to be built around the Indian, the fumes of which savor of the breath of hell."

An article, addressed to the *Arrow* (Tahlequah), was written by one who signed "Corn silk." After recounting Jackson's order to Meriweather the writer continues:

"That advice of Mr. Jackson, president of the United States, . . . is already a matter of record, as seen from the above quoted words. The prominent idea and whole object of the damnable scheme was to get clear of the Cherokees. The governor had, of course, been devising means with the same object in view, but how was the question with him, which was cleared up by the president. . . . What did this mean? The Cherokees soon found out what it meant. It simply meant to harass the Cherokee with the law and without it. To charge them with crimes real or false; to be tried before the U. S. courts of injustice in order that they might soon, weary of that kind of business, leave the country to be enjoyed by their oppressors and robbers, which they did do and come to this country. . . ."

¹⁹ Report Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1842, pp. 446-49.

council on Tawakoni Creek in Texas, where, however, nothing definite was accomplished. Another effort was made in the autumn when Butler was accompanied by eighty men commanded by Colonel Harney, but the Indians were still elusive and noncommittal.²⁰

A council, participated in by eighteen western tribes, was begun at Tahlequah early in June, 1843, which was attended by General Zachary Taylor and Agent Butler. The meeting, presided over by Chief John Ross, lasted four weeks. Butler wrote on June 21:²¹

"As far as I can learn their object, it is to renew old customs and friendships and to enact some international laws for the government of each and all. There are some three or four thousand persons in daily attendance. Their deliberations, and the company present, are quiet and orderly.

"The sheriff of the District and his 'squad' have spilt thirty-seven barrels of whiskey and destroyed several jugs and bottles. The estimate is that seventeen hundred gallons have been destroyed. It is supposed they will adjourn about the 27th. I shall go out again on the 24th and at the termination of their meeting will further communicate to the Department."

A feud existed between Colonel Richard B. Mason, Commandant of Fort Gibson and Agent Butler for Mason had an order issued requiring the Agent to remove from the military reservation as his Indian visitors were obnoxious to the officers. An order was made also that the sutlers at the Post should not sell to or traffic with the Indians, but this was afterward relaxed. On July 4, 1844, the Fort Gibson Jockey Club was organized with Agent Butler as president, and races were held near the fort on September 24 and through the week, on an old race course laid off many years before by the Seventh Infantry. This was also objected to by Colonel Mason.²²

Reports from Tahlequah, Fairfield, Park Hill, Dwight, and Mount Zion were addressed in June and July, 1843, to "P. M. Butler, Esquire, Agent" or to "Gov. P. M. Butler" by the persons in charge of the various schools. All of the accounts were optimistic but deplored the effect whiskey had on the Indians in the Nation.

One of the best descriptions of the Cherokee people ever written is that contained in the report made by Agent Butler to J. Hartley Crawford on September 30, 1843. Immediately after their removal the Agent said that the population diminished which is not to be wondered at when the terrible hardships they had encountered are considered; they were devoting themselves to the cultivation of the soil, building comfortable double cabins.

"Though fond of relaxation and amusement, they are far from being improvident in their habits. This increasing disposition to provide for the

²⁰ Grant Foreman, *A Brief History of Fort Gibson* (Norman, 1936), pp. 27-8; *Advancing the Frontier*, op. cit., pp. 168-9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 205-6.

²² Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 175.



Cherokee Indian Council painted by John Mix Stanley, March 20, 1843. This painting (17 x 24 inches) hangs in the living room of Mr. Pierce M. Butler, Nashville, Tennessee.



future. . . . marks a tendency to raise themselves in the scale of intellectual and moral beings. . . . They give their principal chief \$1,000 as an annual salary; and, besides this sum, it is usual to make an appropriation to cover his extra expenses. . . .

"There are eleven common schools, under the superintendence of the Rev. Stephen Foreman, a native Cherokee. . . . Nine of the teachers are white men, of whom one is an adopted citizen by marriage; and the other two teachers are native Cherokees. The expenses of these schools are defrayed from the national school-fund. There is allowed to each teacher \$535, including the purchase of books. Also, \$200 for the support of orphan children while attending school. . . ."

Butler wrote a long description of the missionary schools and the teachers who ran them; described the awakened interest of the Cherokees in education and temperance. He told of the trouble caused by irresponsible white men intruding on the Indians:

"This is a class of people that would be of little value anywhere, and exercise a mischievous influence on the more unthinking portion of the Indians. . . .

"Justice, under a written code of criminal law, is administered with impartiality and dignity, by upright judges. Their chief justice, Jesse Bushyhead, is a man of piety, decision, and intelligence; and, both as a preacher and magistrate, exercises a salutary influence over the government and morals of the people. . . ."

Agent Butler sent in a comprehensive report dated from Fort Gibson, September 30, 1844, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford, one of the best reports sent in by any of the agents. It was arranged under the following subjects, with each covered adequately: "Morals—temperance—the whiskey trade; Amusements, Literature and the fine arts; Character; Health and climate; Agriculture; Mechanics and manufactures; Public shops and workmen; Political and social relations; Seminoles; Military." The Agent stated that the Indian had improved "morally, intellectually, and socially"; that the Government's liberal policy had had "the most flattering results" in that it had "proved beyond cavil the capacity of the Indian race for a high grade of civilization." He further stated that perseverance in this sane enlightened course in the treatment of the Indians lay the hope of saving them "on the brink of extinction, from what has almost seemed to be their appointed doom."

President Tyler, late in 1844, appointed a board of inquiry to investigate the difficulties among the Cherokees. The country had been greatly alarmed on account of numerous murders. The commission was made up of Adjutant General Roger Jones, Lieutenant Colonel Richard B. Mason and Cherokee Agent Butler. "The thoroughness of their investigation, the lucidity of their report, and the personnel of the board—all men of high standing—preclude the idea of a partial investigation or a report determined by partisan bias."²³

²³ Thomas Valentine Parker, *The Cherokee Indian* (New York, 1907), p. 59.

(From original in the
Grant Foreman Collection)

Thos Gibson Esq
July 20th 1843.
Due John Drew Eight Hundred
and Seventeen dollars - borrowed
money to pay claims to

Indorsed
for P. M. Butler
Charles agent.

Note showing money loaned by John Drew, of Webbers Falls, to P. M. Butler, Cherokee Agent.

The commissioners arrived at Fort Gibson early in the winter, and issued a proclamation stating their business with the Cherokees. They invited the Indians to come in and register their complaints against the party in power. More than nine hundred red men were present at one of the meetings. A thorough investigation was made lasting several weeks.²⁴

George Wilkins Kendall in his *Narrative on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition*²⁵ related the following:

"It was while making inquiries, as to the nature and objects of the Texan expedition, that I first heard of an enterprise somewhat similar, then in contemplation in the United States. A company under the command of Colonel Pierce M. Butler, formerly governor of South Carolina, and well known as an efficient and gallant officer, was to leave a point well up on Red River for Santa Fe, having for escort a body of United States dragoons. What was the object of this enterprise, whether to counteract the Texans in their attempt to divert the New Mexican trade or otherwise, I am unable to say. It was abandoned, at all events, for the reason that Colonel Butler could not make all his preparations in season to ensure a sufficiency of grass and water upon the prairies; but had it started, I should have made one of the party."

Among the "Incoming Letters" in the Indian Office is one dated June 3, 1844, asking for three months leave of absence for Governor Pierce M. Butler because of ill health. The agent was still at the Cherokee Agency on July 20, as he wrote a letter to the Indian Office on that date concerning the Cherokees whipping a Negro servant of Mr. Harris, sutler at the post.

From the Cherokee Agency on November 26, 1844 Agent Butler addressed a note to Colonel R. B. Mason:²⁶

"Mr. Drew is here just starting out to the Council Ground & wishes to extend his trip as far as Washington County Arkansas with a view of procuring meal—for the meeting—on the 4 of Dec.

"If you and the Genl. shall concur—I will close with him at the prices agreed on 3 cts for beef & 75 cts for corn or meal—part of both—as we shall direct—What would you say the relative proportions to start with? That we shall supply at the start.

"I would call down, but am at the moment busy—

"Very truly P. M. Butler

[On the back of this note is a reply written in pencil]

"The General & myself think that you had better close with Mr. Drew at these prices, 1¼ pounds of beef, & 1¼ pounds of meal to the ration with two quarts of salt to the 100 rations, if corn is issued the ration must bear a relative proportion to the meal.

"Very Respectfully Yr Obt St

"R. B. Mason Nov. 26, 1844"

Sequoyah, or George Guess, inventor of the celebrated Cherokee syllabary, was one of the signers of the treaty of May 6, 1828. He

²⁴ Rachel Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914), p. 153.

²⁵ Vol. I, p. 18 (New York, 1844).

²⁶ Grant Foreman Collection.

moved west long before the treaty of 1835, and for a number of years he was a member of the National Council of the Western Cherokees. In 1834 he left his home for Mexico with the avowed intention of searching for several bands of Cherokees who had gone to that country. Sequoyah planned to collect them and induce them to return with him so that they could be reunited with their people. The Cherokee, Guess, was old, and he was not able to carry out his project because of feebleness and poverty.

When Agent Butler learned of Sequoyah's condition he wrote to the Indian Department on September 12, and again on November 23, 1844, asking for funds to be furnished so that he might send a deputation to bring the aged man back. The Commissioner of Indian affairs notified Butler on January 17, 1845, that two hundred dollars had been set aside for the purpose, and Oo-no-leh, a Cherokee, was dispatched on the errand. When Oo-no-leh reached Red River he met a party of Cherokees from Mexico who informed him that Sequoyah had died in July, 1844, and that his body was interred at San Fernando. Oo-no-leh notified Butler by letter May 15, 1845 of the sad event.²⁷

When the Cherokees learned of Agent Butler's success in securing the funds for the rescue of their compatriot they were delighted and the issue of the *Cherokee Advocate* for February 13, 1845, declared " . . . Governor Butler feels the liveliest interest in the destiny of George Guess. . . . he will take immediate measure to carry out the designs of the War Department, which receive our sincere acknowledgments. . . . " From Warren's Trading House on Red River a statement was sent to Butler on April 21, 1845 by a party of Cherokees saying that Sequoyah had died in August, 1843. A later report was sent to Butler by Oo-no-leh and signed by the members of the party, from Bayou District, May 15, 1845.²⁸

The *Cherokee Advocate* announced in the issue for November 5, 1844, that Agent Butler had arrived at the Agency at Fort Gibson. Two weeks later he issued a proclamation, by authority of the Secretary of War, announcing that a commission had been appointed and notices sent to Chief John Ross and Captain John Rogers, heads of the opposing parties in the nation; it was hoped that these commissioners would be able to settle all difficulties between the contending parties and Butler made a strong plea, as their agent, friend, and brother for peace. The proclamation printed in English and Sequoyah characters was dated November 18, 1844 and published in the *Advocate* for December 12, 1844.

When the Seminoles arrived in the West from Florida, they objected to being located near their hated Creek enemies. They

²⁷ Royce, *op. cit.*, (n.d.), p. 302. For an account of Butler and Sequoyah see *The Five Civilized Tribes*, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-5; and Grant Foreman, *Sequoyah* (Norman, 1938), pp. 69-70.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

settled on Cherokee land around Fort Gibson but Agent Butler took vigorous steps to remove them from the territory of his charges, with the result that on January 4, 1845, a treaty was entered into by the United States with the Creeks and Seminoles.²⁹ Pierce M. Butler, together with Major William Armstrong, Colonel James Logan and Thomas L. Judge were the signers of this treaty on the part of the United States, by which it was hoped that all difficulties between the Creeks and Seminoles would be settled.³⁰

On February 15, 1845, Cherokee Agent Butler addressed a letter to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford saying:³¹

"I have the honor to forward you a letter of A.A.M. Jackson of Texas, —expressing a wish that I would take measures to recover two white children who had been stolen from Austin, Texas,—

"I have used all the means in my power by giving information to Col. Logan—Creek Agent,—to the Creeks and other neighboring tribes,—illiciting (*sic*) their kind aid in the recovery of these children. All have expressed a willingness & desire to effect the object. . . ."

Another letter from Agent Butler states:

"Cherokee Agency—
27th March 1845—

" 'Bill Conner' a Delaware Indian, this day delivered to the undersigned at this place—a 'White Boy' who says his name is 'Gillis or Giles' and his father's name is Doyle;—that he lived when stolen, in Texas, on the river Colorado;—he says he was taken prisoner, by the Comanches, while he was with his 'Father' and three other men were hunting rock—that the Indians killed the three men, but he thinks his Father made his escape,—he does not know what season of the year this happened—The boy speaks very imperfect english and very unwillingly—He is a robust and healthy boy, but much tanned;—there can be but little doubt, however, that is [his] narrative is in substance true and that he is a 'White.' "

The lad who spoke Comanche represented "that among the Indians of that tribe there were about twenty white boys, Americans, and four girls, one of them grown and has a child. They were in the same clan as himself."³²

Butler gave Connor one hundred dollars and promised him two hundred more as soon as he was authorized from Washington. Six months later he was in the capital still urging the payment of this

²⁹ *Niles Register*, Vol. 65, p. 306. Among the signers of the treaty were Mic-anopi, Wild Cat, Alligator with nineteen other Seminoles, all of whom signed by mark in the presence of J. B. Luce, secretary of the commissioners; Samuel C. Brown was the United States interpreter. Benjamin Marshall interpreted for the Creeks and Abraham for the United States. (*Cherokee Advocate*, October 9, 1845, p. 3, cols. 1-3).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1845, 3, col. 1.

³¹ National Archives, Office Indian Affairs: Misc. File B-2333-2359. Ft. Gibson, 1845, B-2359.

³² Butler to commissioner Indian Affairs, March 30, 1845, Office Indian Affairs, "Misc. File," B 2420, 2508, 2532; *Advancing the Frontier*, op. cit., pp. 174-5.

sum to Connor. While in Washington Butler described the situation to the Commissioner of Indian affairs, and, in September, a commission was issued to him and M. G. Lewis to go among the Comanche Indians to try to make a treaty of friendship with them and secure the white captives held by them.

When Butler and Lewis received their commissions they went to Columbia, South Carolina, the former home of the Agent, from whence they took a steamer for New Orleans. On their arrival at the port on November 1, they supplied themselves with goods to barter with the Indians in exchange for the white captives, and in the hope the Comanche would sign a treaty to keep the peace. The Commissioners traveled up Red River to Shreveport where they bought mules and other equipment before proceeding to their rendezvous at Coffee's Station on Red River in Texas, opposite the mouth of the Washita. The Texans sent runners to the Comanches to notify them that a council would be held at Comanche Peak. Governor Butler went to Fort Gibson before going to Coffee's Station to secure a military escort for the expedition. The Commandant would not agree so Butler next tried to get an escort from the immigrant Indians in the vicinity of the Fort.

On December 26, he left the handsome home of William Shorey Coodey at Frozen Rock on the Arkansas, accompanied by that eminent Indian and Elijah Hicks. J. L. Washburn, one of the editors of the *Van Buren Arkansas Intelligencer* was also a member of the expedition. Another Cherokee who joined the party was Teesey Guess, a son of Sequoyah. Coacoochee (Wild Cat) was the Seminole delegate, and the well known Chickasaw Chief Isaac Alberson,³³ as well as several white men accompanied the delegation. The delegates representing the Choctaws failed to arrive but Tim Tiblow, a Delaware, bought a stock of goods from the Choctaw trader, Robert M. Jones, which he transported to the council to trade with the Plains Indians.

The party was made up of forty-eight persons; seventy or eighty mules and rations for sixty men were carried, besides \$1,200 worth of goods for gifts and trading with the Indians. The expedition proceeded to North Fork Town in the Creek Nation where a halt was made at the home of Chilly McIntosh who had been appointed a delegate by the Creeks. On December 30 a stop was made at Edward's Trading Post on the west side and near the mouth of

³³ Isaac Alberson was one of the Chickasaw delegates to Washington when the treaty of May 24, 1834 was made. He was also one of the members of the tribe to negotiate for a portion of the Choctaw land. The Chickasaw delegation met the Choctaw delegation at Doaksville, near Fort Towson, and meetings were held until an agreement was arrived at on January 17, 1837. Alberson was among the prominent Chickasaws who petitioned on September 9, 1838 for help for their people who were in grave straits because of illness and a serious drought.—Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), pp. 200, 203, 224. (Isaac Alberson was chief of the Chickasaw District in the Choctaw Nation, 1844-46.—Ed.)

Little River (in present Hughes County), one hundred miles from Fort Gibson.

On January 2, the settlement of Dry Forehead, a Cherokee chief from Texas, was reached on Big Boggy. The Chickasaw council house was passed and a camp made at the Agency (a short distance west of Fort Washita). The Washita and Red rivers were crossed. They passed through the Cross Timbers on January 12. A hunting party of Cherokees was met and bear meat bought from the men. On January 25, a large party of Kickapoo hunters, men, women and children, was met.

On arrival in the vicinity of Comanche Peak near the Brazos River, in Texas, parties were dispatched to bring in Comanches to the council. Wild Cat made a lengthy address of welcome and explained that various Indians had been sent by their tribes to extend the hand of welcome to their brothers in the West. On March 4, they arrived at Comanche Peak and a salute was fired to the tribes encamped in the neighborhood. The first meeting with the Comanche chief, Buffalo Hump, was held the next day. Negotiations continued in an encampment at Council Springs, Texas, until May 16 when the treaty was signed, and the commissioners promised the distribution of presents.³⁴

The *Advocate* asserted on April 3, 1845, that several individuals from Arkansas had gone to Washington to solicit from President Polk the appointment as Cherokee agent. "They however are all doomed to disappointment, according to Madam Rumor, who whispers that Gov. Butler is to be re-appointed. We are glad to hear it and trust that the report may be confirmed." Chickasaw Agent, A.M.M. Upshaw, warned his friend Superintendent William Armstrong that Pierce Butler planned to secure his position as soon as Henry Clay was elected president. Butler was so sure of the result of the election that he offered to wager four mules on the result.³⁵

There was great alarm in the spring of 1845 among the Creek settlements, and those Indians hoped that by inviting the hostile tribes to a council on Deep Fork River that the trouble might be averted. Invitations were forwarded by Echo Harjo and five other Creeks to the Comanche, Wichita, Tawakoni, and other tribes. Representatives of twelve tribes were present. They began arriving on May 2 but no business of the council had been accomplished ten days later. Creek Chief Roley McIntosh "expressed much impatience, dissatisfaction, and mortification that his Red Brothers had not responded to his call—particularly the Cherokee, as he said they

³⁴ Grant Foreman, "The Texas Comanche Treaty of 1846," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin), Vol. 51, No. 4, 313-32; Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 293 ff; Foreman, "The Journal of Elijah Hicks," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 13, No. 1, (March, 1935), 68-99.

³⁵ *The Five Civilized Tribes*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

held the *wampum* by which the traditions of their fore-fathers could be properly interpreted."³⁶

Agent Butler wrote to Captain William Armstrong, Acting Superintendent "W. T. Choctaw Agency" on May 21, 1845, concerning the notes taken by him.³⁷

" at the late 'general Council' that met in the Creek Nation, on the 1st of May & adjourned on the 16—embodied all that materially occurred there—& which I have the honor to transmit for the information of yourself and the Department.

"The object was no other than appears upon the face of their proceedings—to restore Peace. The Creeks of all others seemed to feel most concern—There is some reason for the belief that—the Creeks upon the Frontier unnecessarily—provoked—these difficulties with—those Border Tribes. There is no doubt that the Comanchees—& others of their Associates—are in a state of preparation for hostilities, & that their anger will be difficult to appease. I apprehend the Friendly 'Token' sent by the Council, if received at all: will not be met in a corresponding spirit of conciliation, at this time. But I incline to the opinion, that if a judicious selection be made from the Delaware—who speak their language) & if sent with the countenance, & direct to our Government, that such a mediation, would be successful. This is a bare suggestion of mine which

³⁶ Notes taken at the "Grand Council" by Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler, *Western Superintendency*, File A.1830. A long account of this council is to be found in *Advancing the Frontier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-30.

³⁷ Office Indian Affairs: West. Supt'y File A-1830-1831. Choctaw Agcy. 1845. A-1831.

The following communication is interesting as a sidelight on Agent Butler's personal business:

"A. T. BURNLEY & CO.

"Commissioner & Forwarding Merchants, New Orleans.

Addressed to Gov. P. M. Butler, Cherokee Agent Fort Gibson Arkansas

'Shipped in good order and well conditioned by A. T. Burnley & Co. on board the good Steamer called the *Virginian* now lying in the Port of New Orleans and bound for Fort Gibson, Van Buren or Little Rock

Seven Slaves

Melinda & three children	4
Betsey	1
Sithey & child	2

7

Not accountable for life health or Running away

. . . . Freight for the said slaves \$50 if delivered at Fort Gibson, 40\$ if delivered at Van Buren \$30 if delivered at Little Rock

Dated at New Orleans the 24th day of June 1845

Jas. W. Martin"

"Gov. P. M. Butler
Fort Gibson

New Orleans 24 June 1845

Dear Sir

Annexed we hand you bill of lading for 7 Slaves received on yesterday from your Red River plantation — We tried very hard to get the Captain of the *Virginian* to take the Negroes for a less price, but could not prevail upon him to do so fearing there might not be another boat shortly, we deemed it best for your interest to send them now—

"We are most truly yr friends

A. T. Burnley Co
by F. B. Standback"

I hope will be received in the spirit in which it is intended—as material for others—more competent to mature a plan on.”

A column and a half in the *Cherokee Advocate* were devoted on November 6, 1845, to charges against Agent Butler by Lieutenant Colonel Richard B. Mason of the First Dragoons. He issued a pamphlet dated May 28 but not made public until August 10. This pamphlet was given to Butler while he was in Washington transacting business. In his answer Butler wrote regarding a paragraph which read as follows:

“The Cherokee Agent had better now turn his attention to the reports that are in circulation among the ‘people that are committed to his care,’ charging him with the nonpayment of their dues in some instances, and in others, in withholding them until their necessities and wants compel them to sell their claim, at a heavy loss to Drew and Fields, who find no difficulty ’tis said, in promptly receiving the full amount from the Agent.”

[Butler replied to these statements as follows:]

“It indicated the character of its author, as emanating from one, who, in an official controversy, with an adversary, is governed, rather by the spirit of vindictive revenge, to which he yields a blind obedience, than by a sense of justice or honor, that looks for evidence before it makes its charge.

“It is of a piece with his memorial to the War Department in which, false suggestion is found, in an official paper to give vent to irresponsible malignity—The individual in both instances seeks refuge under the names of others. . . . Let the refutation of the calumny, to be found in the following letter, rebuke its insidious circulator. A man of magnanimity would, at once, yield to its influence, and would not hesitate to repair the wrong which his reckless libel has inflicted.

“But, from Col. Mason, I expect no such thing:—Vigilant only in looking for the means of gratifying lurking resentment; and when he cannot find those which honor would approve, with a viper’s promptness he strikes at the rattling of the brainless. . . .”

T. Hartley Crawford replying to Governor Butler at Columbia, South Carolina on September 25, 1845, categorically denied Mason’s charges and added:

“War Department Office Indian Affairs

“Sept. 13, 1845

“Sir,

“The Cherokee Delegation, now in this city, consisting of John Ross & others, are empowered by a Resolution of their National Council to receive any monies due to their nation. This authority having been presented to the Secretary of War he directs that the sum of \$10,000 be paid to them out of the appropriation for arrearages of annuities &c.

“The funds being in your hands you will pay over that sum to the Delegation, in conformity with the order of the Secretary—

“Very respectfully

Your most Obt

“T. Hartley Crawford

“P. M. Butler Esq
late Cherokee Agent
now in Washington”

“ And I deem it a duty to state that during the time you have been associated with this department, your official duties have been discharged to its entire satisfaction; and I take this occasion to say that I do

not know of an officer under its direction that has manifested more zeal and attention to the interest of 'the people committed to its care,' than yourself. In your official communications to this department, you have shown the greatest anxiety to obtain prompt settlements of the claims of the Cherokees on the government;"

Crawford sent letters from Richard Fields and John Drew. Fields wrote: "I have never known you as a public officer or private individual to be benefitted, directly or indirectly, through Drew and Fields, or to my knowledge through others, to the expense of one cent to any Indian claimants, or indeed any other claimant upon the public funds in your hands for disbursement." At Columbia S. C. on October 2, 1845, John Drew wrote: "I fully concur with Judge Fields in his statement contained in the above 'extraxt.'"³⁸

In a Memorial covering two and a half pages of the *Cherokee Advocate*, on June 18, 1846, signed by Principal Chief John Ross and eight other of the most prominent men of the Cherokee Nation, is the following regarding Governor Butler: "Governor Pierce M. Butler, who had been for some time the Cherokee agent, and who enjoyed the entire confidence not only of his own government,—but also of each of the three parties into which the nation was unhappily divided, and whose position gave him advantages of knowing the true state of facts which were not enjoyed by any other person. . . ."

Butler, in an advertisement in the *Advocate*, on July 17, 1845, advised "Certain Cherokee Claimants", that he would be at the Agency all through the month of July, in compliance with the recent instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "to receive for transmission to Washington, all certificates of transportation or subsistence commutation yet unsettled. . . .". This advertisement stated that the agent would "be pleased to receive at the same time any other individual claims similar to those above specified, which have not been fully acted upon by the government, and in support of which the parties may have evidence in possession."

A notice was printed in several issues of the *Advocate* that on August 16 a society to encourage agriculture and the domestic arts would be organized and five silver cups would be given as premiums by Agent Butler for the best displays of homespun cloth, belts and socks, and coverlets.³⁹

The September 18, 1845 issue of the *Advocate* announced that all doubts as to the appointment of an agent for the Cherokees had been

³⁸ During many years of research in the records in Washington the writer has encountered several instances of a despotic nature connected with the command of Richard Barnes Mason in the Indian Territory.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General Richard Barnes Mason," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, No. 1, (March, 1941), 14-36.

³⁹ *The Five Civilized Tribes*, op. cit., p. 376.

P. M. Butler left for a visit to his family in South Carolina according to the *Cherokee Advocate* of August 15, 1845.

put at rest as Colonel James McKissick of Fayetteville, Arkansas had been appointed by President Polk, "in place of the able and popular incumbent P. M. Butler, Esqr., whose term of service has directly, or soon will, expire."

It was reported that "The temperance movement grew until it transcended in interest all other subjects of general concern in the Cherokee Nation." During that period Pierce M. Butler was the Agent, and in his last report before he joined the army to participate in the Mexican War he wrote:⁴⁰

"Temperance has been a God-send to the Cherokee nation. Its progress has been marked by a successful suppression of vice, and a happy subjugation of the turbulent and depraved passions. The number of members is, as will be seen, about 2,700—a larger proportion of the whole people than can be found in any other of equal extent of population. . . .

"The saving influence of this [temperance] society shows itself not only in the voluntary abstinence from the use of spirits, but also in their manifest demonstration of an intention to prevent its importation into their country. . . .

"From my observation and acquaintance with the Indian tribes, I am decidedly of the opinion that all restrictive laws or arbitrary action by superior power is productive of evil consequences. . . . The effect of the present law is to introduce by stealth, liquors of a bad quality, and at exorbitant prices, whilst the consumption is induced by frolics in a spirit and temper in proportion to the efforts to restrain the inclination."

Agent Butler's report regarding the Cherokee printing press was copied in the *Advocate* for April 2, 1846:⁴¹

"The Printing Press . . . by no means has failed to render the advantage it seemed to promise This press has been chiefly instrumental in placing the Cherokees one half a century in advance of their late condition; providing an easy and cheap mode of diffusing instruction among the people, and stimulating them to further exertion and improvement. . . .

"As being intimately connected with this press, the most honorable mention must be made of George Guess, a native Cherokee—inventor of the Cherokee alphabet—the genius of his race—the Cadmus of the age. . . ."

On January 4, 1847 Butler wrote the following letter to Hon. William Medill from Hamburg, South Carolina:

"Sir

"I feel deeply the embarrassing situation in which I am placed. Both duty and honor prompted me to be in Washington City two months ago to assist in the settlement & closing of the accounts created by myself & Col. Lewis Indian Commissioners. A part of the time I was unable to turn in my bed from chronic Rheumatism, & since I have been engaged in organizing a Regiment for active service in the field against Mexico.

"I beg you & the Department will entertain this whole subject in the liberal & just spirit that it seems to call for. The duty was a most arduous and responsible one. It was executed with zeal and fidelity.

"The greater portion of the time not only was I broken down by disease contracted by exposure, which put my life for a time in great hazzard.

⁴⁰ Grant Foreman, "A Century of Prohibition," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June, 1934), p. 139.

⁴¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), p. 79.

"It is true, eminently true that a larger out lay of money was made than ought to have been for the service, but I respectfully suggest, that the peculiar circumstances of the case, the Country involved in a border war, and after I became prostrate, my colleague was more than employed in conciliating the different elements of discord around him.

"I can but believe an impartial public opinion, with all the facts before them have abundantly approved the wisdom of the measure directing this mission—that the action of the Commission has been approved.

"In the strictures passed by the head of your Bureau on these accounts in passing to the Second Auditors office—I can but believe & declare that your motive was a strict discharge of a high public trust—but under all the embarrassing considerations that less clog thrown on them from so responsible a Bureau would have been more in the spirit of liberal justice.

"I have for the last week been debating the proposition of going on to Washington immediately & seeing what immediate aid I could give these accounts, and by making to the accounting officers & the Department as full fair & explicit explanations as the case is susceptible of—in the kindest spirit to acknowledge when I thought we had need & submit all the matters to some final adjustment.

"This has been my inclination & at one time from a sense of justice to myself, & a respect to the Department had determined me to have left here on the 1st day of January last,—looking at the other side of the picture, when good faith & duty to the State—to the Country—& above all to the claims of young & gallant spirits, who have committed themselves voluntarily to my control & command, & who are unwilling that I should separate myself from them. I am no longer at liberty to judge or take other action than to obey the call of the Country to take the field & aid in the vindication of the rights of the Country. Could I in this state of conflicting duties have received an invitation or order from the Department to have gone on to Washington I should have in some sort have been relieved from a part of the difficulty.

"In the interim, I extremely regret the inconvenience to my Colleague, myself & to the Department—it is under all the circumstances now unavoidable, & I must under every contingency proceed with the Regiment.

"I will the moment I discharge my present obligations to the Country in a state of war—repair to Washington City with a view of closing this protracted & unpleasant mission.

"I have the honor to be very Respectfully
Yr Obt Sert
P. M. Butler"

Hon. Wm. Medill
Commissioner Indian Affairs.

Churubusco, a small village six miles south of the city of Mexico, was the scene of one of the bloodiest battles fought by North American troops during the Mexican War. The convent church of San Pablo was converted into a fort; this ancient building was situated on an eminence and surrounded by stone walls and buildings.⁴² After the

⁴² *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History* (New York, 1902), Vol. 2, pp. 154-55. The monastery of Churubusco is well preserved and it contains many pictures of the battle. There is a handsome monument erected in honor of the Mexicans who lost their lives there. The gardens are beautiful and the historic place is well worth a visit.

defeat at Contreras, the Mexicans sent all of their stores and artillery to Churubusco as Santa Ana was determined to make a strong stand there. This village was connected with Mexico City by a causeway where much of the fighting took place. History relates that 9,000 American soldiers and 32,000 Mexicans participated in the battle which resulted in victory for the United States on August 20, 1847. Four thousand Mexicans were killed and 3,000 made prisoner. The Americans lost in killed and wounded about 1,100 and among them was the distinguished Pierce M. Butler at the head of his South Carolina Palmetto Regiment.

“ The Palmetto Regiment distinguished itself on the field under Pierce M. Butler, J. P. Dickinson, and A. H. Gladden. The palmetto flag was the first to enter the Mexican capital. Of the 1,100 volunteers who saw active service in that war, only about 300 returned.”⁴³

Soon after the battle commenced at Churubusco, General Scott sent two brigades, under the command of Thomas Prescott Pierce and Hamilton Leroy Shields, by the left through the fields in order to attack the enemy from the rear. Shields advanced with his force of sixteen hundred through marshy ground for a long distance; but he was exposed to the entire fire of the enemy and failed to outflank the Mexicans. The Palmettos of South Carolina were badly cut up and finally took shelter in and about a large barn near the causeway where Santa Anna's reserves—four thousand foot and three thousand horse—were planted. Shield's called for volunteers to follow him and his appeal was instantly answered by Colonel Pierce Mason Butler who cried: “Every South Carolinian will follow you to the death!”

Shields led the courageous men, under incessant shot against the Mexican reserves.⁴⁴

“Not a trigger was pulled till they stood at a hundred fifty yards from the enemy. Then the little band poured in their volley. . . . Butler, already wounded, was shot through the head and died instantly. Calling to the Palmettos to avenge his death, Shields gives the word to charge. They charge—not four hundred in all— . . . upon four thousand Mexicans securely posted under cover. . . . Dickinson, who succeeded Butler in command of the Palmettos, seizes the colors as the bearer falls dead; the next moment he is down himself, mortally wounded. . . .”

General James Shields writing to Governor David Johnson on September 2, 1847, described the battle as “one of the most terrific fires to which soldiers were ever subjected.” Colonel Butler was wounded in one of his legs early in the battle but continued to advance until a musket ball through his head caused instantaneous death.

⁴³ *South Carolina A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York, 1941), pp. 37, 362.

⁴⁴ John Bonner, “The Mexican War,” *The Great Events of Famous Historians*, (1904) Vol. 17, 73.

His body was returned to Edgefield and many tributes in verse were written in his honor, one of them by the youth Paul Hamilton Hayne. According to a tribute in the *Cherokee Advocate*, September 30, 1847, Butler was just and showed sympathy for the Cherokees.

Pierce M. Butler was tall and distinguished in personal appearance. By temperament he was more of a military officer than a politician.⁴⁵ "He was marked, however, by broad social interests and at the time of his death was a member of many fraternal organizations in his state."

⁴⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 365; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1904), Vol. 12, p. 168. The biography of Butler in the *Dictionary of American Biography* was written by Francis Pendleton Gaines.

There is a tradition in the Butler family that Pierce Mason Butler once served as acting governor of Florida during a leave of absence of Andrew Jackson. Upon consultation with the National Archives the following reply was received January 4, 1952:

"Members of the Territorial Papers staff, which prepared for publication the official papers concerning the territory of Florida, inform us that no information was found in the records of show that Pierce Mason Butler ever served as Acting Governor of Florida. A Colonel Robert Butler was delegated by Andrew Jackson in 1821 to receive possession of St. Augustine (East Florida) from Spanish authorities."

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM C. ROGERS, PRINCIPAL CHIEF OF THE CHEROKEE NATION 1903-1907

*By Elzie Ronald Caywood**

William Charles Rogers was born December 13, 1849. His elementary education was obtained at West Point community near Bartlesville, Indian Territory.¹ He spent one year at the Cherokee Male Seminary. In 1877 he opened a small merchandise establishment on Bird Creek; and shortly thereafter secured a postoffice and gave it the name of Skiatook.² Mr. Rogers' business was later extended with branches at Talala and Vera, Indian Territory. The future Chief of the Cherokees was soon known as a capable business man, whose integrity was unquestioned, and he enjoyed the esteem of his fellow citizens.

There was one incident in Mr. Rogers' life which never detracted from his general popularity, though it easily could have done so. In 1893, in a fit of jealousy, Rogers killed Deputy Marshal Lee Taylor at Skiatook. At the time Mr. Rogers was a highly respected member of the Cherokee Council. The incident was the result of both men being suitors for the hand of Rogers' handsome Indian housekeeper. Taylor had come to the Rogers' home with the purpose of eloping with the girl.³

William C. Rogers was principal chief of the Cherokee Nation in its last stages as a separate republic. The last election of the chief of a powerful tribe of Indians was in many respects the climax of a series of tragedies. For nearly three-quarters of a century this Nation had suffered divisions, wars, and desolation. It had triumphed in crises and stood as an example of sustained enthusiasms in the face of defeat. Now the mockery of a one-time glorious event was about to be enacted—an executive must be chosen to close the business of a fallen republic.

There were two principal political parties in the Cherokee Nation: the Downing Party and the National Party. The following account from the *Weekly Examiner* (Bartlesville), August 1, 1903, gives a detached discussion of the campaign for the office of principal chief:

* Elzie Ronald Caywood is a graduate with a M.A. degree in history from the University of Oklahoma, Norman. He is teacher of Social Sciences at Sequoyah Vocational School for Indian children at Tahlequah, Oklahoma.—Ed.

¹ *The Weekly Examiner* (Bartlesville), August 15, 1903.

² *Ibid.*, August 15, 1903.

³ *The Purcell Register*, June 23, 1893.

On next Monday will be chosen in the Cherokee Nation the last of a line of tribal chieftains extending to distant ages. The election will be the last at which the Cherokees will choose a head man and ruler. The Cherokee then selected for the highest honor within the power of the tribesmen to bestow will go down in history and tradition as the last chief of a once powerful nation whose domain extended from Chesapeake Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic seaboard to the Father of Waters.⁴

There are two aspirants for this honor—William C. Rogers and Levi Cookson, each representing a political division of the tribe. Rogers, the standard-bearer of the Downing (progressive) party, is a man of character, reputation, integrity and ability. Cookson, his opponent, is the chosen representative of the National (conservative) party, but is no less worthy or deserving than Mr. Rogers. It makes little difference which of these eminent Indian citizens are chosen. Either will reflect creditably upon the Cherokee Nation and the wisdom of the Cherokee people in making the choice.

Rogers was a striking figure, six feet, three inches tall, and over two hundred pounds in weight. He had thick, iron-gray hair and strong features, with a heavy moustache. Rogers had a preponderance of white blood. The newspapers took a lively interest in the campaign. The *Claremore Progress* in an editorial of June 27, 1903 stated:⁵

Every day makes it more apparent that W. C. Rogers will be the next Chief of the Cherokees. He is not only large in stature, but is large in intellect, and is the ideal man to wind up the affairs of the tribe.

W. C. Rogers is a business man and will meet the questions that will confront the Cherokee people the next two years in a business manner and in a way to a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the affairs of the tribe, which a large per cent of its citizens desire. Levi Cookson in a speech before a recent session of the senate said that if he had his way about it he would be stubborn enough to retard a settlement for twenty-five years, and this is the man the National party has offered as their candidate for chief, who, if elected, would have to deal with the many questions of vast importance to the Cherokee people in the next two years before tribal government is abolished under the terms of the treaty [of 1902].

In a different vein, the *Vinita Chieftain*, stated July 30, 1903 that if W. C. Rogers was the best that could be shown as the result of the work of civilization and culture among the Cherokees, then that process had been largely a failure.

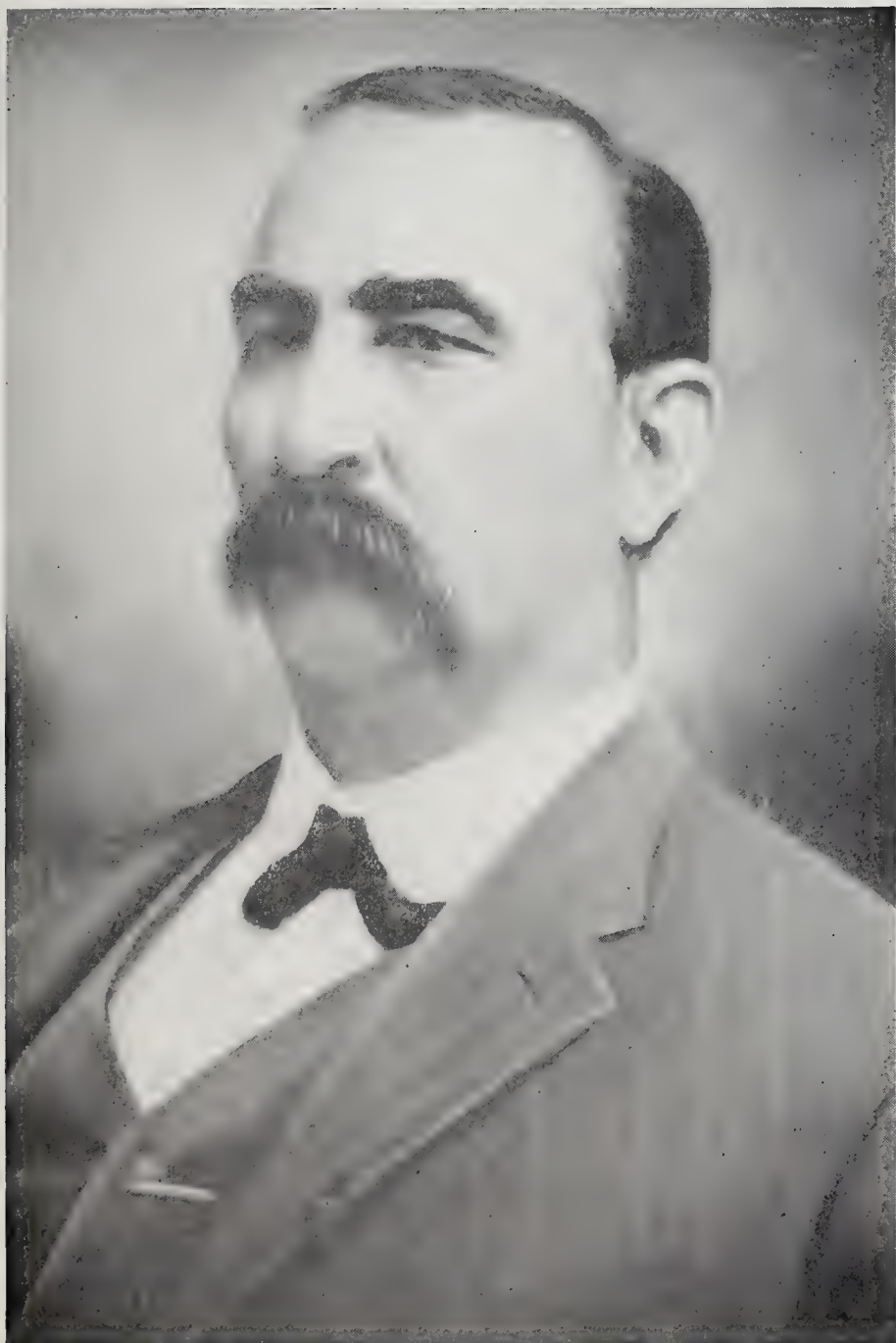
Cookson was not without supporters. He was represented as progressive in his views, better educated than his opponent, and had been equally successful as a business man.⁶

The *Stilwell Standard* stated in an editorial of July 18, 1902, that it was opposed to the Creek intruders, the Choctaw Sooners or the Kansas Jayhawkers and "carpetbaggers" saying who should be

⁴T. M. Buffington, "the last chief of the Cherokees," died at his home in Vinita February 11, 1938. He is spoken of as "the last chief of the Cherokees" because his successor (William C. Rogers, 1903-1917) never had the power of authority usually exercised by tribal chiefs.

⁵The *Tahlequah Arrow*, December 10, 1904; *Chilocco School Journal* VII, No. 1, November, 1906.

⁶The *Sallisaw Star*, July 31, 1903.



WILLIAM C. ROGERS, Principal Chief
of the Cherokee Nation, 1903-1917.



the next Cherokee chief. The editorial continued its belief that by electing Mr. Rogers to the chief executive's office, such movements would be stopped. The virtues of Rogers were further extolled—the name of Honorable William C. Rogers, of Cooweescoowee District was a synonym for honesty and uprightness. He had represented his district in both houses of the National Council, where he had made an unimpeachable legislative record.

David M. Faulkner, Downing candidate for assistant chief, was a resident of Sequoyah District, and like Mr. Rogers possessed strict integrity and honor. The fullbloods, with whom he had been mostly affiliated, were his principal supporters. Mr. Faulkner was a member of the Cherokee Senate in which capacity he exerted much influence over all classes.⁷

The nominating convention of the Downing party was originally planned to be held at Hatchett Springs, but due to inclement weather was held at Tahlequah. Rogers was nominated for principal chief and David M. Faulkner for assistant chief. Among the contenders for the nomination were Samuel Mayes, William Wirt Hastings, Chief T. M. Buffington, David M. Faulkner, with William C. Rogers and Joe LaHay as "dark horses." The contest first appeared to be between Messrs. Mayes and Hastings, but since the selection of either of these men would have split the party, Rogers was nominated as a compromise candidate.

In accepting the nomination Rogers and Faulkner agreed to support the Downing party platform. Its program provided for an economical administration, the sale of all public buildings, the equal division of lands among the *bona fide* citizens of the Cherokee Nation, the conversion of all the rest of the Nation's assets into cash and a final settlement by the division of the moneys received among the reorganized and enrolled citizens of the Cherokee Nation.

The platform sought to unify all the classes of citizens and not invite a prolongation of a settlement, or a dissipation of the common estate, by vexation lawsuits.⁸

The result of the balloting revealed that Rogers had been elected chief over Levi Cookson by a majority of 145 votes. David M. Faulkner defeated National candidate Wolf Coon for the office of assistant chief by over 300 votes.⁹ Moreover both branches of the Cherokee legislative body chosen at the same election was in party accord with Chief Rogers. In the senate the Downing party won thirteen seats to five for the Nationals. In the lower house there was an estimated twenty-five Downing party members to fifteen for the

⁷ The Collinsville News, July 2, 1903.

⁸ The Claremore Progress, June 16, 1903.

⁹ The Sallisaw Star, August 7, 1903.

National party.¹⁰ This was a circumstance which augured well for the future of the tribal relations with the Federal government.¹¹

The *Vinita Leader* editorialized as follows on the results of the election:¹²

The attempt of the Republican officials to capture the National party organization [the Republican party of the Cherokee Indians] and to elect Cookson with the hope of allying the Cherokee Indians with their party organization has utterly failed. The Indians have refused to enroll under the Republican banner as such. They wish to be free to go where they like when dissolution of tribal autonomy comes. Large bodies of Indians, especially of the Night Hawk faction [a group originally affiliated with the Keetoowahs as an auxiliary organization opposed the policy of allotment of land in severalty. The Keetoowah Society advocated the allotment of land exclusively to citizens by blood who had the right to share in lands and funds of the Cherokee Nation], refrained from voting altogether, hence the defeat of Cookson.

Rogers, the descendant of a family famous in the history and affairs of the Cherokee tribe from the American Revolution was well qualified to attend to the diversified details of settling the affairs of the Cherokee Nation prior to its dissolution. He possessed a good education and was a successful merchant and rancher. Of pleasing personality and fine social qualities, he had the friendship of his neighbors and the respect and confidence of the electorate.

Upon assuming office, Rogers appointed his executive council or legal advisers as follows: Charles Smith, Flint District; George Waters, Illinois District; and Samuel Adair, Goingsnake District.¹³

The government leaders of the Cherokee Nation faced many perplexing problems during the period from 1903 to 1907. The *First Annual Message* by Chief Rogers contained much information as to conditions in the Nation. By an act of the Congress of the United States, ratified by the Cherokee people on August 7, 1902, "the tribal government of the Cherokee Nation shall not continue longer than March 4, 1906." Rogers noted that during a period of sixteen months commencing July 1, 1902, and ending September 30, 1903, the total receipts of the Nation amounted to \$69,671.48 and the total disbursements was \$1,157,307.37. He made the following statement in his message:¹⁴

The Chief states, the one question which is paramount to all other to our people and the one to which it will be most necessary for you to address yourselves [the members of the National Council] and the one about which you are most concerned is what shall be done with our surplus lands, if any, after the completion of our final roll and the allotment of lands to all citizens whose names may appear thereon and what shall be done with our public buildings, schools, public funds and other common property.

¹⁰ *The Claremore Messenger*, August 7, 1903.

¹¹ *The South McAlester News*, August 13, 1903.

¹² *The Vinita Leader*, August 6, 1903.

¹³ *The Weekly Examiner* (Bartlesville), November 14, 1903.

¹⁴ *First Annual Message of Hon. William C. Rogers, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation*, November 6, 1903.

Rogers' official family was composed of W. W. Bruton, chief secretary; A. B. Cunningham, first assistant secretary and C. J. Harris, second assistant secretary.¹⁵

The schools continued to make good progress. However, the Orphan Asylum was destroyed by a fire on November 7, 1903. There were 145 children in the home at the time. Temporary quarters were engaged for seventy-five at Whitaker Orphans' Home at Pryor Creek, and the remainder were taken by relatives and friends.¹⁶

In 1904 Rogers appointed a committee of three, with the approval of the senate, to negotiate a supplemental agreement with the United States for a final and complete settlement of the affairs of the Cherokee Nation preparatory to a dissolution of the tribal government.¹⁷

The Cherokee leaders including Chief Rogers sent a protest petition to the Democratic National Convention in July, 1904, opposing statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one state.¹⁸ Rogers was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, which was held in St. Louis.

The Principal Chief discussed various problems in his *Second Annual Message*, 1904:¹⁹

The time for receiving applications for enrollment ended on October 31, 1902 and since that date no applications have been received. Since that time, however, a great number of applications then pending have been decided by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes and the Secretary

¹⁵ *The Pryor Creek Clipper*, November 14, 1903.

¹⁶ *Second Annual Message of Hon. William C. Rogers, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation*, 1904.

¹⁷ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of October 7, 1904, reported the condition of the various funds to the credit of the Cherokee Nation on October 1, 1904, with interest thereon, as shown by the books of his office, as follows:

	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Interest</i>
Asylum Fund	\$ 53,363.75	\$ 4,017.26
Orphan Fund	344,158.27	36,186.13
National Fund	637,904.18	68,755.69
School Fund	566,065.74	57,329.92
	<i>Royalties</i>	
Miscellaneous royalties	\$ 48,317.90	
Town lots	94,952.45	
Rights of way	3,957.01	
Stone and timber	6,653.84	

From this report it appears that interest bearing funds aggregated \$1,599,491.94, with interest, a reduction during the year of \$133,863.70 due to the liquidation of the national debt by the payment of outstanding warrants. Including interest and royalties, remitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs October 1, the Nation had to its credit a total sum of \$1,919,362.37.

¹⁸ *The Weekly Examiner* (Bartlesville), July 9, 1904.

¹⁹ *Second Annual Message of Hon. William C. Rogers, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation*, 1904 in Cherokee Chiefs Manuscripts and Papers, Frank Phillips Collection, the University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

of the Interior and a great many yet remain to be disposed of. The report of the attorneys representing the Cherokee Nation before the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes gives in detail the work accomplished during the past year as well as that remaining to be done in this department.

By the act of Congress approved April 21, 1904, it was provided as follows: "The Secretary of the Interior, be and he is hereby, authorized and directed, to pay to the intruders in the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, who have not heretofore for any reason been paid the amounts due them by appraisement heretofore made for improvements, such payments to be made out of funds now at the disposal of the Secretary of the Interior for such purposes."

The Indian Appropriation bill passed by Congress and approved by the President April 21, 1904, contains a provision authorizing the intermarried whites of the Cherokee Nation to institute a suit in the Court of Claims of the United States against the Cherokee Nation with the right of appeal to either party to the Supreme Court of the United States for a distributive share in the payment heretofore made in accordance with various per capita acts of the Cherokee Nation. This suit involves \$750,000.00. The Cherokee Nation prepared for a defense.

Great dissatisfaction prevails among a certain class of our people growing out of contracts and leases which they have been induced to make upon their lands, or which have been made by others upon the lands of their children. There seems to be no doubt but that speculators, by one pretext or another, have swindled many of our people. Those citizens unschooled in business and financial affairs must be protected. It should be made clear to them that when they discover they are the victims of misrepresentation, or fraud in making any contract or lease, an ample remedy is provided for their redress.

Great difficulty has been experienced in the last year in protecting the public domain and the small farmers from the aggression and trespass of cattle. Section 72 of the act of July 1, 1902, is not sufficiently comprehensive, nor the police force at the command of the Indian Agent, adequate to meet this evil.

Upon a protest being filed by the Principal Chief several small towns in the Cherokee Nation have been resurveyed. The protest was made because the surveys discriminated against the Nation in favor of certain oil speculators who had captured the townsites.

The allotment of the Nation's lands is about one-half completed. Inquiry disclosed that up to and including October 31, 1904, 20,082 citizens have made 28,077 applications at the land office, and 1,962,321 acres have been allotted to them. The allotable area of this Nation is estimated at 4,400,000 acres and the number of citizens entitled to allotment at 40,000.

During this period there was considerable agitation for admitting Oklahoma and Indian Territories as a single state. The attitude of the latter Territory may be observed in the Proclamation of Chief Pleasant Porter of the Creek Nation and Chief Rogers, dated October, 1904:²⁰

" Whereas, a majority of the Five Civilized Tribes favor and seek separate and independent statehood, the said privileges allowed by existing and inevitable treaties; and,

Whereas, the time is ripe to ask and seek a change of government, therefore we deem it proper and prudent to call and do call a meeting of

²⁰ *Wagoner Weekly Sayings*, October 20, 1904.

the Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Osage Nation to meet together in a conference at Muskogee, Indian Territory, on October 24, 1905, for the special purpose of passing resolutions asking President Roosevelt to insert a few lines in his annual message to Congress this fall, recommending inevitable congressional legislation, providing for a commonwealth for the Indian Territory and the Osage Nation, to be inaugurated March 4, 1906.

In July, 1905 all the Principal Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes with the exception of the Chickasaw tribe issued a similar proclamation to meet in Muskogee on August 21.²¹ All residents of the Indian Territory were invited to participate in the selection of delegates. For the first time in the history of the region Indians and whites joined in a political movement of large importance.

Chief William C. Rogers called the meeting to order and D. C. McCurtain, son of Chief McCurtain, of the Choctaws, was chosen temporary chairman. When a permanent organization was effected Chief Pleasant Porter, of the Creek Nation was chosen as president of the convention, and Alexander Posey, also a member of the Creek tribe, was chosen secretary.²² Five vice-presidents were elected. These were William H. Murray, an intermarried citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, Charles N. Haskell, apparently representing the Creeks, William C. Rogers from the Cherokee, Green McCurtain of the Choctaw, and John Brown of the Seminole Nation.

The members of the convention drew up a constitution providing for the organization of the State of Sequoyah, which was presented to the government of the United States and was also submitted to the people of Indian Territory for adoption or rejection at an election held on November 7, 1905. The results of the balloting showed that 56,279 votes were cast for the constitution and only 9,073 against it.²³ There can be little doubt that a majority of the people of Indian Territory would have preferred separate statehood.

However, the efforts of the Indian Territory leaders and its people were foredoomed to failure, as both Congress and the President were fully committed to the policy of uniting the Twin Territories to form a single state.

Chief Rogers' activities were not completely concerned with matters of state. He attended the World's Fair in 1904, as did Chief Pleasant Porter. One day was dedicated to the Indians of the United States and hundreds filed through the Indian Territory building and viewed in amazement the progress made by the Five Civilized Tribes. Rogers and Porter were viewed by eastern people

²¹ Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948), p. 304.

²² *The Broken Arrow Ledger*, August 2, 1905.

²³ Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 305. See also, Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), pp. 168-92, and No. 3 (Winter, 1950-51) pp. 299-340.

with much curiosity. The refined and dignified actions of the two chiefs did not correlate with the picture that all Indians were savages.

In 1904, Rogers organized and became the first president of the bank of Skiatook,²⁴ and in the same year became a stockholder and director of the Bank of Talala.²⁵

The last council of the Cherokee Nation adjourned at Tahlequah in 1904. It was a solemn moment, the passing of a Nation, but it was marked by no special incidents. One newspaper commented, "This is indeed a sad thought for anyone of us, but thank God we can show the world that we can meet it like men."²⁶

Old party spirit and discontent flared up in 1905 when Chief Rogers refused to issue a call for an election of members of the National Council because he saw no reason for further expense and what he considered a useless election. There was practically nothing for the Council to do since the Nation's business was rapidly terminating under direction of the United States. Nevertheless an election was held without an official call from the chief and members of the National Council opposed to him were elected. In November, while Rogers was in Washington, the recently-elected members met and proceeded to impeach him and chose Frank J. Boudinot as chief. For several weeks it seemed that serious difficulty might be experienced. Deeds to newly allotted lands were held up, as there was a question as to which chief should sign them, appointments to tribal offices were also suspended. Finally Secretary Ethan A. Hitchcock of the Department of the Interior officially recognized Rogers as chief and ended Boudinot's claim.

As rapidly as possible the business of the Nation was closed. The act of Congress of March 3, 1905 abolished the Dawes Commission as of June 30, 1905, and from that time placed the work in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, with the provision that "the work of completing the unfinished business, if any, of the Commission" should thereafter devolve upon the Secretary of the Interior. This official subsequently acted through a "Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes." Tams Bixby, who had served as chairman of the Dawes Commission since Senator Dawes' death, filled this position until June 30, 1907.²⁷

Chief Rogers in his *Second Annual Message, 1904*, to the National Council stated:²⁸

²⁴ *The Madill News*, December 23, 1904.

²⁵ *The Indian Republican* (Tulsa), January 6, 1905.

²⁶ *Welch Watchman*, December 15, 1904.

²⁷ *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1905, p. 107.

²⁸ *Second Annual Message of Hon. William C. Rogers, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation*, 1904 in Cherokee Chiefs Manuscripts and Papers, Frank Phillips Collection, the University of Oklahoma Library, Norman,

... Under the operation and enforcement of the act of July 1, 1902, the Cherokee Nation has been gradually broken up and the end is almost in sight, while this statement cannot be made by any Cherokee without a feeling of sadness, nevertheless we are resolved to accept the conditions as they exist confident of our ability to meet the future and to do our full duty whether as citizens of a government of our own or one in which we will participate as citizens of one of the United States.

On June 16, 1906, the President approved the Enabling Act which had been passed by Congress permitting the Oklahoma and Indian Territories to form a constitution and be admitted as one state.²⁹ From November 20, 1906 to April 22, 1907, the Constitutional Convention was in session drafting a constitution for the proposed state of Oklahoma. An election was held September 17, 1907 in which the constitution was ratified and state and county officers were elected. On November 16, 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt signed a proclamation declaring Oklahoma to be a state of the Union, and the Indian Nations passed into history.

Throughout this perplexing period, Chief William C. Rogers maintained his office with dignity and rendered faithful and valuable service to his people. Although the Cherokee Nation was officially dissolved by the legal steps noted above, Rogers was retained as Chief of the Cherokees in a semi-official capacity until 1917. The reason for this was that there were various legal matters to be discussed for several years following the admittance of Oklahoma to statehood and documents concerned with Cherokee affairs to be signed.

²⁹ *United States Statutes-at-Large*, XXXIV; Act of June 16, 1906, p. 267.

FIRST POST OFFICES WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF OKLAHOMA

By George H. Shirk

With the publication in 1848¹ of the list of the post offices of Indian Territory, it seemed since then only natural that eventually the work should be completed by the compilation of a like list for Oklahoma Territory. More interest has been evidenced through the years, particularly attention of a philatelic nature, to the postal service of the Indian Territory; and there has been a corresponding neglect and lack of attention to the post offices of the western half of the state.

The first post office was established in Indian Territory on 5 September 1824, whereas it required the elapse thereafter of some 45 years for the first post office, Fort Sill, to be established within the area later organized as Oklahoma Territory. Remarkably enough however, as far as total post office activity is concerned, this delay did not work as a detriment to Oklahoma Territory, for prior to statehood the total number of different offices established in Oklahoma Territory was slightly in excess of the total for Indian Territory.

Presented here is a list of post offices of Oklahoma Territory down to the day of Statehood, as such offices appeared in the records of the Postmaster General. This list compiled from official records now in the National Archives, necessarily reflects how they appeared on paper and not how they may have existed in fact on the ground here in Oklahoma Territory.

Prior to 1890, the year Oklahoma Territory was organized, the Postmaster General was of course unable to carry any separate classification for the offices of the western half of the state. Offices established prior to that date were indexed in his records under one of the "Nations" of Indian Territory, or under a catch-all listing known as "Nation Unknown." In Western Oklahoma the problem of location was apparently very difficult for Washington officials, since the cartographers in the Post Office Department seemed unable to keep up with the various land changes that occurred from time to time in that half of Oklahoma.

After each of the various land openings the Postmaster General opened an index for each of the lettered counties as well as for the western Oklahoma Indian Reservations. Thereafter from time to time as the counties were given names or additional subdivisions

¹ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 179-244.

carved out of the reservations, these headings would be lined out and the new names written in.

No problem existed in the instances of Beaver and Greer Counties, for these two areas remained the same from their beginning down to the time of Statehood. Likewise, D County gave little trouble for the same land area became Dewey County; and in the same manner G County became Custer County. On the other hand, Caddo county of Oklahoma Territory was of a different area than old I County; and also the two territorial counties of Kiowa and Comanche were of quite different areas than known today.

For convenience all post offices within the area known as Oklahoma Territory on the date of Statehood have been grouped into one alphabetical list. The location by county of each office is indicated, utilizing the county designations and county boundaries as they existed in area on the date Oklahoma Territory became a state. Readers are cautioned that present counties are often of different areas than were the territorial counties of the same name, so the location given would not mean of necessity that the office was located within the area of the present county of that same name.

The date indicated for the official establishment of a post office does not necessarily correspond with the date it actually commenced operation. A post office was established formally by an order of the Postmaster General appointing a postmaster; and a considerable time lag should be expected between such date and the date the postmaster executed his oath, completed his paper work, received his commission, and actually set up for operation.

In some instances the office never went into operation, and such fact is noted when it can be established from departmental records. Even though the office was never in operation the formal order rescinding the appointment may follow by many months the initial appointment.

With the death, resignation or inability of a postmaster to serve further often a period of time would intervene before a new postmaster could be designated. In such instances the office was sometimes formally "discontinued" and then "re-established" at the time the new postmaster was commissioned. Such intervals when the post office was officially decommissioned and not in operation have been noted.

It is, of course, true that there were many times when the operation of an office was suspended due to local conditions without the knowledge of the department; and it must be assumed that in many instances offices herein listed in operation on any certain date were not at that moment in actual operation.

Many of the offices moved from location to location along with the personal migrations of the postmaster. In certain instances where the change of site caused the office to be located in another county, such change has been noted. Otherwise site changes have been in general disregarded, and in each instance the county given is that of the county which was *finally* determined as the county of location.

By Departmental Order 114, 9 April 1894, the Postmaster General adopted a policy disfavoring postoffice names of more than one word, and postmasters were circularized that change of name to a single word was desired. This explains the changes in the name of El Reno, for example. Formal orders were sometimes made making these modifications and they are shown whenever possible.

Being a list of Oklahoma Territory post offices, this list of necessity closes with 16 November 1907. Changes subsequent to that date as are shown are included only as a matter of special interest or because the information was immediately available. Hence, this list includes many post offices that have long since been discontinued and which could not be found on any present day list of Oklahoma post offices. In other words, as to the Oklahoma Territory portion of the present state of Oklahoma, this list includes every post office and change in status *up to* the date of Statehood.

Readers are again cautioned that the names of counties used in the location column are those names of the counties of Oklahoma Territory as they existed immediately prior to Statehood, and such should not be confused with the counties, even though of the same name, of the present state of Oklahoma.

THE POSTOFFICES OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

POSTOFFICE	LOCATION	DATE ESTABLISHED	FIRST POSTMASTER
Aaron.....	Greer.....	22 January 1889.....	William W. Lee
Did not operate during the period 31 May 1901 to 21 September 1901. Discontinued by order dated 27 December 1904, effective 14 January 1905, mail to Olustee.			
Abbie.....	Woodward.....	25 February 1903.....	George W. Adams
Discontinued effective 15 June 1921, mail to Aetna.			
Abe.....	Beaver.....	21 July 1904.....	Viola J. Robertson
Discontinued by order dated 16 October 1907, effective 15 November 1907, mail to Balko.			
Acton.....	Logan.....	2 November 1895.....	Mary Acton
Discontinued by order dated 10 December 1903, effective 14 December 1903, mail to Guthrie.			
Adams.....	Beaver ²	8 April 1880.....	Daniel L. Taylor
Discontinued effective 19 January 1881.			
Adell.....	Pottawatomie.....	3 March 1892.....	Adell Bowles
Appointee declined, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment of Joseph S. McAlister postmaster on 13 May 1892. Discontinued by order dated 31 July 1905, effective 31 August 1905, mail to Avoca.			
Agra.....	Lincoln.....	20 December 1902.....	Isaac C. Pierce
Ahpeatone.....	Comanche.....	22 July 1907.....	Alma E. Geissler
Alamo.....	Woods.....	13 March 1894.....	Lewis D. Fisher
Discontinued effective 2 April 1897, mail to Leslie.			
Alden.....	Caddo.....	5 December 1901.....	Jennie Carpenter
Aledo.....	Dewey.....	5 May 1899.....	Monroe Addington
Alert.....	Kay.....	7 June 1894.....	Swan Olson
Discontinued by order dated 13 June 1901, effective 29 June 1901, mail to Guiley.			
Alexandra.....	Woodward.....	10 May 1902.....	Lyda Howard
Discontinued effective 31 May 1909, mail to Chaney.			
Alfalfa.....	Greer.....	9 May 1903.....	Modenia Cowan
Discontinued by order dated 7 February 1905, effective 28 February 1905, mail to Altus.			
Alfred.....	Logan.....	18 May 1889.....	Ancil B. Woods
Name changed to Mulhall 6 June 1890.			
Alger.....	Woods.....	18 June 1898.....	Wm. H. Millspaugh
Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1901, effective 30 March 1901, mail to Cherokee.			
Algiers.....	Osage.....	10 January 1905.....	Benjamin M. Evans
Aline.....	Woods.....	27 April 1894.....	Jennie B. Hartshorne
Allman.....	Day.....	15 May 1902.....	Wm. J. Thompson
The order appointing Thompson was rescinded 28 July 1902, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment of George White by order dated 29 August 1902. Discontinued by order dated 9 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906, mail to Arnett.			
Almeda.....	Woods.....	4 February 1895.....	Sylvia A. Austin
Name changed to Bernardi 20 January 1903.			

² This location must be considered tentative only. Adams was located somewhere on Route No. 32032. This route was established by contract 1 October 1879, and ran from Camp Supply via Dry Cimarron Tower, New Mexico, to Otero, New Mexico.

- Alocan.....Kiowa.....25 March 1902.....Ernest T. Rehfield
Discontinued by order dated 7 July 1903, effective 14 July 1903, mail to Cooperton.
- Alpha.....Kingfisher.....7 November 1893.....Christian J. Barrackman
Discontinued by order dated 27 November 1903, effective 14 December 1903, mail to Kingfisher.
- Alsford.....Greer.....2 May 1891.....Hubert W. White
Discontinued effective 26 October 1891, mail to Lock.
- Alto.....Woodward.....25 February 1903.....Elijah F. Riser
Discontinued effective 31 January 1909, mail to Charleston.
- Altona.....Kingfisher.....5 October 1892.....James T. Oswalt
Discontinued by order dated 21 December 1905, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Omega.
- Altus.....Greer.....27 October 1890.....Wiley Bancum
From 10 July 1901 to 14 May 1904 this office was named Leger.
- Alva.....Woods.....25 August 1893.....Samuel L. Johnson
- Alvaretta.....Woods.....22 March 1894.....Matthew L. Wrigley
Discontinued by order dated 29 September 1904, effective 15 October 1904, mail to Goltry.
- Ames.....Woods.....4 January 1902.....Alexander Williamson
Formerly Hoyle.
- Amorita.....Woods.....8 January 1902.....Wm. T. Drake
- Anadarko.....Caddo.....22 April 1873.....Jonathan Richards
- Anderson.....Pottawatomie.....27 April 1892.....Thomas Anderson
Discontinued by order dated 29 December 1904, effective 31 January 1905, mail to Romulus.
- Anga.....Greer.....7 June 1905.....Edna P. E. Greer
Discontinued by order dated 10 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail to Reed.
- Angora.....Day.....10 February 1902.....Effie E. Wagner
Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Leedey.
- Anita.....Day.....9 May 1905.....Jesse E. Neher
Discontinued by order dated 9 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906, mail to Arnett.
- Anna.....Logan.....24 January 1900.....John V. Johnson
Name changed to Pleasant Valley 29 February 1904.
- Antelope.....Logan.....13 March 1891.....Thomas L. Campbell
Discontinued effective 2 December 1891, mail to Burwick.
- Antelope.....Day.....20 November 1893.....Wm. H. Nolen
From 3 December 1895 to 15 June 1899 this office operated at a different site and was known as Grangerville, Tex. Discontinued by order dated 2 March 1908, effective 31 March 1908, mail to Durham.
- Anthon.....Custer.....15 May 1903.....Albert D. Valentine
- Antrim.....Noble.....3 May 1898.....James H. Lippencott
Discontinued by order dated 29 September 1904, effective 15 October 1904, mail to Lucien.
- Anvil.....Lincoln.....9 April 1892.....Oliver Crews
Discontinued by order dated 4 March 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Payson.
- Apache.....Kay.....26 March 1894.....Eugenia M. Wimberly
Discontinued effective 19 June 1895, mail to Tonkawa.
- Apache.....Caddo.....3 September 1901.....Charles D. Campbell
- Appalachia.....Pawnee.....18 January 1905.....Andrew J. VanPelt
Discontinued by order dated 2 December 1905, effective 1 January 1906, mail to Keystone.

COLORADO

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OKLAHOMA TERRITORY.

Compiled from the Official Records of the General Land Office and
from data on file in the Executive Office of the Territory,
to accompany the Annual Report of the

GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY,

1907.

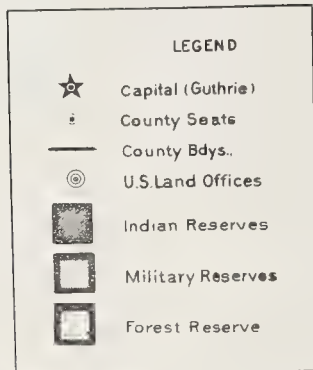
Compiled

under the direction of

J. P. BERTHOUNG,

Chief of Drafting Division G. L. O.

Scale of Miles



Map showing organized counties, 1901 to 1907, in Oklahoma Territory comprising present state.

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Appleton.....	Beaver.....	9 July 1906.....	Miles E. Dorman
Discontinued by order dated 4 September 1907, effective 30 September 1907, mail to Healy.			
Aquilla.....	Dewey.....	13 September 1901.....	Henry B. McCulloch
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1902, effective 15 March 1902, mail to Cestos.			
Arapaho.....	Custer.....	23 March 1892.....	John B. Nichols
Arbor.....	Greer.....	23 December 1902.....	John P. Montgomery
Discontinued by order dated 9 March 1906, effective 2 April 1906, mail to Jester.			
Arcadia.....	Oklahoma.....	5 August 1890.....	Mrs. Sarah J. Newkirk
Did not operate from 28 December 1895 to 19 February 1896.			
Arco.....	Woods.....	27 June 1901.....	M. L. Levy
Discontinued by order dated 3 July 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Waynoka.			
Arlington.....	Lincoln.....	23 June 1892.....	Thomas L. Wilson
Discontinued by order dated 29 June 1906, effective 31 July 1906, mail to Prague.			
Arnett.....	Day.....	20 June 1902.....	William G. Brown
Arnold.....	Noble.....	27 November 1893.....	John D. Arnold
Name changed to Whiterock 14 December 1894.			
Arrilla.....	Beaver.....	8 July 1907.....	Julia A. Silsbee
Discontinued by order dated 18 February 1908, effective 15 March 1908, mail to Grand Valley.			
Asher.....	Pottawatomie.....	26 November 1901.....	George A. McCrery
Formerly Avoca.			
Ashley.....	Woods.....	24 September 1897.....	Edward F. Giblin
Formerly Short Springs. Discontinued by order dated 8 April 1908, effective 40 April 1908, mail to Alva.			
Athens.....	Greer.....	17 May 1905.....	Edman G. Wooldridge
Discontinued by order dated 10 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail to Reed.			
Auburn.....	Woods.....	7 August 1894.....	Henry A. Sawyer
Discontinued by order dated 10 August 1903, effective 31 August 1903, mail to Lambert.			
Augusta.....	Woods.....	13 July 1895.....	James F. Noel
Formerly Eagle Chief. Discontinued effective 15 December 1912, mail to Carmen.			
Aurora.....	Canadian.....	3 March 1893.....	Michael T. Hennessey
Discontinued at once; never in operation.			
Aurora.....	Pottawatomie.....	23 June 1898.....	Samuel Stokes
Discontinued by order dated 13 July 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Trousdale.			
Autry.....	Noble.....	14 October 1893.....	Robert Buchanon
Name changed to Morrison 27 February 1894.			
Autwine.....	Kay.....	5 March 1903.....	Wm. H. Osborn
Formerly Pierceton.			
Auxier.....	Washita.....	16 October 1896.....	Samuel W. Auxier
Discontinued by order dated 14 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Weatherford.			
Avant.....	Osage.....	28 August 1906.....	Wm. I. Harrington
Avard.....	Woods.....	1 June 1895.....	Frank A. Todd
Avery.....	Lincoln.....	16 September 1902.....	Francis M. Rice
Avis.....	Woodward.....	3 May 1898.....	Benj. F. Main, Jr.
Discontinued by order dated 17 October 1899, effective 31 October 1899, mail to Laverne.			

- Avoca.....Pottawatomie..... 4 August 1894.....Mrs. Sallie T. Bess
Name changed to Asher 26 November 1901.
- Avoca.....Pottawatomie.....10 February 1902.....James K. Polk
Discontinued effective 31 October 1906, mail to Asher.
- Avondale.....Lincoln.....13 October 1902.....Joseph C. Pringey
Name changed to Kendrick 21 January 1903.
- Bado.....Woods.....19 February 1901.....Wm. A. Tyler
Discontinued effective 14 September 1905, mail to Orion.
- Bain.....Kay.....16 May 1899.....Richard F. Burnett
Discontinued effective 30 April 1902, mail to Longwood.
- Baird.....Comanche..... 5 December 1901.....John W. Scoggins
- Baker.....Lincoln.....10 May 1892.....Jesse O. Wood
Discontinued effective 30 April 1904, mail to Stroud.
- Bakke.....Beaver.....16 November 1907.....E. E. Smith
Name changed to Esbon 29 March 1909.
- Ball.....Canadian.....17 April 1891.....William H. Ball
Discontinued effective 14 December 1903, mail to Cashion.
- Ballaire.....Woodward.....27 June 1903.....John Kerns
Name changed to Daby Springs 13 January 1908.
- Ballard.....Noble.....20 February 1900.....Earnest Ballard
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 24 May 1900 and the office was never in operation.
- Balko.....Beaver.....14 March 1904.....Charles W. Griffin
- Balmat.....Day.....15 February 1903.....George H. Herzog
Discontinued effective 30 September 1905, mail to Delena.
- Banks.....Roger Mills.....24 January 1894.....W. P. Francis
Discontinued at once; never in operation.
- Barden.....Beaver.....25 June 1906.....Homer A. Langley
Discontinued effective 30 September 1912, mail to Guymon.
- Barkis.....Greer..... 7 June 1904.....Carrie A. Copeland
Discontinued effective 29 February 1908, mail to Jester.
- Barnes.....Woods..... 9 December 1897.....George F. Moyer
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Chester.
- Barney.....Woods.....12 June 1902.....James H. Brewer
- Barr.....Garfield..... 1 September 1899.....Fred Barr
Discontinued effective 15 November 1906, mail to Bison.
- Barta.....Lincoln..... 7 November 1901.....Lewis C. Alexander
Discontinued effective 30 August 1903, mail to Lambdin.
- Basin.....Pawnee..... 5 May 1899.....Josephus Mitchell
Discontinued effective 30 June 1906, mail to Mannford, Ind. T.
- Basque.....Canadian.....10 February 1902.....John S. Carey
- Batchelder.....Kay..... 4 February 1895.....James L. Beáton
Discontinued effective 31 October 1903, mail to Ponca.
- Bealer.....Comanche..... 1 February 1902.....Joel B. Patterson
Discontinued effective 30 September 1905, mail to Temple.
- Beardie.....Garfield.....20 November 1896.....John W. Beardie
Discontinued effective 25 April 1898, mail to Luella.
- Beatrice.....Beaver.....12 August 1904.....Loula B. Potter
Discontinued effective 15 March 1908, mail to Liberal, Kans.
- Beaver.....Beaver..... 5 April 1883.....Peter T. Reep
- Bedford.....Pawnee.....28 June 1894.....John B. Bedford
Discontinued effective 15 October 1904, mail to Valley.

Bedson.....	Woods.....	21 November 1903.....	Charles E. Schroff
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 28 April 1904, and the office was never in operation.			
Beement.....	Dewey.....	18 June 1898.....	Sallie M. Ballard
Discontinued effective 31 October 1911, mail to Mutual.			
Belford.....	Osage.....	3 September 1907.....	Irene Belford
Discontinued effective 31 March 1915, mail to Ralston.			
Belle.....	Custer.....	4 March 1902.....	Ida Woods
Discontinued effective 2 January 1907, mail to Colonel.			
Bellemont.....	Pottawatomie.....	7 September 1892.....	William S. Baker
Discontinued effective 14 July 1905, mail to Prague.			
Belleville.....	Grant.....	26 June 1895.....	Chas. F. Greier
Discontinued effective 27 October 1898, mail to Wakita.			
Bellview.....	Custer.....	12 June 1900.....	Otto F. Blunck
Discontinued effective 30 July 1904, mail to Indianapolis.			
Belton.....	Lincoln.....	20 November 1893.....	Byron Fouts
Formerly Pollock.			
Belva.....	Woodward.....	16 August 1900.....	Benjamin Creech
On 21 March 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 4 April 1906, but the order was rescinded 30 March 1906, and the office continued in operation.			
Benola.....	Beaver.....	7 February 1906.....	Irene Brookhart
Formerly Keota. Discontinued effective 31 May 1908, mail to Mineral.			
Benton.....	Beaver.....	13 September 1886.....	Benjamin D. Fowler
Discontinued effective 14 October 1899, mail to Riverside.			
Benville.....	Canadian.....	10 April 1894.....	Benson G. Gilliland
Discontinued effective 29 December 1896, mail to Heaston.			
Berlin.....	Roger Mills.....	2 September 1896.....	John E. Pullen
Formerly Doxey.			
Bernardi.....	Woods.....	30 April 1896.....	Lunsford Boggardus
Discontinued effective 30 September 1901, mail to Almeda.			
Bernardi.....	Woods.....	20 January 1903.....	Daniel Starkey
Formerly Almeda. Discontinued effective 15 August 1910, mail to Cleo.			
Berry.....	Cleveland.....	22 June 1892.....	Mrs. Margaret A. Hoyle
Name changed to Morgan 24 April 1901.			
Bertrand.....	Woods.....	15 August 1894.....	Albert C. Briggie
Discontinued effective 30 November 1895, mail to Concord.			
Bertrand.....	Beaver.....	17 March 1906.....	Lena K. Durrett
Beryl.....	Woodward.....	27 June 1903.....	Maud L. McClure
The order establishing this office was rescinded 12 November 1903, and the postoffice was never in operation.			
Bessie.....	Washita.....	22 May 1903.....	Benjamin W. Stout
Formerly Stout.			
Bethany.....	Woods.....	6 August 1903.....	Samuel T. Owing
Discontinued effective 15 November 1906, mail to May.			
Bethel.....	Grant.....	12 March 1895.....	Monroe A. Cover
Discontinued effective 2 November 1895, mail to Medford.			
Betkins.....	Greer.....	16 May 1899.....	Bettie Price
Bettina.....	Greer.....	23 May 1905.....	J. C. Gray
Discontinued effective 31 March 1910, mail to Willow.			
Beulah.....	Logan.....	5 October 1892.....	Ira B. Allen
Discontinued effective 14 October 1895, mail to Tohee.			
Beulah.....	Woods.....	1 February 1901.....	Wm. H. Snow
Discontinued effective 31 January 1901, mail to Avar.			

- Bickford.....Blaine..... 2 November 1904..Clifton A. Howell
 Bigheart.....Osage.....13 January 1906.....Wm. R. Buckles
 Name changed to Barnsdall 22 November 1921.
- Billings.....Noble.....15 November 1899..Chalmer R. Higdon
 Binger.....Caddo..... 5 December 1901..Lemuel G. Thomas
 Bismark.....Logan.....23 November 1892..John R. Nida
 Bison.....Garfield.....31 August 1901.....Jesse O. Scritchfield
 Blackburn.....Pawnee.....15 December 1893..Carl A. Bradley
 Blackwell.....Kay..... 1 December 1893..Willard A. Bowen
 From 2 April 1894 to 4 February 1895 this office operated under the name
 Parker.
- Blair.....Greer.....26 August 1901.....Benj. B. Zinn
 Formerly Dot.
- Blake.....Day.....29 March 1895.....Mary A. Carson
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 13 July 1895, and the
 office was never in operation.
- Blake.....Greer.....13 February 1901.....William D. Lee
 Bliss.....Noble..... 4 November 1898..Robert S. Wray
 Name changed to Marland 8 April 1922.
- Bloomfield.....Dewey.....20 July 1899.....John J. Henderson
 Discontinued effective 31 December 1912, mail to Camargo.
- Bloomer.....Garfield..... 6 November 1893..James F. Bloomer
 Discontinued by order dated 11 October 1901, effective 31 October 1901,
 mail to Garber.
- Bloomington.....Greer..... 1 June 1892.....William B. Train
 Due to the death of Train, the office did not commence operation until the
 appointment of Elijah J. Roberts as postmaster on 19 July 1892. Discon-
 tinued effective 15 April 1909, mail to Jester.
- Bluegrass.....Beaver.....13 September 1886..William B. Stanley
 Discontinued effective 27 October 1898, mail to Custer.
- Boggy.....Washita.....16 May 1895.....Americus N. Callen
 Name changed to Stout 14 June 1899.
- Boise.....Caddo..... 3 February 1902.....John Westrich
 Name changed to Alfalfa 16 December 1908.
- Bond.....Blaine..... 3 August 1894.....Edwin H. Templeton
 Discontinued by order dated 4 May 1906, effective 31 July 1906, mail to
 Canton.
- Boone.....Woods.....13 April 1895.....Charles T. Boone
 Discontinued by order dated 30 April 1906, effective 14 May 1906, mail to
 Mendon.
- Bonnie.....Greer..... 3 May 1901.....Robert W. Hunter
 Discontinued by order dated 8 May 1902, effective 31 May 1902, mail to
 Yeldell.
- Border.....Greer.....27 May 1902.....George W. Bain
 The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 10 September 1902, and
 the office was never in operation.
- Bostick.....Woods.....12 March 1901.....Marion P. S. Miller
 Discontinued by order dated 11 September 1906, effective 29 September 1906,
 mail to Estelle.
- Botsford.....Comanche.....11 January 1902.....Richard Rudesill
 Name changed to Temple 8 August 1902.
- Bowdenton.....Noble.....21 July 1894.....Rolandus A. Bowden
 Discontinued effective 4 August 1897, mail to Ceres.
- Bowman.....Logan.....25 June 1890.....John Bowman
 Discontinued by order dated 30 August 1900, effective 15 September 1900,
 mail to Standard.

Box.....	Cleveland.....	7 May 1898.....	George Box
	Discontinued effective 2 January 1907, mail to Lexington.		
Boyd.....	Beaver.....	24 December 1887.....	Lemvick W. Moore
Boyer.....	Pottawatomie.....	8 November 1897.....	Addie Boyer
	Discontinued by order dated 2 August 1904, effective 31 August 1904, mail to Wanette.		
Bramen.....	Kay.....	11 April 1898.....	Jerry Crowley
Brantley.....	Day.....	25 May 1901.....	Wm. A. Burran
	Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Leedey.		
Breckenridge.....	Garfield.....	15 June 1901.....	Richard A. Kent
	Name changed to Breckinridge 14 August 1901.		
Breckinridge.....	Garfield.....	14 August 1901.....	Richard A. Kent
	Formerly Breckenridge.		
Bressie.....	Noble.....	9 September 1904.....	Emma Bressie
	Discontinued effective 20 October 1915, mail to Bliss.		
Brewster.....	Caddo.....	8 February 1904.....	James C. Hedrick
	Discontinued by order dated 27 September 1904, effective 15 October 1904, mail to Hillsboro.		
Bridgeport.....	Caddo.....	20 February 1895.....	Stacy B. Garham
Bridgewater.....	Day.....	4 June 1901.....	Sarah L. Pitzer
	Discontinued effective 30 June 1911, mail to Higley.		
Bright.....	Comanche.....	22 May 1902.....	Wm. H. Sapp
	Discontinued effective 15 December 1907, mail to Sterling.		
Britton.....	Oklahoma.....	26 November 1889.....	David C. Dailey
Broph.....	Woodward.....	4 March 1902.....	Rachel Griffey
	Discontinued effective 31 January 1903, mail to Curtis.		
Brown.....	Pottawatomie.....	1 November 1892.....	George O. Brown
	Discontinued effective 14 February 1906, mail to Tecumseh.		
Broxton.....	Caddo.....	26 February 1903.....	Henry D. Dougherty
	Discontinued effective 15 June 1906, mail to Apache.		
Brule.....	Woodward.....	15 June 1899.....	Oscar G. Harper
	Name changed to Buffalo 6 June 1907.		
Bryan.....	Pawnee.....	13 March 1894.....	Alice Morris
	Discontinued effective 31 May 1905, mail to Maramec.		
Buckhead.....	Cleveland.....	3 March 1893.....	Mary E. McKinney
	Discontinued effective 30 November 1906, mail to Lexington.		
Buckles.....	Garfield.....	14 September 1898.....	Wm. H. Tripp
	Discontinued effective 28 February 1901, mail to Hunter.		
Buffalo.....	Beaver.....	15 March 1888.....	Andrew Henderson
	Discontinued effective 30 August 1902, mail to Optima.		
Buffalo.....	Woodward.....	6 June 1907.....	Elmer B. Best
	Formerly Brule.		
Burdg.....	Caddo.....	21 March 1905.....	Willis M. Burdg
	Discontinued effective 15 May 1907, mail to Minco.		
Burford.....	Kiowa.....	26 September 1901.....	Wm. B. Poole
	Name changed to Mountain Park 28 February 1902.		
Burford.....	Woodward.....	10 December 1903.....	Oscar Mitts
	Discontinued effective 30 September 1909, mail to Supply.		
Burgor.....	Woodward.....	31 January 1903.....	Sylvanus W. Tanner
	Name changed to Tannar 25 October 1904.		
Burlington.....	Logan.....	23 January 1890.....	Michael D. McNett
	Name changed to Waterloo 9 April 1892.		
Burlington.....	Woods.....	6 January 1900.....	Francis M. Fisk
	Discontinued effective 15 November 1902, mail to Driftwood.		

Burlington.....	Woods.....	21 August 1907.....	Myrtle Heasler Formerly Drumm.
Burmah.....	Dewey.....	11 October 1899.....	Robert L. McCorkle Discontinued effective 31 May 1908, mail to Putnam.
Burnett.....	Pottawatomie.....	8 June 1888.....	John T. Peyton Did not operate during the period 1 May 1890 to 23 June 1890. Discon- tinued effective 2 January 1907, mail to McComb.
Burns.....	Washita.....	21 April 1894.....	Sarah J. Burns Discontinued effective 15 October 1904, mail to Hefner.
Burton.....	Noble.....	6 February 1894.....	Elmer B. Phelps Discontinued effective 15 May 1900, mail to Billings.
Burwick.....	Logan.....	31 January 1891.....	Mary E. Canning Discontinued effective 15 December 1900, mail to Guthrie.
Busch.....	Roger Mills.....	18 March 1901.....	Perry C. Hughes Formerly Crowe, Beaver County. Name changed to Elk City 20 July 1907.
Butler.....	Custer.....	2 June 1898.....	James E. Hatcher
Butte.....	Dewey.....	30 November 1894.....	Eliza A. Gibson Discontinued effective 31 January 1906, mail to Fay.
Byrd.....	Beaver.....	17 March 1904.....	James H. Dickson Discontinued effective 31 December 1907, mail to Healy.
Byron.....	Woods.....	27 April 1894.....	V. C. Spurrier
Cable.....	Beaver.....	17 May 1907.....	Joseph Paul Discontinued effective 30 June 1910, mail to Ona.
Cache.....	Comanche.....	11 January 1902.....	Edward L. James
Cade.....	Roger Mills.....	6 July 1899.....	Hugh F. Wynne Discontinued effective 30 April 1902, mail to Carpenter.
Cainville.....	Blaine.....	1 August 1900.....	William Cain Name changed to Longdale 28 November 1903.
Calumet.....	Canadian.....	12 April 1893.....	Anna M. Cowdrey
Camargo.....	Dewey.....	16 September 1892.....	Miss Rosa Meek
Cambridge.....	Kiowa.....	9 May 1903.....	August A. Schmidt Discontinued effective 29 February 1904, mail to Lone Wolf.
Cameo.....	Canadian.....	2 November 1895.....	Frederick E. Cowden Discontinued effective 30 June 1903, mail to El Reno.
Camp.....	Beaver.....	26 October 1906.....	Gabriel H. Townsend
Camp McCullah.....	Oklahoma ³	20 February 1880.....	William A. Libbee Discontinued effective 3 August 1880.
Camp Morris.....	Custer ⁴	20 February 1880.....	James M. Raglan Discontinued effective 3 August 1880.
Camp Supply.....	Woodward.....	17 March 1873.....	A. E. Reynolds Name changed to Fort Supply 26 June 1889.
Canadian.....	Canadian.....	7 March 1891.....	Joseph M. Northrup Discontinued effective 22 October 1895, mail to Yukon.
Canterberry.....	Washita.....	28 September 1898.....	Sarah R. Gordon Discontinued effective 15 July 1902, mail to Mountain View.
Canton.....	Garfield.....	30 November 1897.....	Delbert Karns Discontinued effective 31 March 1900, mail to Cropper.

³ "The men built two camps between the Sac and Fox Agency and the Arapaho Agency. One, a log cabin on the north side of the North Canadian, was called Camp McCollough (*sic*). This was near Oklahoma City. The other, some fifty or sixty miles west, was called Camp Morris."—Interview with Greene Yeargen, express rider 1878-80, in Grant Foreman, *Indian and Pioneer History*, Vol. 52, p. 43.

⁴ This location must be considered tentative only. See fn. 3.

Canton	Blaine	19 May 1905	James M. Rogers
Cantonment	Blaine	17 July 1879	William Hershey
Discontinued effective 15 September 1917, mail to Canton.			
Canute	Washita	24 February 1899	Eli B. Keen
Canyon	Caddo	6 February 1902	Wm. N. Jackson
Did not operate during the period 15 September 1903 to 24 October 1903.			
Discontinued effective 30 September 1905, mail to Hinton.			
Capitol Hill	Oklahoma	5 September 1905	Samuel G. Wood
Discontinued 31 October 1911, to become a station at Oklahoma.			
Caple	Beaver	13 April 1891	William G. Caple
Capron	Woods	20 February 1899	George W. Espey
Formerly Virgel.			
Carl	Greer	29 December 1902	Walter H. Armstrong
Discontinued effective 31 December 1913, mail to Vinson.			
Carlton	Blaine	1 December 1902	James M. Haigler
Formerly Hopkins.			
Carmel	Greer	5 February 1898	Martha M. White
Discontinued effective 15 June 1910, mail to Olustee.			
Carmen	Woods	11 September 1901	Wm. B. Parker
Carnegie	Caddo	28 December 1901	Sarah J. Butler
Carney	Lincoln	9 April 1892	Addie E. Staples
The appointee was not commissioned, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 24 August 1892 of William C. Wilcox as postmaster. Did not operate during the period 20 March 1895 to 24 April 1895.			
Carpenter	Custer	19 March 1901	John A. Hart
Carrier	Garfield	22 May 1897	Solomon S. Carrier
Carrizo	Beaver	9 September 1886	George W. Hubbard
Name changed to Florence 9 April 1890.			
Carroll	Woodward	10 July 1906	Clara J. Harding
Formerly Tannar.			
Carson	Pottawatomie	11 June 1892	Joseph H. Dunagan
Discontinued 28 September 1892; this office was never in operation.			
Carter	Roger Mills	5 March 1900	Jabus P. Nowlin
Did not operate during the period 6 December 1902 to 14 January 1904.			
Carthage	Kay	29 March 1894	Caroline E. Hitt
Discontinued effective 20 May 1895, mail to Pierceton.			
Carthage	Beaver	19 June 1906	Henry E. Seward
Discontinued effective 31 August 1914, mail to Elkhart, Kansas.			
Carwile	Woods	30 June 1894	Harrison L. Marts
Discontinued effective 15 April 1905, mail to Ringwood.			
Case	Cleveland	1 December 1890	Charles P. Case
Discontinued effective 31 July 1906, mail to Moore.			
Casey	Pawnee	23 November 1903	A. G. Marshman
Cashion	Kingfisher	14 May 1900	David F. Smith
Formerly Downs.			
Catawba	Blaine	26 October 1893	James W. Terrell
Discontinued effective 31 August 1902, mail to Rockford ⁵ .			
Catesby	Woodward	18 February 1902	Ella M. Rose
Cato	Kingfisher	22 June 1892	William B. Lloyd
Discontinued effective 15 June 1905, mail to Hennessey.			
Cavett	Oklahoma	24 May 1892	Isaac Norris
Discontinued effective 27 October 1898, mail to Sweeney.			

⁵ So in the original. Rockford had been discontinued the previous March.

- Cavnar.....Comanche..... 1 August 1904.....Beatrice Cavnar
Discontinued effective 14 November 1905, mail to Fletcher.
- Cecil.....Woodward.....20 November 1903.....Willie S. Queen
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 9 May 1904, and the office was never in operation.
- Cedar.....Logan.....25 June 1892.....Jehill R. Craig
Discontinued effective 15 September 1900, mail to Guthrie.
- Cedarvale.....Woodward.....17 April 1903.....Edmund J. Webber
- Ceegee.....Comanche..... 1 April 1902.....Harvey F. Shirk
Name changed to Elgin 12 July 1902.
- Cement.....Caddo..... 2 June 1902.....Aloise Hopkins
- Center.....Oklahoma.....24 March 1890.....W. D. H. Shockley
Name changed to Whisler 9 June 1890.
- Centralia.....Blaine.....24 December 1898.....Mary O. Whitecomb
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 1 April 1899, and the office was never in operation.
- Cereal.....Canadian..... 5 April 1900.....Charles O. Hardy
Name changed to Banner 4 November 1911.
- Ceres.....Noble..... 6 February 1897.....Everett E. Van Slyke
Formerly McKinney. Discontinued effective 31 May 1915, mail to Redrock.
- Cestos.....Dewey.....18 November 1898.....George F. White
- Ceylon.....Lincoln..... 6 January 1900.....Wm. F. Cannon
Discontinued effective 31 May 1900, mail to Stroud.
- Chaddick.....Oklahoma.....16 April 1890.....Alonzo P. Bacon
Name changed to Dickson 17 July 1896.
- Chadwick.....Kiowa.....25 March 1902.....Leander N. Johnson
Discontinued by order dated 15 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail to Siboney.
- Chandler.....Lincoln.....21 September 1891.....William L. Harvey
- Chaney.....Woodward.....29 January 1902.....Wm. S. Hall
- Charleston.....Woodward.....18 May 1901.....Charles J. Eilerts
Name changed to Selman 24 August 1923.
- Charley.....Comanche..... 3 May 1902.....Ida A. Carman
Discontinued by order dated 19 July 1907, effective 15 August 1907, mail to Rush Springs.
- Chattanooga.....Comanche.....31 January 1903.....Patrick Lanihan
- Chauncey.....Beaver..... 7 December 1906.....J. S. Hammond
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 22 April 1907, and the office was never in operation.
- Cherokee.....Woods..... 7 February 1894.....Henry C. Arndt
- Cherryvale.....Blaine.....24 December 1896.....Robert N. Hopkins
Name changed to Southard 6 September 1905.
- Chester.....Woods..... 8 April 1895.....Michael Tedrick
- Chetola.....Oklahoma.....20 July 1889.....Frank Fischer
- Cheyenne.....Roger Mills.....11 April 1892.....Lewis L. Bell
- Chilco.....Pawnee.....30 March 1894.....Anna A. Robinson
Discontinued by order dated 3 June 1905, effective 30 June 1905, mail to Maramec.
- Chilocco.....Kay..... 6 September 1899.....Helen S. Goodman
- Chilton.....Greer.....18 April 1890.....Joseph C. Penwright
Name changed to Dunbar 21 March 1892.
- Chiquita.....Noble.....11 November 1895.....Geo. A. Barnes
Discontinued effective 25 April 1898, mail to Pedee.
- Choctaw.....Oklahoma.....14 March 1896.....Frank Cook
Formerly Choctaw City.

Choctaw City.....	Oklahoma.....	21 February 1890.....	Sarah A. Muzzy
Name changed to Choctaw 14 March 1896.			
Chuckaho.....	Lincoln.....	5 December 1903.....	Cicero Niccum
Discontinued by order dated 3 April 1908, effective 30 April 1908, mail to Chandler.			
Cimarron.....	Payne.....	21 April 1894.....	Robert G. Degarman
Formerly Cimarron City. Discontinued by order dated 1 August 1901, effective 15 August 1901, mail to Goodnight.			
Cimarron.....	Beaver.....	22 July 1907.....	Napoleon B. Fowler
Name changed to Boise City 23 December 1908.			
Cimarron City.....	Payne.....	28 August 1889.....	Christian E. Bearhs
Name changed to Cimarron 21 April 1894.			
Claraville.....	Beaver.....	22 April 1905.....	Charlie F. Knickerbocker
Discontinued effective 31 October 1908, mail to Guymon.			
Clardyville.....	Pottawatomie.....	25 February 1875.....	Isabella A. Clardv
Formerly Isabella. Name changed to Oberlin 25 April 1876.			
Clare.....	Grant.....	12 November 1896.....	Alexander Kelly
Discontinued by order dated 7 June 1904, effective 30 June 1904, mail to Nardin.			
Clarion.....	Woods.....	26 May 1902.....	Ira M. Woods
Discontinued by order dated 3 February 1908, effective 15 February 1908, mail to Orienta.			
Clarkson.....	Payne.....	31 January 1890.....	Grant T. Johnson
Discontinued by order dated 21 February 1903, effective 28 February 1903, mail to Coyle.			
Claude.....	Custer.....	7 October 1895.....	Benjamin B. Tuner
Discontinued by order dated 23 January 1904, effective 30 January 1904, mail to Graves.			
Clay.....	Woods.....	2 February 1894.....	John F. McDaniel
Discontinued by order dated 21 March 1902, effective 15 April 1902, mail to Elkton.			
Clayton.....	Payne.....	21 February 1890.....	Samuel Dial
Discontinued by order dated 2 April 1900, effective 14 April 1900, mail to Ripley.			
Clear Lake.....	Beaver.....	11 February 1888.....	Warren Ellison
Formerly Lake.			
Clematis.....	Lincoln.....	18 June 1898.....	Wm. A. Hogan
Discontinued by order dated 10 December 1904, effective 14 January 1905, mail to Chandler.			
Cleo.....	Woods.....	7 December 1894.....	Charles E. Brown
Formerly Cleo Springs. Name changed back to Cleo Springs 3 May 1917.			
Cleo Springs.....	Woods.....	21 March 1894.....	Philip Lee
From 7 December 1894 to 3 May 1917 this office was known as Cleo.			
Clermont.....	Canadian.....	30 April 1892.....	George W. White
Formerly Rock Island. Name changed to Racine 24 June 1895.			
Cleveland.....	Pawnee.....	14 April 1894.....	Thos. J. Mann
Formerly Herbert.			
Clifford.....	Day.....	18 July 1904.....	Sarah L. Hensley
Discontinued effective 15 January 1912, mail to Crawford.			
Clifton.....	Lincoln.....	3 March 1892.....	William D. Scott
Name changed to Meeker 29 May 1903.			
Cline.....	Beaver.....	5 May 1894.....	Joseph A. Lee
Discontinued effective 31 March 1913, mail to Gate.			

Clinton.....	Custer.....	22 May 1903.....	Frank H. McCormick
Cloud Chief.....	Washita.....	29 March 1892.....	Charles F. Prouty
Cloverton.....	Kiowa.....	4 March 1902.....	Jacob A. Willets
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Mountain Park.			
Clyde.....	Grant.....	14 October 1897.....	Joseph Watson
Discontinued effective 15 November 1926, mail to Medford.			
Clymer.....	Woods.....	9 April 1895.....	Chas. H. Clymer
Discontinued by order dated 8 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail to Hopeton.			
Cobb.....	Caddo.....	20 September 1899.....	Hugh B. Brady
Name changed to Fort Cobb 31 October 1902.			
Cogar.....	Caddo.....	25 March 1902.....	Robert C. Hopkins
Coin.....	Beaver.....	3 August 1895.....	Martha J. Coshaw
Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Knowles.			
Cold Springs.....	Kiowa.....	25 November 1903.....	Henry A. Gray
Coldwater.....	Garfield.....	2 February 1894.....	Charles M. Pierce
Discontinued by order dated 25 April 1905, effective 15 May 1905, mail to Hillsdale.			
Coldwater.....	Garfield.....	8 July 1905.....	Charles L. Leicht
Formerly Hillsdale. Name changed back to Hillsdale 11 September 1906.			
Collins.....	Beaver.....	2 March 1888.....	Samuel Anderson
Discontinued effective 2 March 1889, mail to Boston, Col.			
Colonel.....	Custer.....	7 August 1902.....	Colonel D. Garvin
Discontinued by order dated 11 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Texmo.			
Colony.....	Washita.....	8 January 1896.....	Mary E. Seger
Colo.....	Cleveland.....	10 September 1900.....	Wm. E. Craig
Discontinued by order dated 22 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Norman.			
Colter.....	Custer.....	25 March 1902.....	Joseph I. Brothers
Discontinued by order dated 13 July 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Canute.			
Columbia.....	Kingfisher.....	21 February 1890.....	Edward C. Tritt
On 12 May 1904 an order was issued discontinuing this office effective 31 May 1904, but was rescinded 28 May 1904, and the office continued in operation. Discontinued effective 28 February 1913, mail to Crescent.			
Combs.....	Washita.....	5 October 1892.....	William H. Combs
Discontinued effective 30 July 1904, mail to Sentinel.			
Como.....	Beaver.....	4 June 1904.....	James W. Morris
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Elmwood.			
Compton.....	Noble.....	30 March 1894.....	Miller L. Compton
Discontinued effective 31 August 1903, mail to Billings.			
Conception.....	Oklahoma.....	7 September 1892.....	Charles B. Brown
Formerly Rosedale.			
Concord.....	Woods.....	10 April 1894.....	Benj. F. Lilly
This office was located in Garfield County until 27 November 1895. Discontinued effective 29 February 1904, mail to Ringwood.			
Conquest.....	Beaver.....	17 September 1904.....	Victoria H. Murray
On 29 March 1907 an order was issued discontinuing this office to be effective 30 April 1907, but the order was rescinded 8 April 1907, and the office continued in operation. Discontinued effective 21 April 1908, mail to Madison.			
Conroy.....	Beaver.....	3 February 1904.....	Daniel T. Quinlan
Name changed to Lakemp 26 July 1909.			

Cook.....	Pottawatomie.....	18 April 1894.....	Randolph Cook
	Discontinued effective 15 November 1904, mail to Maud.		
Cooley.....	Woodward.....	17 April 1902.....	Emma M. Blanford
Cooper.....	Blaine.....	9 August 1892.....	Richard C. Rhyne
	Discontinued effective 31 January 1906, mail to Hitchcock.		
Cooperton.....	Kiowa.....	1 February 1902.....	Arthur U. Casey
Copass.....	Beaver.....	22 April 1905.....	James H. Copass
	Discontinued effective 15 October 1906, mail to Lorena.		
Cora.....	Custer.....	30 June 1894.....	Felix D. Mathis
	Discontinued effective 15 May 1903, mail to Thomas.		
Cora.....	Woods.....	18 May 1905.....	Jacob Nauwerth
	Discontinued effective 28 February 1914, mail to Whitehorse.		
Coralea.....	Greer.....	16 January 1893.....	Anderson Fox
	Did not operate during the period 11 February 1897 to 1 March 1899. Discontinued effective 30 March 1907, mail to Russell.		
Corbett.....	Cleveland.....	19 February 1902.....	James P. Corbett
	Formerly Higbee. Discontinued effective 2 January 1907, mail to Lexington.		
Cordell.....	Washita.....	12 October 1892.....	Henry D. Young
Corner.....	Pottawatomie.....	4 March 1903.....	Francis S. Blair
	Discontinued effective 30 April 1906, mail to Konawa, Ind. T.		
Corum.....	Comanche.....	27 March 1902.....	Thomas J. Cook
	Discontinued effective 31 August 1904, mail to Comanche, Ind. T.		
Cosmos.....	Beaver.....	9 February 1906.....	Charles D. Stillman
	Discontinued effective 31 May 1913, mail to Sutter.		
Couch.....	Beaver.....	12 February 1907.....	Joseph W. Couch
	Discontinued effective 15 January 1914, mail to Boyd.		
Council.....	Oklahoma.....	7 December 1894.....	David P. James
	Formerly Council Grove. Discontinued effective 15 August 1906, mail to Oklahoma.		
Council Grove.....	Oklahoma.....	11 June 1892.....	Melton O. Craig
	Name changed to Council 7 December 1894.		
Covington.....	Garfield.....	24 February 1903.....	John Boepple
	Formerly Tripp.		
Cowden.....	Washita.....	23 January 1901.....	Henry C. Bell
Cox.....	Caddo.....	4 January 1904.....	Hiawatha W. Ewing
	Discontinued effective 30 July 1910, mail to Cogar.		
Coy.....	Woodward.....	28 September 1904.....	Carrie Bothwell
Coyle.....	Logan.....	5 May 1900.....	Harry Gephart
Craft.....	Day.....	25 May 1901.....	Elgy Craft
	Discontinued by order dated 9 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906, mail to Arnett.		
Craige.....	Kingfisher.....	27 December 1895.....	Perry D. McClung
	Discontinued by order dated 11 June 1903, effective 30 June 1903, mail to Okeene.		
Crawford.....	Day.....	12 September 1902.....	Edward D. Allen
Crescent.....	Logan.....	21 February 1890.....	John H. Warrenburg
Creston.....	Day.....	18 July 1904.....	Lizzie Mallard
	Discontinued by order dated 11 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Durham.		
Creta.....	Greer.....	20 February 1904.....	Joseph M. Stockbridge
	Formerly Era. Discontinued by order dated 11 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail to Olustee.		
Crista.....	Greer.....	5 April 1900.....	Wm. W. Crista
	Discontinued by order dated 22 October 1902, effective 31 October 1902, mail to Olustee.		

- Cropper.....Garfield.....12 January 1900.....Richard A. Kent
Formerly Jennie. Discontinued by order dated 20 December 1907, effective 15 January 1908, mail to Breckinridge.
- Crosby.....Caddo.....18 April 1902.....Harry J. Campbell
Name changed to Hinton 5 July 1902.
- Cross.....Kay.....4 October 1893.....Ferdinand W. Batchelder
Discontinued by order dated 8 June 1903, effective 30 June 1903, mail to Ponca.
- Crowe.....Beaver.....10 May 1899.....Cicero S. Sitton
Site and name changed to Busch, Roger Mills County, 18 March 1901.
- Cruce.....Grant.....19 December 1903.....Marshall McNamar
Discontinued by order dated 30 April 1904, effective 14 May 1904, mail to Bluff City, Kans.
- Crystal.....Pawnee.....22 January 1894.....Geo. P. Hoffman
Name changed to Maramec 8 April 1903.
- Cullen.....Caddo.....3 September 1903.....Florence Cullen
Discontinued by order dated 21 June 1907, effective 15 July 1907, mail to Gracemont.
- Cupid.....Woodward.....20 June 1895.....Richard F. Mackey
- Curl.....Blaine.....4 June 1901.....Robert E. Twining
Name changed to Harper, Dewey County, 25 October 1901.
- Curlew.....Comanche.....22 September 1902.....Mary Schutz
Discontinued by order dated 4 October 1904, effective 14 October 1904, mail to Manitou.
- Curry.....Pottawatomie.....27 May 1899.....James Enouf
Discontinued by order dated 6 January 1900, effective 15 January 1900, mail to Shawnee.
- Curtis.....Woodward.....3 October 1894.....Theobald Bouquot
- Cushing.....Payne.....10 November 1891.....Louis K. McGriffin
- Custer.....Beaver.....28 October 1891.....Franklin J. Birdsall
Formerly Ivanhoe. Name changed to Madison 17 June 1904.
- Custer.....Custer.....28 September 1904.....Phillip Graves
Formerly Graves.
- Cuthbert.....Day.....7 June 1904.....Wm. W. Leach
Discontinued by order dated 11 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Durham.
- Cyril.....Caddo.....9 August 1906.....Robert W. Browning
- Dabney.....Greer.....19 May 1900.....John A. Akins
Discontinued by order dated 6 March 1902, effective 31 March 1902, mail to Erick.
- Dacoma.....Woods.....31 October 1904.....Noel L. Keulets
Formerly Zula.
- Dague.....Beaver.....27 December 1904.....Laura Adams
Discontinued effective 31 December 1910, mail to Niagra, Kans.
- Daisy.....Woodward.....2 December 1902.....Clarence W. Voris
Discontinued by order dated 22 September 1905, effective 14 October 1905, mail to Palace.
- Dale.....Pottawatomie.....26 October 1893.....Robert D. Vaughn
Formerly King.
- Dane.....Woods.....3 August 1895.....Elisha A. Crump
Discontinued effective 31 July 1909, mail to Wooddale.
- Danks.....Beaver.....28 March 1892.....Martin O. Danks
The appointee declined his commission, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 14 May 1892 of Fannie J. Danks as postmaster. Discontinued effective 15 November 1892.

Darlington.....	Canadian.....	2 April 1873.....	Lucy D. Miles
Darrow.....	Blaine.....	1 May 1905.....	Lola W. Pratt
Davenport.....	Lincoln.....	29 March 1892.....	Nettie Davenport
Davidson.....	Comanche.....	20 June 1903.....	Robert A. Deupree
Formerly Olds.			
Day.....	Noble.....	5 July 1899.....	A. J. Wilson
Discontinued by order dated 19 October 1905, effective 15 November 1905, mail to Morrison.			
Dayton.....	Grant.....	11 February 1895.....	Henry M. Utterback
Discontinued by order dated 27 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Saltfork.			
Dee.....	Greer.....	5 December 1900.....	James C. Graves
Discontinued by order dated 13 May 1903, effective 30 May 1903, mail to Texola.			
Dee.....	Beaver.....	15 October 1906.....	Ida A. McCoy
Discontinued effective 15 September 1913, mail to Midwell.			
Deer Creek.....	Grant.....	27 February 1899.....	Harrison Hubbard
Formerly Orie.			
Deighton.....	Woodward.....	24 November 1899.....	James W. Smith
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Chester.			
Delena.....	Woodward.....	5 March 1903.....	Dessie Smally
Discontinued effective 14 December 1912, mail to Harmon.			
Delfin.....	Beaver.....	10 October 1907.....	Cora L. Rush
Delhi.....	Greer.....	16 January 1893.....	Henry A. Isler
Dell.....	Caddo.....	28 August 1900.....	Emma Sights
The order establishing this office was rescinded 21 November 1900, and the office was never in operation.			
Delmorte.....	Garfield.....	14 December 1896.....	Wm. D. Kelley
Discontinued by order dated 25 September 1901, effective 15 October 1901, Mail to Drummond.			
Delphos.....	Oklahoma.....	27 February 1895.....	Jacob F. Klingaman
Discontinued by order dated 18 July 1900, effective 31 July 1900, mail to Munger.			
Deltis.....	Dewey.....	20 March 1900.....	Hope Fulbright
Discontinued by order dated 19 January 1907, effective 31 January 1907, mail to Camargo.			
Dempsey.....	Roger Mills.....	23 June 1903.....	Marion Frankford
Did not operate during the period 15 June 1908 to 16 December 1909; discontinued effective 15 November 1913, mail to Grimes.			
Dennis.....	Greer.....	8 February 1900.....	E. S. Burton
Name changed to Erick 16 November 1901.			
Dent.....	Lincoln.....	23 May 1894.....	William H. Hall
Discontinued by order dated 14 August 1903, effective 30 August 1903, mail to Lambdin.			
Denton.....	Comanche.....	23 April 1902.....	Isaac D. Dobbs
Discontinued by order dated 17 August 1906, effective 17 September 1906, mail to Marlow.			
Denver.....	Cleveland.....	24 May 1892.....	Samuel O. Chesney
Did not operate during the period 1 March 1895 to 17 July 1895. Discontinued by order dated 22 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Norman.			
Detroit.....	Woodward.....	19 February 1901.....	O. A. Nickerson
Discontinued by order dated 18 January 1907, effective 18 February 1907, mail to Hackberry.			
Dewey.....	Custer.....	10 August 1898.....	John W. Rice
Name changed to Weatherford 28 October 1898.			

- Dial.....Greer.....27 June 1890.....Lettie H. Dial
Discontinued effective 4 September 1890, mail to Martha.
- Diamond.....Comanche.....14 July 1903.....Moses B. McDonald
Discontinued by order dated 16 August 1904, effective 31 August 1904, mail to Comanche, Ind. T.
- Dickson.....Oklahoma.....17 July 1896.....Marcus Crawford
Formerly Chaddick. Discontinued by order dated 17 July 1906, effective 15 August 1906, mail to Oklahoma.
- Dill.....Washita.....9 August 1902.....Ellis R. DePriest
The appointee declined the appointment, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 31 October 1902 of Joseph H. Meader as postmaster.
- Dilley.....Garfield.....2 March 1895.....Cora Houghland
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1905, effective 15 November 1905, mail to Hayward.
- Dillon.....Custer.....3 March 1893.....Harm H. Keeper
Discontinued effective 5 February 1894, mail to Rogers.
- Dillon.....Blaine.....26 July 1902.....Lewis A. Everhart
Name changed to Eagle City 4 September 1909.
- Diltston.....Comanche.....15 January 1903.....John M. Dilts
Discontinued by order dated 15 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to Frederick.
- Dilya.....Beaver.....22 August 1906.....Gustavus F. Gallagher
Discontinued effective 31 January 1912, mail ot Hidalgo.
- Divide.....Comanche.....26 February 1902.....Brinton M. Stiles
The order establishing this postoffice was rescinded 10 September 1902, and the office was never in operation.
- Dix.....Pawnee.....20 March 1905.....Janie Beers
Formerly Dixie. Discontinued by order dated 2 November 1905, effective 14 December 1905, mail to Cleveland.
- Dixie.....Pawnee.....10 May 1898.....William Lacy
Name changed to Dix 20 March 1905.
- Dock.....Greer.....31 January 1900.....Robert V. Hand
Discontinued by order dated 22 January 1902, effective 15 February 1902, mail to Erick.
- Dodsworth.....Logan.....23 June 1892.....Daniel Moore
Discontinued effective 31 October 1896, mail to Meridian.
- Dombey.....Beaver.....18 April 1904.....Howard M. Drake
- Donnelly.....Payne.....2 May 1900.....Frank Donnelly
Discontinued by order dated 11 April 1901, effective 30 April 1901, mail to Perry.
- Dora.....Beaver.....3 October 1906.....Allen B. Culbertson
Discontinued by order dated 24 May 1907, effective 16 June 1907, mail to Postle.
- Doris.....Woodward.....6 July 1901.....Bessie Sawyer
Name changed to Keenan 18 February 1910.
- Dot.....Greer.....13 September 1893.....Benj. B. Zinn
Name changed to Blair 26 August 1901.
- Douglas.....Oklahoma.....12 May 1894.....Thos. H. Traylor
Discontinued by order dated 8 January 1900, effective 15 January 1900, mail to Luther.
- Douglas.....Garfield.....25 February 1903.....Serena M. Gage
Formerly Onyx.
- Dover.....Kingfisher.....1 March 1890.....John C. Chapin

- Downey.....Day.....14 July 1903.....James M. Downey
Discontinued effective 15 June 1909, mail to Roll.
- Downs.....Kingfisher.....12 August 1889.....Frank Rector
Name changed to Cashion 14 May 1900.
- Doxey.....Roger Mills.....23 January 1894.....Frances M. Owen
Name changed to Berlin 2 September 1896.
- Doxey.....Roger Mills.....5 December 1902.....Henry A. Russell
Formerly Pior.
- Drace.....Noble.....17 April 1894.....John D. Matthews
Did not operate during the period 25 March 1895 to 6 February 1901. Dis-
continued by order dated 23 September 1905, effective 14 October 1905, mail
to Perry.
- Drew.....Caddo.....8 March 1902.....Thomas Thompson
Discontinued by order dated 10 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail
to Eakly.
- Driscoll.....Woodward.....27 September 1898.....James W. Hill
Discontinued effective 15 January 1914, mail to Curtis.
- Driftwood.....Woods.....12 May 1894.....Andrew J. Butts
- Drumm.....Woods.....6 June 1906.....John Large
On 27 February 1907 an order was issued changing the name of this office
to Wheaton, but the order was rescinded 6 July 1907. Name changed to
Burlington 21 August 1907.
- Drummond.....Garfield.....17 July 1901.....Rodman F. Bennett
- Dryden.....Greer.....30 June 1892.....John T. Henson
- Duckpond.....Beaver.....12 November 1906.....James B. Schoonover
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Elmwood.
- Dudley.....Day.....31 October 1904.....Jesse L. Coleman
Discontinued by order dated 9 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to
Texmo.
- Duke.....Greer.....11 September 1890.....William D. McFarlane
- Dunbar.....Greer.....21 March 1892.....Joseph C. Penwright
Formerly Chilton. Discontinued by order dated 24 May 1905, effective 15 June
1905, mail to Altus.
- Durham.....Day.....15 May 1902.....Dora Morris
- Durst.....Lincoln.....7 June 1892.....John W. Durst
The appointee was not commissioned, the office was discontinued by order
dated 7 September 1892, and the office was never in operation.
- Dutton.....Caddo.....5 May 1902.....Emery H. Harned
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906,
mail to Pocasset, Ind. T.
- Dyke.....Blaine.....11 August 1894.....John R. Dyke
Discontinued by order dated 6 September 1906, effective 15 September 1906,
mail to Dillon.
- Eagle Chief.....Woods.....17 January 1894.....James F. Noel
Name changed to Augusta 13 July 1895.
- Eakly.....Caddo.....25 March 1902.....Reuben V. Montague
- Earlsboro.....Pottawatomie.....12 June 1895.....Arthur C. Goodell
Formerly Loftus.
- Eason.....Pottawatomie.....20 November 1893.....Lue M. Eason
Discontinued by order dated 18 January 1907, effective 15 February 1907,
mail to Trousdale.
- Econtuchka.....Pottawatomie.....19 October 1899.....Dora Giles
From 15 September 1881 to 31 July 1899 this office was located at a site
slightly east of its present location and in the Seminole Nation, Ind. Ter.
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1907, effective 30 November 1907,
mail to Earlsboro.

Ecter.....	Beaver.....	22 October 1906.....	Isaac H. Farmer
Name changed to Plainview 7 November 1910.			
Eda.....	Canadian.....	24 March 1890.....	Lewis B. Cooper
Discontinued by order dated 6 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904, mail to Piedmont.			
Eddy.....	Kay.....	3 January 1901.....	Charles A. Spencer
Formerly Osborne.			
Eden.....	Payne.....	13 April 1895.....	Thomas C. Smith
Discontinued by order dated 21 May 1902, effective 30 June 1902, mail to Stillwater.			
Edgar.....	Pawnee.....	28 December 1898.....	Geo. W. Stockton
Discontinued by order dated 26 May 1902, effective 14 June 1902, mail to Dixie.			
Edgewood.....	Garfield.....	21 June 1898.....	Joseph Knoffloch
Discontinued by order dated 30 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Hunter.			
Edmond.....	Oklahoma.....	23 May 1889.....	Franklin L. Greene
Edsel.....	Dewey.....	26 August 1903.....	Robert N. Hopkins
Discontinued by order dated 10 December 1905, effective 31 December 1905, mail to Oakwood.			
Edwardsville.....	Custer.....	2 August 1894.....	John A. Edwards
Discontinued by order dated 16 July 1906, effective 15 August 1906, mail to Canute.			
Egnew.....	Lincoln.....	11 June 1892.....	Miss Kate Egnew
Discontinued effective 16 May 1895, mail to Stroud.			
Elba.....	Lincoln.....	28 December 1892.....	Daniel Randolph
Discontinued by order dated 7 August 1902, effective 30 August 1902, mail to Baker.			
Elberta.....	Comanche.....	11 November 1903.....	John W. Gray
Eldorado.....	Greer.....	1 September 1890.....	John T. Brown
Name changed to El Dorado 7 September 1894.			
El Dorado.....	Greer.....	7 September 1894.....	John T. Ratcliff
Formerly Eldorado.			
Eldridge.....	Beaver.....	15 February 1906.....	Cora A. Eldridge
Discontinued by order dated 9 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Gray.			
Elgin.....	Garfield.....	29 December 1894.....	John S. Behymer
Discontinued effective 30 September 1897, mail to Potter.			
Elgin.....	Comanche.....	12 July 1902.....	Harvey F. Shirk
Formerly Ceegee.			
Elk City.....	Roger Mills.....	20 July 1907.....	Perry C. Hughes
Formerly Busch.			
Elkton.....	Woods.....	3 February 1899.....	Greenberry Hatfield
Discontinued effective 30 June 1909, mail to Cherokee.			
Ellaville.....	Pottawatomie.....	14 October 1901.....	Willis D. Moren
Discontinued by order dated 9 June 1905, effective 30 June 1905, mail to Maud.			
Ellendale.....	Woodward.....	9 September 1901.....	Minnie M. Sparks
Ellis.....	Lincoln.....	10 September 1900.....	Ellen Griffin
Name changed to Midlothian 23 September 1904.			
Elm.....	Logan.....	1 March 1890.....	Felix G. Ott
Name changed to Martin 27 October 1890.			

Elm.....	Custer.....	1 November 1893.....	Thomas J. Crowder
Elmer.....	Greer.....	18 February 1902.....	Benj. F. Flowers
Elmot.....	Woods.....	1 December 1903.....	Louis Hellberg
Discontinued effective 30 March 1912, mail to Granton.			
Elmpark.....	Grant.....	12 July 1895.....	Mary T. Patterson
Name changed to Saltfork 4 February 1902.			
Elmwood.....	Beaver.....	26 January 1888.....	Noah C. McCown
Did not operate during the period 16 October 1893 to 4 February 1895.			
El Reno.....	Canadian.....	28 June 1889.....	Reuben J. Hickox
Between 1892 and 1896 a number of orders were issued changing this name of this office back and forth between Elreno and El Reno; but as the spelling locally continued for all practical purposes as El Reno, the changes have been disregarded.			
Elsie.....	Beaver.....	23 July 1907.....	Guy Wauule
Discontinued by order dated 19 June 1908, effective 30 June 1908, mail to Balko.			
Emanuel.....	Blaine.....	4 March 1904.....	Emanuel Newborn
Discontinued by order dated 28 February 1906, effective 31 March 1906, mail to Watonga.			
Embree.....	Osage.....	10 November 1891.....	George C. Saunders
Discontinued effective 5 March 1892, mail to Ringo, Ind. T.			
Emma.....	Greer.....	14 April 1905.....	Thomas H. Long
Enehoe.....	Canadian.....	3 March 1893.....	Chas. E. Keeney
Did not operate during the period 15 February 1900 to 18 April 1900. Discontinued by order dated 29 March 1904, effective 14 April 1904, mail to Calumet.			
Enfield.....	Logan.....	22 June 1892.....	John H. Allman
Did not operate during the period 16 October 1893 to 15 November 1893. Discontinued by order dated 23 July 1906, effective 15 August 1906, mail to Guthrie.			
Enid.....	Garfield.....	25 August 1893.....	Robert M. Patterson
Era.....	Greer.....	26 April 1901.....	Mary J. Stockbridge
Name changed to Creta 20 February 1904.			
Erick.....	Greer.....	16 November 1901.....	George W. McGrant
Formerly Dennis.			
Erie.....	Greer.....	26 June 1888.....	Jonathan A. Butler
Discontinued effective 2 April 1889, mail to Mangum.			
Erie.....	Kingfisher.....	28 November 1890.....	George M. Hiles
Discontinued effective 6 October 1892, mail to Downs.			
Ernest.....	Kiowa.....	15 July 1902.....	John W. Adams
Discontinued effective 14 January 1905, mail to Siboney.			
Erwin.....	Woods.....	11 June 1894.....	John F. Gamble
Discontinued effective 16 March 1901, mail to Cherokee.			
Eschita.....	Comanche.....	31 October 1907.....	Hiram F. Cruble
Name changed to Grandfield 21 January 1909.			
Estelle.....	Woods.....	27 June 1901.....	David H. Powers
Name changed to Hoopville 7 January 1908.			
Esther.....	Beaver.....	3 June 1903.....	Esther Smith
Discontinued effective 30 November 1912, mail to Knowles.			
Ethel.....	Blaine.....	29 August 1902.....	Charles H. Moore
Discontinued effective 14 September 1907, mail to Swan.			
Etna.....	Blaine.....	20 August 1898.....	Wm. Black
Discontinued effective 15 October 1913, mail to Geary.			
Etolia.....	Comanche.....	30 September 1902.....	Daniel W. Hughes
The order establishing this office was rescinded 27 April 1903, and the office was never in operation.			

Etowah.....	Cleveland.....	17 August 1894.....	Luther Edwards
		Discontinued effective 31 May 1907, mail to Noble.	
Eubank.....	Beaver.....	12 February 1891.....	Alexander Smith
		Discontinued effective 15 September 1902, mail to Roy ⁶ .	
Eula.....	Beaver.....	4 October 1905.....	James A. White
		Discontinued effective 30 June 1908, mail to Guymon.	
Eulway.....	Woodward.....	13 March 1894.....	Rhodom A. Doles
		Discontinued effective 22 January 1895, mail to Waynoka.	
Eva.....	Greer.....	4 April 1891.....	Mrs. Eva B. Moreland
		Discontinued effective 16 November 1891, mail to Mangum.	
Eva.....	Beaver.....	9 July 1906.....	Scott Hargrove
Evansville.....	Greer.....	1 June 1892.....	Emma A. Ellzey
		Discontinued effective 28 December 1892.	
Evansville.....	Logan.....	22 May 1894.....	James H. Rinehart
		Did not operate during the period 21 September 1894 to 21 July 1897. Discontinued by order dated 3 July 1906, effective 31 July 1906, mail to Meridian.	
Evelyn.....	Logan.....	24 May 1895.....	Cora Lyons
		The order establishing this office was rescinded 23 July 1895, and the office was never in operation.	
Everett.....	Kiowa.....	3 August 1903.....	Rosa Goforth
		Discontinued by order dated 11 May 1904, effective 31 May 1904, mail to Hobart.	
Excelsior.....	Kingfisher.....	19 August 1895.....	Paul S. Burress
		Discontinued by order dated 21 May 1902, effective 30 June 1902, mail to Dover.	
Exendine.....	Caddo.....	12 April 1902.....	Jasper Exendine
		Discontinued by order dated 12 February 1907, effective 28 February 1907, mail to Lookeba.	
Exer.....	Dewey.....	3 December 1898.....	Nancy E. Abercrombie
		Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1901, effective 30 March 1901, mail to Jacks.	
Exline.....	Lincoln.....	29 August 1902.....	Wesley R. Bailly
		The order establishing this office was rescinded 20 September 1902, and the office was never in operation.	
Ezell.....	Woods.....	21 March 1896.....	Wm. B. Dyche
		Discontinued by order dated 23 November 1899, effective 15 December 1899, mail to Galena.	
Fair.....	Comanche.....	9 February 1903.....	William S. Woodford
		The appointee declined, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 16 April 1903 of Jesse L. Jarris as postmaster. Discontinued by order dated 16 August 1904, effective 31 August 1904, mail to Comanche, Ind. T.	
Fairbanks.....	Woods.....	17 October 1904.....	Daniel C. Ball
Fairfax.....	Osage.....	16 February 1903.....	John P. Girard
Fairmont.....	Garfield.....	24 December 1902.....	Fannie D. Smith
		Formerly Luella.	
Fairvalley.....	Woodward.....	4 October 1895.....	Marion Clothier
Fairview.....	Beaver.....	21 February 1888.....	David Carmichael
		Discontinued effective 5 March 1890.	
Fairview.....	Logan.....	1 September 1890.....	Mrs. J. H. Bowe
		Discontinued effective 11 April 1893, mail to Downs.	

⁶ So in the original. See fn. 7.

Fairview.....	Woods.....	18 April 1894.....	Clifford D. Bower
Fallis.....	Lincoln.....	13 July 1894.....	William H. Fallis
Formerly Mission.			
Falkey.....	Beaver.....	27 March 1906.....	John Miller
Discontinued effective 15 January 1916, mail to Forgan.			
Fannie.....	Garfield.....	7 December 1893.....	Charles V. Porter
Discontinued effective 9 March 1898, mail to Garber.			
Fargo.....	Woodward.....	17 February 1905.....	Grant W. Bailey
Formerly Oleta.			
Farry.....	Woodward.....	22 May 1899.....	Nancy R. James
Faulkner.....	Woods.....	13 June 1901.....	Charles F. Faulkner
Faxon.....	Comanche.....	7 January 1902.....	Charles A. Bainum
Fay.....	Dewey.....	19 April 1894.....	Leander Fiscus
Feltburg.....	Pottawatomie.....	14 July 1892.....	Joseph C. Willfelt
Discontinued effective 3 May 1893, mail to Tecumseh.			
Ferguson.....	Blaine.....	21 August 1901.....	Robert N. Hopkins
Fern.....	Woodward.....	14 March 1904.....	Wm. F. Parsons
Discontinued effective 15 July 1914, mail to Woodward.			
Fernwood.....	Beaver.....	17 June 1905.....	Mrs. Ida H. Mettler
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Hooker.			
Filson.....	Pawnee.....	3 August 1894.....	Chas. E. Helphrey
Discontinued by order dated 21 June 1906, effective 14 July 1906, mail to Ralston.			
Fish.....	Woodward.....	21 December 1897.....	Albertos P. Cantrell
The order establishing this office was rescinded 24 May 1898, and the office was never in operation.			
Fitzgerald.....	Woodward.....	3 February 1902.....	L. J. Gandy
Name changed to Supply 12 May 1903.			
Fitzlen.....	Woods.....	9 September 1899.....	Wm. W. Morris
Discontinued effective 28 February 1913, mail to Capron.			
Flagg.....	Woods.....	17 June 1905.....	Henry E. Pickle
Flat.....	Woodward.....	25 February 1903.....	Sebird Rose
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Brule.			
Fletcher.....	Comanche.....	10 May 1902.....	James T. Dodds
Florence.....	Beaver.....	9 April 1890.....	George W. Hubbard
Formerly Carrizo. Name changed to Kenton 12 May 1891.			
Florence.....	Grant.....	30 November 1895.....	George Mowbray
Floris.....	Beaver.....	7 August 1903.....	Byron S. Derthick
Floyd.....	Payne.....	22 March 1895.....	Floyd C. Jessee
Discontinued by order dated 8 June 1900, effective 15 June 1900, mail to Glenco.			
Flynn.....	Lincoln.....	27 August 1892.....	Spencer Johnson
Discontinued effective 31 March 1903, mail to Agra.			
Folds.....	Lincoln.....	22 June 1892.....	Effie Folds
Discontinued effective 28 November 1892.			
Fonda.....	Dewey.....	5 March 1903.....	James A. Benjamin
Foraker.....	Osage.....	13 February 1906.....	Wm. R. Dutton
Ford.....	Noble.....	6 July 1905.....	Maggie Marks
Discontinued effective 29 February 1916, mail to Bliss.			
Forney.....	Blaine.....	4 June 1901.....	Henry Forney
Discontinued by order dated 7 July 1903, effective 14 July 1903, mail to Etna.			
Forrest.....	Lincoln.....	23 May 1894.....	James G. Causler
Discontinued effective 21 September 1894, mail to Chandler.			

- Forrest.....Woods.....27 January 1897.....David S. Gardiner
Discontinued by order dated 7 October 1907, effective 31 October 1907, mail to Ringwood.
- Fort Cobb.....Caddo.....31 October 1902.....Henry Amey
Formerly Cobb.
- Fort Reno.....Canadian.....1 February 1877.....Charles Schiffbauer
Discontinued by order dated 24 April 1907, effective 30 May 1907, mail to El Reno.
- Fort Sill.....Comanche.....28 September 1869.....John E. Evans
- Fort Supply.....Woodward.....26 June 1889.....Samuel H. Perin
Formerly Camp Supply. Discontinued effective 12 October 1895, mail to Woodward. On 3 February 1902 an office named Fitzgerald was established at this same proximate location.
- Foss.....Washita.....15 September 1900.....Wm. Radford
- Fountain.....Dewey.....26 June 1895.....Albert S. Fountain
- Fouts.....Lincoln.....19 April 1894.....Millard F. Jones
Name changed to Tryon 15 March 1899.
- Francis.....Greer.....19 March 1892.....Lillie M. Burleson
Name changed to Trotter 25 April 1902.
- Franklin.....Cleveland.....10 May 1892.....William F. Blackburn
Discontinued by order dated 22 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Norman.
- Frazer.....Greer.....18 February 1886.....Jennie A. Holt
Discontinued effective 31 December 1895.
- Frederick.....Comanche.....30 September 1902.....Sanford N. Gosnell
Formerly Gosnell.
- Freedom.....Woodward.....18 May 1901.....A. C. Annis
- Freta.....Woodward.....11 August 1903.....Ethel I. Dumke
Discontinued by order dated 28 August 1906, effective 15 September 1906, mail to Parkman.
- Frick.....Caddo.....23 April 1904.....George W. Frick
The order establishing this office was rescinded 26 October 1904. On 5 August 1904 Cynthia Colp was appointed postmaster, but such order was likewise rescinded on 26 October 1904, and the office was never in operation.
- Friend.....Woods.....13 June 1894.....Mrs. A. M. Friend
The order establishing this office was rescinded 9 October 1894, and the office was never in operation.
- Friends.....Woods.....11 October 1899.....Harry C. Dexter
Discontinued by order dated 10 July 1901, effective 31 July 1901, mail to Cherokee.
- Friendship.....Washita.....27 October 1904.....Mary E. Crank
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1907, effective 30 November 1907, mail to Korn.
- Frisco.....Canadian.....18 May 1889.....David M. Deupree
Discontinued by order dated 8 April 1904, effective 30 April 1904, mail to Yukon.
- Fulton.....Beaver.....21 April 1887.....Elmer Tompkins
Did not operate during the period 2 April 1891 to 5 October 1892. Discontinued by order dated 7 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Gray.
- Funston.....Woods.....12 May 1900.....Samuel J. Willets
Name changed to Nira 18 May 1903.
- Furth.....Woods.....15 April 1904.....Jeremiah D. Love
The order establishing this office was rescinded 25 June 1904, and the office was never in operation.

Gaddy.....	Pottawatomie.....	26 April 1901.....	David P. McGehee
Discontinued by order dated 17 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail to Shawnee.			
Gage.....	Woodward.....	5 February 1895.....	Frederick D. Webster
Gail.....	Dewey.....	24 May 1904.....	John J. Martin
Discontinued by order dated 23 May 1905, effective 15 June 1905, mail to Beement.			
Galena.....	Woods.....	13 March 1895.....	John W. Pharo
Gallienas.....	Beaver.....	14 May 1890.....	Mary J. Robinson
Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Regnier, Col.			
Galva.....	Dewey.....	17 June 1898.....	William J. Lynes
Discontinued by order dated 2 November 1905, effective 14 December 1905, mail to Fountain.			
Gamet.....	Woods.....	30 June 1904.....	Wm. S. Gamet
Discontinued effective 31 December 1914, mail to Winchester.			
Garber.....	Garfield.....	20 April 1894.....	Willis G. Hughes
Formerly McCardie.			
Garden.....	Logan.....	19 January 1895.....	William J. Ryan
Discontinued by order dated 20 November 1900, effective 15 December 1900, mail to Luther.			
Garland.....	Beaver.....	21 February 1888.....	Augustus Roberts
Discontinued effective 8 July 1891, mail to Englewood, Kans.			
Garnettville.....	Oklahoma.....	22 March 1892.....	Eugene M. Garnett
Did not operate during the period 16 October 1893 to 22 November 1893. Name changed to Luther 26 July 1898.			
Garrett.....	Beaver.....	17 April 1891.....	Martha E. Garrett
Gate.....	Beaver.....	24 November 1894.....	John M. Kerns
Formerly Gate City.			
Gate City.....	Beaver.....	13 April 1886.....	Jesse M. Gresham
Name changed to Gate 24 November 1894.			
Gath.....	Blaine.....	13 September 1893.....	James E. Thompson
The appointee declined his commission; Grant Burgvin appointed postmaster 21 April 1894. The order establishing the office was rescinded 9 May 1894, and the office was never in operation.			
Geary.....	Blaine.....	12 October 1892.....	Wm. Wilson
Geronimo.....	Comanche.....	5 March 1903.....	Mary E. Callahan
Gibbon.....	Grant.....	26 March 1896.....	William M. Gibbon
Gilbert.....	Grant.....	5 November 1901.....	Charles M. Owen
Discontinued by order dated 19 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904, mail to Jefferson.			
Gip.....	Custer.....	16 March 1895.....	Rugus R. Cobb
Discontinued effective 15 September 1909, mail to Elm.			
Gladie.....	Garfield.....	24 March 1902.....	George Ellis
Discontinued by order dated 24 June 1904, effective 14 July 1904, mail to Garber.			
Glaze.....	Oklahoma.....	19 May 1896.....	Harvey J. Kreps
Name changed to Jones 1 June 1898.			
Glenco.....	Payne.....	6 December 1899.....	George W. Murphy
Name changed to Glencoe 14 June 1901.			
Glencoe.....	Payne.....	14 June 1901.....	James H. Williams
Formerly Glenco.			
Glenella.....	Garfield.....	21 November 1893.....	Wesley Drake
Discontinued effective 31 August 1903, mail to Enid.			

Glenwood.....	Dewey.....	18 January 1899.....	Joseph A. Dowd
	Discontinued effective 31 August 1907, mail to Harper.		
Goar.....	Greer.....	31 January 1890.....	B. W. Thompson
	Discontinued 26 March 1890. This postoffice was never in operation.		
Goff.....	Garfield.....	5 July 1899.....	George Snyder
	Name changed to Hayward 12 May 1903.		
Goldburg.....	Kiowa.....	13 August 1902.....	Thomas H. Gold
	Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1903, effective 31 October 1903, mail to Lone Wolf.		
Golden.....	Grant.....	6 July 1894.....	Everett P. Roberts
	Discontinued effective 29 October 1895, mail to Lamont.		
Golden.....	Custer.....	4 March 1902.....	Mary A. Yerian
	Discontinued by order dated 29 August 1903, effective 15 September 1903, mail to Fay.		
Golden.....	Beaver.....	21 December 1905.....	Harrison Bradford
	Discontinued by order dated 17 August 1908, effective 15 September 1908, mail to Logan.		
Golf.....	Beaver.....	22 June 1907.....	Nora E. Stockton
	Discontinued effective 31 August 1910, mail to Dee.		
Goltry.....	Woods.....	27 January 1904.....	James H. Hagemeier
	Formerly Karoma.		
Goodman.....	Comanche.....	4 March 1902.....	Soloman P. Goodman
	Discontinued by order dated 14 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Waurika.		
Goodnight.....	Logan.....	23 February 1900.....	Alice C. Morrison
Goodwell.....	Beaver.....	16 June 1903.....	James P. Meek
Goodwin.....	Day.....	31 October 1901.....	Maneta E. Branham
Gosnell.....	Comanche.....	5 November 1901.....	Sanford N. Gosnell
	Name changed to Frederick 30 September 1902.		
Gotebo.....	Kiowa.....	25 February 1904.....	Wm. DeLesdernier
	Formerly Harrison.		
Gracemont.....	Caddo.....	30 January 1903.....	Alice L. Bailey
	Formerly Ison.		
Granada.....	Beaver.....	30 September 1904.....	James A. Lancaster
	Discontinued by order dated 18 October 1907, effective 15 November 1907, mail to Balko.		
Grand.....	Day.....	4 November 1892.....	Adam Walch
Grand Valley.....	Beaver.....	23 June 1888.....	A. J. Silverwood
Granite.....	Greer.....	6 December 1899.....	Alfred H. Olds
Granton.....	Woods.....	25 August 1898.....	Merideth H. Gabney
Granville.....	Greer.....	18 October 1892.....	Mollie Buchanon
	Discontinued effective 24 August 1893, mail to Duke.		
Grapevine.....	Woodward.....	25 June 1904.....	Abraham S. Frieson
	The order establishing this office was rescinded 30 September 1904, and the office was never in operation.		
Graves.....	Custer.....	22 January 1894.....	Phillip Graves
	Name changed to Custer 28 September 1904.		
Gray.....	Kay.....	29 June 1900.....	David A. McHugh
	Name changed to Middleton 30 July 1900.		
Gray.....	Beaver.....	13 January 1906.....	Cora F. Gray
Gray Horse.....	Osage.....	5 May 1890.....	Louis Wismeyer
Greenfield.....	Blaine.....	30 January 1900.....	Henry Greenfield
	The order appointing Greenfield was rescinded 18 May 1900, and the office did not commence operation until 27 September 1901 with the appointment of Thomas G. Curtner as postmaster.		

- Greenland.....Payne.....17 June 1895.....Isham C. Roberts
Discontinued effective 24 June 1897, mail to Stillwater.
- Greenup.....Pawnee.....21 December 1903.....James J. Kiley
Discontinued by order dated 12 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906,
mail to Hallett.
- Greenwood.....Woodward.....19 February 1901.....Edwin H. Crowley
Discontinued effective 26 October 1906, mail to Fargo.
- Greer.....Greer.....10 November 1891.....Robert J. Hill
Discontinued effective 31 August 1909, mail to Looney.
- Gregg.....Comanche.....14 October 1901.....Vern E. Gregg
Discontinued effective 31 August 1904, mail to Hastings.
- Gresham.....Beaver.....7 July 1906.....Thomas G. Clay
Discontinued effective 13 October 1913, mail to Delfin.
- Grid.....Washita.....9 March 1901.....Ella H. Bryan
The order establishing this office was rescinded 11 June 1901, and the office
was never in operation.
- Griener.....Woods.....10 April 1901.....George A. Smith
Discontinued effective 30 November 1907, mail to Togo.
- Griffin.....Woodward.....9 June 1888.....L. B. Ross
Discontinued effective 13 December 1888.
- Griggs.....Beaver.....13 June 1906.....Fred R. Peters
- Grimes.....Woods.....15 June 1899.....George L. Wilson
The order establishing this office was rescinded 1 August 1899, and the office
was never in operation.
- Grimes.....Roger Mills.....1 March 1901.....John G. Lancaster
- Grizzle.....Comanche.....17 May 1902.....Millard F. Grizzle
Discontinued by order dated 15 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to
Frederick.
- Grow.....Day.....22 May 1900.....Charlie Dunagan
- Guild.....Lincoln.....14 December 1896.....Robert H. Hunter
Name changed to Willzetta 2 July 1904.
- Guiley.....10 September 1894.....Kay.....John D. Guiley
Formerly Richland. Discontinued by order dated 13 February 1902, effective
28 February 1902, mail to Eddy.
- Guthrie.....Logan.....4 April 1889.....Dennis T. Flynn
- Guy.....Dewey.....6 August 1896.....Daniel G. Sinclair
Discontinued by order dated 2 December 1902, effective 31 December 1902,
mail to Muncie.
- Guy.....Beaver.....9 July 1906.....Quilliam A. Parker
Discontinued by order dated 14 August 1907, effective 14 September 1907,
mail to Rice.
- Guymon.....Beaver.....29 June 1901.....Cleo Quinn
- Hackberry.....Woodward.....17 June 1895.....John W. Ball
Name changed to Sharon 24 February 1912.
- Haddon.....Comanche.....26 February 1902.....Wm. T. Biggs
Discontinued by order dated 12 September 1906, effective 29 September
1906, mail to Nellie.
- Hagar.....Pottawatomie.....4 October 1895.....Chas. M. Arthur
Discontinued by order dated 9 January 1908, effective 31 January 1908, mail
to Shawnee.
- Halifax.....Oklahoma.....3 September 1903.....John Malone
Name changed to Newalla 22 June 1904.
- Hall.....Cleveland.....7 March 1891.....Mrs. Carrie Hall
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906,
mail to Noble.

- Hallett.....Pawnee.....19 May 1905.....William D. Oliver
Hallren.....Woodward.....27 December 1904.....Bettie Hallren
Discontinued effective 31 January 1910, mail to Higley.
- Halsmith.....Greer.....5 March 1903.....Weight Worrell
Discontinued by order dated 17 November 1905, effective 13 January 1906,
mail to Hollis.
- Hamburg.....Day.....28 August 1900.....David C. Woods
Hamilton.....Roger Mills.....27 June 1902.....Ben Linley
The appointee declined his commission; and the office did not commence
operation until the appointment on 29 October 1902 of Minna McMehan.
Discontinued by order dated 19 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail
to Busch.
- Hamilton.....Beaver.....12 February 1907.....R. H. Clifford
Name changed to Hatten 27 June 1910.
- Hammon.....Custer.....30 June 1894.....Ida M. Hammon
Hampton.....Osage.....5 October 1892.....William A. Hampton
Discontinued effective 25 October 1897, mail to Caney, Kans.
- Hampton.....Custer.....18 February 1902.....Henry A. Lawter
Discontinued effective 14 July 1904, mail to Weatherford.
- Hamton.....Greer.....25 April 1891.....William G. Ham
Discontinued effective 6 October 1891, mail to Navajoe.
- Handley.....Lincoln.....15 December 1898.....John A. Handley
Discontinued by order dated 19 February 1906, effective 14 March 1906, mail
to Chandler.
- Hardesty.....Beaver.....3 August 1887.....Peter Harding
Did not operate during the period 22 March 1888 to 6 April 1888.
- Hardin.....Washita.....21 July 1899.....Florence J. Kinman
Name changed to Speed 20 February 1901.
- Hardy.....Kay.....24 February 1906.....Harvey D. Towner
Harmon.....Day.....4 April 1906.....Charles G. Castiller
Did not operate during the period 29 September 1906 to 27 September 1909.
- Harold.....Roger Mills.....4 August 1906.....Benjamin F. Egnew
Discontinued by order dated 15 November 1907, effective 14 December 1907,
mail to Cheyenne.
- Harper.....Dewey.....25 October 1901.....Charles Sinnet
Formerly Curl, Blaine County. Discontinued effective 31 December 1911,
mail to Oakwood.
- Harperville.....Noble.....3 May 1894.....John Bennett
Discontinued by order dated 18 October 1900, effective 31 October 1900,
mail to Owens.
- Harrah.....Oklahoma.....22 December 1898.....Joseph A. Huskey
Formerly Sweeney.
- Harrington.....Roger Mills.....30 April 1903.....John G. Harrington
Discontinued effective 15 November 1911, mail to Rankin.
- Harrison.....Canadian.....8 November 1889.....Miss Lula H. Taylor
Discontinued effective 5 February 1890.
- Harrison.....Kiowa.....17 August 1901.....Wm. DeLesdernier
Name changed to Gotebo 25 February 1904.
- Hartford.....Beaver.....2 February 1907.....Elda Tichenor
Discontinued by order dated 11 September 1907, effective 30 September 1907,
mail to Jurgensen.
- Hartville.....Beaver.....7 March 1907.....Rose A. Hart
Discontinued effective 31 May 1908, mail to Hardesty.

Hartzell.....	Oklahoma.....	27 January 1893.....	John H. Hartzell
Discontinued by order dated 9 March 1906, effective 2 April 1906, mail to Jones.			
Harvey.....	Lincoln.....	8 December 1891.....	Thomas H. Varner
Discontinued by order dated 15 May 1900, effective 31 May 1900, mail to Baker.			
Haskew.....	Woodward.....	9 July 1902.....	S. A. Blevins
Hastings.....	Comanche.....	12 March 1902.....	Nancy Hopkins
Hatchett.....	Blaine.....	2 May 1903.....	Wm. L. Hatchett
Discontinued by order dated 4 December 1906, effective 2 January 1907, mail to Omega.			
Hawley.....	Grant.....	13 March 1894.....	John H. Hawley
Discontinued by order dated 17 January 1908, effective 31 January 1908, mail to Florence.			
Hayward.....	Garfield.....	12 May 1903.....	Samuel S. Ward
Formerly Goff.			
Hazzard.....	Caddo.....	11 January 1902.....	Wm. R. Hazzard
Discontinued by order dated 29 April 1905, effective 15 May 1905, mail to Hinton.			
Head.....	Comanche.....	10 February 1902.....	Wm. A. Stone
Discontinued by order dated 15 January 1904, effective 30 January 1904, mail to Diamond.			
Headrick.....	Greer.....	21 April 1902.....	Zachariah H. Peter
Healy.....	Beaver.....	5 May 1904.....	Frederick W. Rowson
Discontinued by order dated 21 July 1908, effective 31 July 1908, mail to Hooker.			
Heaston.....	Canadian.....	14 February 1896.....	Sidney J. Cloud
Discontinued by order dated 18 May 1907, effective 15 June 1907, mail to El Reno.			
Hefner.....	Washita.....	11 March 1900.....	Wm. E. Hefner
Discontinued by order dated 8 April 1905, effective 29 April 1905, mail to Canute.			
Helena.....	Woods.....	15 June 1894.....	Helen S. Monroe
Helsel.....	Cleveland.....	24 January 1900.....	Clara Dragoo
Heman.....	Woods.....	29 April 1901.....	Arthur Biggs
Hemmer.....	Lincoln.....	24 January 1894.....	Jacob R. Hemmer
Henderson.....	Cleveland.....	5 June 1894.....	Thos. H. Slover
Discontinued by order dated 4 December 1906, effective 2 January 1907, mail to Trousdale.			
Hennesy.....	Kingfisher.....	20 July 1889.....	Guy R. Gillett
Name changed to Hennessey 7 October 1889.			
Hennessey.....	Kingfisher.....	7 October 1889.....	Guy R. Gillett
Formerly Hennesy.			
Henry.....	Osage.....	17 September 1896.....	Emma Anderson
Discontinued by order dated 25 March 1905, effective 31 March 1905, mail to Tulsa, Ind. T.			
Herald.....	Washita.....	30 November 1898.....	Walter F. McWharter
Discontinued by order dated 21 May 1902, effective 14 June 1902, mail to Stout.			
Herbert.....	Pawnee.....	28 October 1893.....	Thomas J. Mann
Name changed to Cleveland 14 April 1894.			
Hereford.....	Beaver.....	26 January 1888.....	Arthur Proctor
Discontinued effective 2 August 1889, mail to Benton.			
Herron.....	Canadian.....	2 March 1891.....	Francis C. Herron
Discontinued by order dated 10 July 1900, effective 31 July 1900, mail to Eda.			

Hess.....	Greer.....	18 May 1889.....	Elvira P. Hess
Hext.....	Greer.....	4 June 1901.....	Henry W. Armstrong
Discontinued by order dated 19 November 1902, effective 29 November 1902, mail to Delhi. On 3 February 1906 an order was issued reestablishing the office and appointing Timothy Harrington, but the order was rescinded 1 June 1906, and the office did not resume operation.			
Hibbs.....	Beaver.....	9 May 1903.....	Susan T. Evans
Discontinued effective 31 May 1909, mail to Floris.			
Hico.....	Cleveland.....	11 June 1892.....	Thomas H. Guthrey
Discontinued by order dated 22 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Norman.			
Higbee.....	Cleveland.....	23 August 1901.....	James P. Corbett
Name changed to Corbett 19 February 1902.			
Highland.....	Garfield.....	12 January 1894.....	Leonard L. Vincent
Discontinued by order dated 9 March 1906, effective 2 April 1906, mail to Hunter.			
Hight.....	Greer.....	2 March 1904.....	Thomas A. Hight
Discontinued by order dated 2 August 1906, effective 31 August 1906, mail to Blake.			
Higley.....	Woodward.....	24 April 1901.....	Hubert T. Higley
Discontinued effective 31 July 1913, mail to Sharon.			
Hildalgo.....	Beaver.....	10 October 1907.....	Albert G. Burns
Hillsboro.....	Caddo.....	4 January 1904.....	Clarence C. Abbott
Formerly Laverty. Name changed back to Laverty 15 January 1908.			
Hillsdale.....	Garfield.....	2 March 1900.....	Michael Lutz
From 8 July 1905 to 11 September 1906 this office was known as Coldwater.			
Hilton.....	Lincoln.....	15 February 1896.....	Huldah E. Hill
Discontinued by order dated 3 December 1904, effective 31 December 1904, mail to Wellston.			
Hinton.....	Caddo.....	5 July 1902.....	Harry J. Campbell
Formerly Crosby.			
Hitchcock.....	Blaine.....	9 October 1901.....	John W. Payne
Hitt.....	Beaver.....	16 August 1906.....	Ernest B. Zugg
Discontinued by order dated 5 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail to Ruskin.			
Hobart.....	Kiowa.....	9 July 1901.....	Willis M. England
Formerly Speed.			
Hobson.....	Custer.....	15 December 1898.....	Blanche Tuner
Discontinued by order dated 14 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Arapaho.			
Hodge.....	Day.....	4 June 1901.....	O. M. Sneary.
The order establishing this office was rescinded 27 July 1901, and the office was never in operation.			
Hoisington.....	Lincoln.....	23 November 1892.....	Andrew J. Mefford
The order establishing this office was rescinded 2 March 1895, and the office was never in operation.			
Holland.....	Beaver.....	26 April 1904.....	Hezekiah W. Holland
Discontinued effective 15 April 1913, mail to Speermore.			
Hollis.....	Greer.....	31 October 1901.....	M. E. Jones
Holt.....	Woods.....	6 April 1895.....	Edward T. Hixson
Discontinued by order dated 4 November 1901, effective 15 November 1901, mail to Ringwood.			
Home.....	Kingfisher.....	13 June 1891.....	Mrs. Mary McElwane
The appointee was not commissioned, the office was discontinued by order dated 7 September 1892, and the office was never in operation.			

Homestead.....	Blaine.....	26 January 1893.....	John P. D. Mourgrand
Hominy.....	Osage.....	10 July 1891.....	Robert W. Dunlap
Honeyville.....	Grant.....	4 February 1895.....	James Salmon
Discontinued by order dated 1 August 1900, effective 15 August 1900, mail to Clyde.			
Hooker.....	Beaver.....	13 October 1902.....	Laura H. Albright
Hopeton.....	Woods.....	31 May 1894.....	Susan W. Merrill
Hopkins.....	Blaine.....	20 February 1900.....	Grace J. Hopkins
Name changed to Carlton 1 December 1902.			
Horace.....	Lincoln.....	23 March 1892.....	John W. Caldwell
Discontinued effective 7 January 1895, mail to Fallis.			
Horn.....	Dewey.....	16 January 1902.....	David Roll
Discontinued by order dated 8 March 1905, effective 31 March 1905, mail to Cestos.			
Howard.....	Woodward.....	5 March 1903.....	Christian F. Howard
Discontinued effective 14 August 1909, mail to Ellendale.			
Hoyle.....	Woods.....	31 January 1894.....	Lou E. Hughes
Name changed to Ames 4 January 1902.			
Hulen.....	Comanche.....	21 December 1901.....	T. B. Middleton
Discontinued effective 31 January 1906, mail to Geronimo.			
Hunt.....	Pawnee.....	4 June 1904.....	George R. Rumney
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Hallett.			
Hunter.....	Garfield.....	10 January 1901.....	Wm. L. Chambers
Huntville.....	Kingfisher.....	1 November 1892.....	John M. Hunt
Discontinued effective 30 September 1903, mail to Kingfisher.			
Hurley.....	Dewey.....	1 April 1898.....	James A. Mickell
Discontinued effective 15 November 1906, mail to Oakwood.			
Hurley.....	Beaver.....	2 October 1907.....	Wm. P. Sandusky
Hurst.....	Comanche.....	14 July 1903.....	Dillard Winningham
Discontinued by order dated 15 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to Frederick.			
Hutchason.....	Pottawatomie.....	7 May 1892.....	Clark Hutchason
The appointee was not commissioned, the office was discontinued by order dated 7 September 1892, and the postoffice was never in operation.			
Hydro.....	Caddo.....	23 September 1901.....	Newton W. Butler
Icomium.....	Logan.....	17 July 1895.....	Joseph L. Youngker, Jr.
Ida.....	Lincoln.....	25 March 1895.....	Levi Keller
Discontinued by order dated 27 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Chandler.			
Idelah.....	Oklahoma.....	14 December 1889.....	James H. Concannon
Discontinued effective 5 November 1891, mail to Choctaw City.			
Imi.....	Caddo.....	25 March 1902.....	Harry E. Southam
The order establishing this office was rescinded 28 July 1902, and the office was never in operation.			
Imo.....	Garfield.....	18 March 1895.....	George P. Allen
Discontinued by order dated 11 January 1906, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Enid.			
Independence.....	Custer.....	5 October 1892.....	Roland B. Clark
Indianoma.....	Comanche.....	23 April 1902.....	Lewis Howard Lee
Indian.....	Roger Mills.....	23 January 1901.....	George M. Scott
The order establishing this office was rescinded 6 August 1901, and the office was never in operation.			
Indianapolis.....	Custer.....	7 February 1902.....	Henrietta Jones
Inez.....	Pottawatomie.....	9 August 1898.....	Hannah Scott
Discontinued by order dated 3 September 1901, effective 14 September 1901, mail to Remus.			

- Ingalls.....Payne.....22 January 1890.....Robert F. McMurtry
Discontinued by order dated 4 October 1907, effective 31 October 1907, mail to Stillwater.
- Ingersoll.....Woods.....13 September 1901.....Clifford E. McDaniel
- Ingleton.....Dewey.....31 January 1899.....Vesta A. Ingle
Discontinued by order dated 10 July 1905, effective 31 July 1905, mail to Seiling.
- Ingram.....Lincoln.....2 April 1892.....Nancy I. Ingram
Discontinued effective 16 December 1898, mail to Wellston.
- Ioland.....Day.....29 March 1892.....Frank Terry
- Irene.....Woodward.....4 March 1903.....George L. Wolfe
Discontinued effective 27 February 1909, mail to Abbie.
- Iris.....Woodward.....8 February 1904.....Joseph Powell
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Yelton.
- Irving.....Lincoln.....11 June 1892.....Miss Victoria A. Hardy
Discontinued effective 25 April 1894, mail to Chandler.
- Isabella.....Pottawatomie.....15 February 1875.....Isabella A. Clardy
Name changed to Clardyville 25 February 1875.
- Isabella.....Woods.....25 July 1894.....Gerhard G. Wieler
- Isadore.....Comanche.....25 October 1907.....Alfred B. Seay
Discontinued effective 15 December 1912, mail to Frederick.
- Ison.....Caddo.....11 January 1902.....Alice L. Bailey
Name changed to Gracemont 30 January 1903.
- Iva.....Beaver.....25 February 1905.....Stella M. LeCrone
Discontinued by order dated 9 October 1907, effective 31 October 1907, mail to Floris.
- Ivanhoe.....Beaver.....26 August 1887.....Melville L. Cox
Name changed to Custer 28 October 1891.
- Ivanhoe.....Beaver.....20 March 1892.....Peter Krockner
- Ivy.....Pottawatomie.....14 May 1892.....Ivy Lewis
Discontinued effective 25 August 1893, mail to Adell.
- Ivy.....Dewey.....4 June 1895.....Frank O. Stoops
Discontinued by order dated 31 January 1900, effective 15 February 1900, mail to Parkville.
- Jacks.....Dewey.....7 March 1895.....Andrew J. Abercrombie
Discontinued by order dated 10 January 1906, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Fay.
- Jackson.....Logan.....25 March 1890.....Leopold Zipf
Name changed to Tohee 13 November 1890.
- James.....Beaver.....19 May 1906.....Orthello N. James
Discontinued effective 30 June 1910, mail to Eva.
- Jarrell.....Comanche.....22 May 1903.....Joseph Jarrell
Discontinued by order dated 2 May 1906, effective 14 May 1906, mail to Frederick.
- Jay.....Oklahoma.....23 June 1892.....Evi B. Mullion
Name changed to Rossville 21 February 1895.
- Jay.....Roger Mills.....25 May 1901.....Crowell B. Wear
The order establishing this office was rescinded 24 August 1901, and the office was never in operation.
- Jay.....Greer.....7 August 1903.....John T. Craig
Discontinued by order dated 17 February 1905, effective 15 March 1905, mail to Duke.
- Jefferson.....Grant.....12 January 1894.....Wm. J. Hicks
- Jeffress.....Greer.....26 June 1889.....Thomas J. Jeffress
Discontinued 11 November 1889. This postoffice was never in operation.

Jenkins.....	Woods.....	28 April 1898.....	Jennie Walker
Discontinued by order dated 20 May 1905, effective 15 June 1905, mail to Dacoma.			
Jennie.....	Garfield.....	27 September 1894.....	Thomas J. Jones
Name changed to Cropper 12 January 1900.			
Jennings.....	Pawnee.....	14 November 1893.....	Albert G. McCain
Jester.....	Greer.....	18 November 1890.....	David C. Jester
Jet.....	Woods.....	28 June 1894.....	Warner M. Jett
Jetmore.....	Garfield.....	27 November 1896.....	Nelson L. Huling
Discontinued by order dated 26 June 1900, effective 30 June 1900, mail to Carrier.			
Jewel.....	Caddo.....	27 March 1902.....	Robert W. T. Browning
Discontinued by order dated 25 August 1905, effective 14 September 1905, mail to Binger.			
Jones.....	Oklahoma.....	1 June 1898.....	Stella M. Beebe
Formerly Glaze.			
Jonesborough.....	Cleveland.....	17 July 1890.....	John W. Boswell
Discontinued effective 16 April 1892, mail to Oklahoma.			
Judson.....	Blaine.....	9 August 1892.....	Edward C. Barclay
Discontinued effective 31 October 1908, mail to Geary.			
Jumper.....	Pottawatomie.....	6 December 1893.....	Sarah E. Haas
Discontinued effective 11 December 1894, mail to Eason.			
Junction.....	Comanche.....	20 February 1902.....	James Callahan
Jungensen.....	Beaver.....	4 August 1906.....	George R. Parker
Name changed to Garlington 14 February 1908.			
Karoma.....	Woods.....	26 May 1894.....	Joseph Fitzpatrick
Name changed to Goltry 27 January 1904.			
Kaw Agency.....	Kay.....	28 June 1880.....	Thomas G. Gilbert
Discontinued by order dated 29 September 1902, effective 15 October 1902, mail to Kaw.			
Kaw.....	Kay.....	12 September 1902.....	Wm. J. Krebs
Kay Center.....	Kay.....	9 October 1897.....	Levi Hornor
Discontinued effective 1 June 1898, mail to Kildare.			
Kebolte.....	Lincoln.....	17 December 1891.....	Miss Minnie K. Shear
Discontinued effective 15 November 1892.			
Kechi.....	Caddo.....	25 March 1902.....	Joshua C. Anderson
Discontinued by order dated 19 May 1906, effective 15 June 1906, mail to Cement.			
Keith.....	Woods.....	4 May 1894.....	Charles G. Keith
Discontinued by order dated 3 October 1904, effective 15 October 1904, mail to Kiowa, Kans.			
Kelly.....	Greer.....	12 June 1900.....	Robert A. Moran
Discontinued effective 15 December 1910, mail to Looney.			
Keltner.....	Beaver.....	4 April 1906.....	Claud Keltner
Discontinued effective 30 June 1910, mail to Carthage.			
Kendrick.....	Lincoln.....	21 January 1903.....	Joseph C. Pringey
Formerly Avondale.			
Kenton.....	Beaver.....	12 May 1891.....	Adolph Fehlmann
Formerly Florence.			
Keokuk Falls.....	Pottawatomie.....	13 January 1892.....	Henry J. Jones
Discontinued effective 15 February 1918, mail to Prague.			
Keota.....	Beaver.....	18 July 1904.....	Irene Brookhart
Name changed to Benola 7 February 1906.			

- Keys.....Oklahoma.....30 March 1901.....John G. Foss
The appointee declined his commission; S. T. Bryan was appointed postmaster by order dated 31 May 1901; the office was discontinued by order dated 12 July 1901; and the office was never in operation.
- Keystone.....Woods.....23 February 1888.....William Childress
Name changed to Waynoka 10 April 1889.
- Keystone.....Pawnee.....26 May 1900.....Philander Reeder
- Kibby.....Woodward.....31 October 1901.....John L. Merian
- Kickapoo.....Oklahoma.....30 July 1897.....Elmo Cook
Discontinued by order dated 30 July 1900, effective 15 August 1900, mail to Luther.
- Kickapoo Station.....Pottawatomie.....6 January 1876.....Thomas Stephens
Did not operate 24 January 1877 to 10 April 1878. Discontinued effective 4 September 1879.
- Kidder.....Caddo.....24 February 1902.....Reason A. Caster
Discontinued by order dated 2 November 1905, effective 14 December 1905, mail to Hinton.
- Kiel.....Kingfisher.....15 June 1894.....Paul Friedmann
Name changed to Loyal 1 October 1918.
- Kildare.....Kay.....14 October 1893.....Geo. O. Woodworth
- Kimball.....Beaver.....5 October 1892.....Lorenzo Lujan
Discontinued effective 19 June 1899, mail to Mineral.
- Kimball.....Woodward.....20 November 1903.....Lizzie M. Cook
Discontinued effective 15 June 1909, mail to Yelton.
- King.....Pottawatomie.....25 April 1891.....George A. Newsom
Name changed to Dale 26 October 1893.
- Kingfisher.....Kingfisher.....18 July 1889.....Jacob W. Mills
Formerly Lisbon.
- Kingman.....Woodward.....13 January 1906.....Bert Bartholomew
Discontinued effective 31 October 1912, mail to Abbie.
- Kingsley.....Woodward.....21 December 1905.....William K. Young
Discontinued effective 31 May 1909, mail to Speermore.
- Kinman.....Dewey.....18 March 1891.....Mrs. Florence Hardin
Discontinued effective 27 May 1891, mail to Kingfisher.
- Kinney.....Kiowa.....12 March 1902.....Rebecca Kinney
Discontinued by order dated 13 February 1905, effective 15 March 1905, mail to Snyder.
- Kinnick.....Comanche.....2 December 1902.....Elijah B. Kinnick
Discontinued by order dated 2 May 1906, effective 14 May 1906, mail to Frederick.
- Kintz.....Woods.....4 May 1894.....Levi O. LeDon
Discontinued by order dated 14 April 1900, effective 30 April 1900, mail to Zula.
- Kiobre.....Kiowa.....3 May 1902.....B. H. Nixon
Discontinued by order dated 20 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Snyder.
- Knickerbocker.....Beaver.....22 July 1905.....William M. Guthrie
Discontinued by order dated 23 January 1907, effective 15 February 1907, mail to Hooker.
- Knowles.....Beaver.....16 March 1907.....Alice L. Lundy
- Knolton.....Woods.....20 July 1901.....George W. Knolton
Discontinued effective 14 January 1904, mail to Cherokee.
- Kokoma.....Beaver.....20 March 1888.....John A. Wiseman
Discontinued effective 6 October 1891, mail to Beaver.

Kokomo.....	Day.....	24 February 1902.....	Eliza M. Porter
The order establishing this office was rescinded 27 September 1902, and the office was never in operation.			
Komalty.....	Kiowa.....	6 December 1901.....	Isadore Kempinsky
Koreb.....	Greer.....	6 June 1894.....	Leander H. Dugger
Discontinued by order dated 9 May 1906, effective 31 May 1906, mail to Mangum.			
Korn.....	Washita.....	27 April 1896.....	Mary L. King
Name changed to Corn 26 September 1918.			
Kremlin.....	Garfield.....	7 November 1893.....	Harvey G. Tompson
Kuhn.....	Beaver.....	3 October 1906.....	John Boepple
Discontinued effective 15 October 1912, mail to Postle.			
Labelle.....	Woods.....	22 May 1899.....	Leonidas A. Walton
Discontinued effective 25 October 1904, mail to Capron.			
Lacey.....	Kingfisher.....	16 April 1890.....	Darius C. Fransworth
Discontinued effective 30 April 1909, mail to Hennessey.			
Lacrosse.....	Caddo.....	18 March 1902.....	Cord Timken
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Pocasset.			
Ladessa.....	Greer.....	4 March 1902.....	Richard P. Wright
Discontinued effective 10 December 1908, mail to Blake.			
Lahoma.....	Garfield.....	22 January 1894.....	David H. Gorby
Lake.....	Beaver.....	24 December 1887.....	Winston Gilbert
Name changed to Clear Lake 11 February 1888.			
Lake.....	Woods.....	7 March 1895.....	Samuel Cramer
Discontinued effective 14 August 1905, mail to Aline.			
Lakeview.....	Logan.....	25 April 1891.....	Robert L. Nelson
Discontinued effective 25 October 1894, mail to Zion.			
Lakeview.....	Pottawatomie.....	29 December 1896.....	Lorenzo Heath
Discontinued effective 31 July 1905, mail to Wanette.			
Lambdin.....	Lincoln.....	21 December 1896.....	John M. Boyle
Discontinued effective 15 July 1904, mail to Prague.			
Lambert.....	Woods.....	21 November 1901.....	Ozro Wright
Lamont.....	Grant.....	15 December 1893.....	Alexander Lawrence
Land.....	Osage.....	6 July 1894.....	James T. Land
Discontinued effective 19 March 1895, mail to Ponca.			
Langston.....	Logan.....	25 June 1891.....	Samuel G. Garrett
Lansing.....	Beaver.....	19 April 1888.....	Drury N. Morris
Discontinued effective 26 June 1896, mail to Benton.			
Larned.....	Roger Mills.....	16 July 1902.....	Eliza Dykes
Discontinued by order dated 27 September 1906, effective 31 October 1906, mail to Carpenter.			
Lathrop.....	Woodward.....	22 September 1902.....	Wallace M. Brown
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Woodward.			
Laverne.....	Woodward.....	30 March 1898.....	Geo. W. Frisbee
Did not operate during the period 15 December 1908 to 15 May 1912.			
Laverty.....	Caddo.....	19 November 1901.....	George L. Powell
From 4 January 1904 to 15 January 1908 this office was named Hillsboro.			
Lavrock.....	Beaver.....	8 January 1889.....	George F. Eubank
Discontinued effective 30 April 1892, mail to Hardesty.			
Law.....	Lincoln.....	7 September 1892.....	Jay Law
Discontinued by order dated 19 May 1900, effective 31 May 1900, mail to Baker.			

- Lawrence.....Kiowa.....24 October 1902.....Susan L. Standeson
Discontinued by order dated 23 March 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Komalty.
- Lawrie.....Logan.....22 August 1890.....Allen G. Walters
Did not operate during the period 26 October 1892 to 7 July 1897. Discontinued by order dated 5 October 1900, effective 15 October 1900, mail to Guthrie.
- Lawson.....Pawnee.....17 January 1894.....John W. Ellsworth
Name changed to Quay 24 February 1903.
- Lawter.....Custer.....2 February 1897.....Henry A. Lawter
Discontinued effective 6 July 1899, mail to Weatherford.
- Lawton.....Comanche.....15 July 1901.....Josiah F. White
- Leal.....Caddo.....10 February 1902.....Minnie P. McClure
On 29 June 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 31 July 1906, but the order was rescinded 12 August 1906, and the office continued in operation. Discontinued effective 30 April 1910, mail to Cogar.
- Leedey.....Dewey.....6 January 1900.....Amos Leedey
- Leger.....Greer.....10 July 1901.....Sherod Hatley
Formerly Altus. Name changed back to Altus 14 May 1904.
- Lela.....Noble.....17 February 1894.....Charles S. Stanbus
From 3 October 1904 to 18 March 1905 this office was named Valeria.
- Lemon.....Greer.....23 June 1892.....Lewis M. Medlin
Discontinued effective 25 April 1894, mail to Duke.
- Lemon.....Caddo.....22 April 1903.....Robert M. Lemons
Discontinued by order dated 11 August 1903, effective 31 August 1903, mail to Exendine.
- Lemon.....Beaver.....27 April 1905.....J. M. Stanley
Discontinued by order dated 14 August 1907, effective 14 September 1907, mail to Hooker.
- Lena.....Woods.....2 July 1896.....Samuel M. Puterbaugh
Discontinued by order dated 18 October 1899, effective 31 October 1899, mail to Vining.
- Lenora.....Dewey.....24 March 1896.....John N. Haddon
- Leota.....Custer.....15 December 1898.....George H. Noble
Discontinued by order dated 24 May 1905, effective 15 June 1905, mail to Thomas.
- Leroy.....Pawnee.....31 May 1894.....Robert L. Jordan
Discontinued by order dated 13 December 1905, effective 15 January 1906, mail to Keystone.
- Leslie.....Woods.....6 November 1894.....Everett A. Mitchell
Discontinued by order dated 6 April 1903, effective 10 April 1903, mail to Roscoe.
- Letitia.....Comanche.....28 November 1903.....William N. Jones
Formerly Rucker.
- Lettice.....Kiowa.....23 February 1904.....James W. Smith
The order establishing this office was rescinded 8 May 1904, and the office was never in operation.
- Lewiston.....Lincoln.....27 October 1895.....Mattie C. Lewis
Discontinued by order dated 30 November 1904, effective 31 December 1904, mail to McLoud.
- Lexington.....Cleveland.....21 February 1890.....Henry W. Stuart
- Libbie.....Caddo.....10 May 1902.....Libbie Hammer
Discontinued by order dated 23 May 1905, effective 15 June 1905, mail to Hydro.

- Liberty.....Canadian.....14 June 1890.....Nicholas D. Barrett
Discontinued by order dated 5 January 1904, effective 14 January 1904,
mail to El Reno.
- Lillivale.....Kay.....3 May 1894.....James E. Lilly
Discontinued by order dated 13 April 1903, effective 30 April 1903, mail to
Bramen.
- Lilly.....Lincoln.....23 June 1892.....Joel F. Lilly
Discontinued effective 16 December 1898, mail to Davenport.
- Lily.....Day.....14 July 1903.....James D. Graham
Discontinued by order dated 9 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906, mail
to Arnett.
- Lima.....Logan.....3 March 1892.....Benjamin R. Hathaway
Discontinued 25 June 1901, effective 15 July 1901, mail to Action.
- Lincoln.....Kingfisher.....14 December 1889.....John J. Gowing
Discontinued effective 22 September 1894, mail to Wanamaker.
- Lincoln.....Greer.....18 May 1899.....Wm. J. Daniel
Discontinued by order dated 9 February 1906, effective 28 February 1906,
mail to Louis.
- Linden.....Cleveland.....17 October 1893.....James L. Swailes
Discontinued by order dated 24 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906,
mail to Newalla.
- Linkart.....Beaver.....14 June 1905.....John W. Duncan
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1907, effective 30 November 1907,
mail to Fernwood.
- Lisbon.....Kingfisher.....20 April 1889.....Jacob W. Mills
Name changed to Kingfisher 18 July 1889.
- Lisbon.....Woodward.....29 May 1903.....James G. Williams
The appointee declined the appointment, the order establishing the office
was rescinded 26 December 1903, and the office was never in operation.
- Littlerobe.....Day.....24 March 1902.....Wm. F. Burnett
Discontinued effective 30 September 1909, mail to Weeks.
- Lock.....Greer.....25 May 1891.....William W. Kittrell
Discontinued by order dated 14 December 1905, effective 15 January 1906,
mail to Altus.
- Lockhart.....Oklahoma.....21 March 1894.....George D. Lockhart
Discontinued by order dated 1 August 1903, effective 15 August 1903, mail
to Britton.
- Lockridge.....Logan.....7 November 1903.....Wm. P. Adams
- Lockwood.....Beaver.....10 March 1887.....Chancy D. Fisk
Discontinued effective 30 June 1917, mail to Logan.
- Lodessa.....Greer.....4 March 1902.....Richard P. Wright
- Loewen.....Day.....6 May 1904.....Jacob J. Loewen
Discontinued by order dated 19 September 1905, effective 14 October 1905,
mail to Shattuck.
- Loftus.....Pottawatomie.....26 May 1894.....Arthur C. Goodall
Name changed to Earlsboro 12 June 1895.
- Logan.....Beaver.....10 December 1888.....William Reynolds
- London.....Roger Mills.....21 July 1904.....David L. Wininger
Discontinued by order dated 2 November 1905, effective 14 December 1905,
mail to Carter.
- Lonebell.....Day.....15 May 1903.....Ambrose M. Brown
Discontinued effective 30 June 1910, mail to Peek.
- Loneoak.....Greer.....6 February 1902.....Stephen O. Frazier
The order establishing this office was rescinded 29 October 1902, and the
office was never in operation.

- Lonestar.....Custer.....10 July 1895.....James R. Grigg
Discontinued by order dated 14 June 1904, effective 30 June 1904, mail to Parker.
- Lonetree.....Woods.....7 October 1895.....Edward Sands
Discontinued by order dated 6 February 1902, effective 28 February 1902, mail to Amorita.
- Lone Wolf.....Kiowa.....29 January 1901.....Samuel E. Dewees
- Longdale.....Blaine.....28 November 1903.....Robert L. Eaton
Formerly Cainville.
- Longwood.....Kay.....2 November 1895.....Guss H. Pellman
Discontinued by order dated 29 September 1902, effective 15 October 1902, mail to Kaw.
- Lookeba.....Caddo.....28 June 1902.....Frank W. Loula
- Lookout.....Woodward.....16 October 1901.....H. Richard Kent
- Looney.....Greer.....1 June 1892.....Tourney Looney
Discontinued effective 15 October 1912, mail to Gould.
- Lorena.....Beaver.....13 January 1904.....Lorena M. Stone
- Loretta.....Beaver.....7 May 1898.....Loretta McCain
Name changed to Texhoma 12 November 1901.
- Louis.....Greer.....25 April 1891.....Louis Goemann
Did not operate during the period 14 October 1903 to 17 June 1905.
- Lovel.....Payne.....8 December 1893.....Lovel P. Fortner
Discontinued by order dated 6 March 1902, effective 31 March 1902, mail to Yates.
- Lovell.....Logan.....12 February 1906.....Wm. C. Kilby
Formerly Perth.
- Lowe.....Lincoln.....15 December 1903.....John R. Shoop
Formerly Speer. Discontinued by order dated 16 June 1904, effective 30 June 1904, mail to Chandler.
- Lucerne.....Woodward.....29 May 1903.....Daisey M. Charles
Discontinued by order dated 22 October 1907, effective 15 November 1907, mail to Cooley.
- Lucien.....Noble.....27 June 1903.....Mary E. Ruhl
Formerly Mateer.
- Luella.....Garfield.....6 June 1894.....John W. Riley
Name changed to Fairmont 24 December 1902.
- Lugert.....Kiowa.....18 April 1902.....Frank Lugert
Did not operate during the period 14 June 1904 to 7 October 1908.
- Luther.....Oklahoma.....26 July 1898.....James M. Morgan
Formerly Garnettville.
- Lydia.....Lincoln.....28 May 1892.....Jacob Amberg
Discontinued by order dated 29 July 1904, effective 13 August 1904, mail to Sparks.
- Lyle.....Grant.....1 October 1896.....John G. Willis
Discontinued by order dated 9 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail to Clyde.
- Lynn.....Woods.....12 March 1895.....Stephen D. Warren
Discontinued by order dated 14 January 1904, effective 30 January 1904, mail to Ringwood.
- Lyons.....Woods.....21 March 1894.....Abiel W. Griffin
Discontinued by order dated 4 August 1905, effective 31 August 1905, mail to Ames.
- McCardie.....Garfield.....13 March 1894.....Willis G. Hughes
Name changed to Garber 20 April 1894.

McCloud	Pottawatomie	21 June 1895	Mattie C. Ross
Name changed to McCloud 24 October 1895.			
McComb	Pottawatomie	29 May 1903	Wm. Wesselhoft
Name changed to Macomb 16 July 1915.			
McKim	Woodward	18 July 1907	Mary L. Sexton
Formerly Wyatt. Discontinued effective 27 February 1909, mail to Yelton.			
McKinley	Logan	12 December 1891	Marion P. McCoy
Discontinued by order dated 25 January 1904, effective 15 February 1904, mail to Shiloh.			
McKinney	Noble	15 December 1893	Geo. R. McKinney
Did not operate during the period 14 December 1894 to 26 January 1895.			
Name changed to Ceres 6 February 1897.			
McKnight	Greer	27 June 1901	Francis A. Chappell
Discontinued effective 15 August 1911, mail to Hollis.			
McLoud	Pottawatomie	24 October 1895	Mattie C. Ross
Formerly McCloud.			
McNeal	Woodward	6 April 1899	Lydia Solter
Discontinued effective 14 January 1904, mail to Mutual.			
MacArthur	Roger Mills	14 October 1901	Charles N. Wheeler
Discontinued by order dated 9 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Hammon.			
Macon	Blaine	5 January 1897	Isaac Robinson
Discontinued effective 16 May 1899.			
Madden	Greer	17 June 1901	Luxie L. Gates
Discontinued by order dated 16 August 1902, effective 20 August 1902, mail to Hess.			
Madge	Greer	13 March 1895	Eunice M. Lindsey
Discontinued effective 31 December 1913, mail to Vinson.			
Madison	Beaver	17 June 1904	Norval W. Earl
Formerly Custer.			
Maharg	Washita	17 June 1898	John R. Graham
Discontinued by order dated 8 June 1901, effective 15 June 1901, mail to Foss.			
Magnolia	Noble	28 March 1890	Harry L. Atherton
Name changed to Redrock 9 June 1892.			
Maguire	Cleveland	29 May 1900	Thomas N. Henderson
Discontinued by order dated 3 December 1906, effective 2 January 1907, mail to Noble.			
Mallon	Lincoln	29 November 1899	Emma Langley
Discontinued by order dated 12 May 1905, effective 31 May 1905, mail to Avery.			
Mallory	Beaver	15 July 1905	Festus C. Mallory
Discontinued by order dated 9 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Gray.			
Manchester	Grant	25 January 1897	John W. Simmons
Manese	Blaine	17 October 1893	Thos. J. Manese
Discontinued by order dated 13 October 1906, effective 31 October 1906, mail to Fay.			
Manfred	Kiowa	12 April 1902	Wm. R. Bryan
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1905, effective 25 February 1905, mail to Snyder.			
Mangum	Greer	15 April 1886	Henry C. Sweet
Manila	Lincoln	24 December 1898	Alice L. Farr
Discontinued by order dated 6 December 1902, effective 31 December 1902, mail to Arlington.			

- Manitou.....Comanche.....29 January 1902.....Orlando E. Corder
 Manko.....Pottawatomie.....28 May 1896.....Geo. E. Lewis
 Discontinued by order dated 4 September 1902, effective 30 September 1902,
 mail to Vista.
- Maramec.....Pawnee.....8 April 1903.....Lizzie O. Ryan
 Formerly Crystal.
- Mardock.....Cleveland.....31 January 1900.....Olevia E. Walker
 Discontinued by order dated 3 December 1906, effective 2 January 1907, mail
 to Norman.
- Marella.....Beaver.....12 May 1906.....Davis B. Ingle
 Discontinued effective 30 September 1915, mail to Griggs.
- Marena.....Payne.....5 January 1892.....Hollis Thompson
 Did not operate during the period 27 September 1893 to 22 November 1893.
 Discontinued by order dated 22 January 1907, effective 15 February 1907, mail
 to Mulhall.
- Marengo.....Beaver.....18 October 1904.....Martha M. Gillette
 Discontinued by order dated 16 April 1908, effective 15 May 1908, mail to
 Logan
- Marie.....Greer.....26 October 1899.....Jeff J. Salter
 Discontinued effective 15 November 1911, mail to Mangum.
- Marion.....Woods.....26 January 1897.....Louis A. Pierce
 Discontinued by order dated 14 December 1901, effective 31 December 1901,
 mail to Ingersoll.
- Marshall.....Logan.....1 March 1890.....Sylvan T. Rice
 Did not operate during the period 28 January 1895 to 28 February 1895.
- Martha.....Greer.....18 May 1889.....Thomas F. Medlin
- Martin.....Logan.....27 October 1890.....Mrs. Birdie Martin
 Formerly Elm. Discontinued effective 26 October 1891, mail to Langston.
- Martin.....Greer.....16 September 1892.....Levi F. Martin
 Discontinued effective 15 April 1912, mail to Hollis.
- Marvel.....Canadian.....4 March 1902.....Claude W. Russell
 Discontinued effective 25 April 1911, mail to Miles.
- Masham.....Pawnee.....3 February 1899.....Charles T. Chaffin
 Discontinued effective 14 August 1909, mail to Pawnee.
- Mateer.....Noble.....23 December 1899.....John K. Mateer
 Name changed to Lucien 27 June 1903.
- Mateer.....Roger Mills.....24 October 1904.....Edward C. Mateer
 Discontinued by order dated 6 November 1907, effective 30 November 1907,
 mail to Harrington.
- Mathewson.....Canadian.....25 March 1890.....Joseph Gravenhorst
 Discontinued by order dated 9 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904,
 mail to Piedmont.
- Maud.....Pottawatomie.....16 April 1896.....Walter L. Cash
- Max.....Blaine.....25 March 1902.....Fuston C. Winchester
 Discontinued by order dated 8 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail
 to Hatchett.
- Maxwell.....Garfield.....2 February 1894.....Eugene C. Crews
 Discontinued effective 12 July 1895, mail to Bloomer.
- May.....Woodward.....25 July 1896.....John N. Porterfield
- Mayfield.....Roger Mills.....23 December 1902.....Alfred S. Mayfield
- Maynus.....Kiowa.....23 April 1902.....John W. Adams
 The order establishing this office was rescinded 22 July 1902, and the office
 was never in operation.

Medford.....	Grant.....	31 October 1893.....	Daniel L. Cline
Media.....	Woods.....	17 June 1905.....	Mary E. Daniels
Discontinued effective 28 February 1915, mail to Togo.			
Meeker.....	Lincoln.....	29 May 1903.....	William A. Scott
Formerly Clifton.			
Meers.....	Comanche.....	12 March 1902.....	Anna L. Kirk
Mehan.....	Payne.....	8 February 1900.....	Francis M. Goremm
Melrose.....	Day.....	5 April 1905.....	William H. Prince
The order establishing this office was rescinded 11 July 1905, and the office was never in operation.			
Mendon.....	Woods.....	19 January 1897.....	Perry Chinn
Discontinued effective 15 December 1910, mail to Bryan.			
Meno.....	Woods.....	19 October 1899.....	Jacob A. Wedel
Meridian.....	Beaver.....	1 June 1887.....	John Walburn
Did not operate during the period 21 November 1890 to 2 January 1891.			
Discontinued effective 25 July 1893, mail to Gate City.			
Meridian.....	Logan.....	10 March 1894.....	Sarah E. Harbor
Merrick.....	Lincoln.....	23 October 1903.....	Edward G. Haver
Merriitt.....	Roger Mills.....	9 August 1901.....	Victor H. Waggoner
Discontinued by order dated 26 June 1908, effective 15 July 1908, mail to Elk City.			
Mesquite.....	Greer.....	14 January 1901.....	William H. Peaden
Discontinued by order dated 16 June 1905, effective 14 July 1905, mail to El Dorado.			
Metcalf.....	Beaver.....	23 May 1894.....	John J. Metcalf
Discontinued by order dated 28 August 1900, effective 15 September 1900, mail to Garrett.			
Metcalf.....	Greer.....	20 February 1905.....	Hugh Metcalf
Discontinued effective 31 August 1911, mail to Dryden.			
Middleton.....	Woods.....	19 August 1895.....	Mary DeHaven
Discontinued effective 22 September 1896, mail to Alva.			
Middleton.....	Kay.....	30 July 1900.....	David A. McHugh
Formerly Gray.			
Midlothian.....	Lincoln.....	8 June 1901.....	Wm. W. Dean
Discontinued by order dated 25 August 1902, effective 15 September 1902, mail to Ellis.			
Midlothian.....	Lincoln.....	23 September 1904.....	Barbara Poe
Formerly Ellis.			
Milan.....	Cleveland.....	7 February 1891.....	John R. Robison
Discontinued effective 16 July 1891, mail to Moore.			
Milan.....	Woods.....	28 January 1895.....	William Nimmo
Discontinued by order dated 21 October 1902, effective 31 October 1902, mail to Timberlake.			
Milan.....	Day.....	19 September 1905.....	James B. Ezell
Discontinued by order dated 25 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Grand.			
Miller.....	Oklahoma.....	21 February 1890.....	Samuel H. Miller
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Britton.			
Millsville.....	Day.....	12 March 1901.....	Jennie Mills
Discontinued by order dated 11 January 1906, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Texmo.			
Mineral.....	Beaver.....	29 March 1895.....	William E. Campbell
Formerly Mineral City. Discontinued effective 15 February 1911, mail to Wheelless.			

- Mineral City.....Beaver.....6 February 1888.....Sebastian L. Baker
Name changed to Mineral 29 March 1895.
- Minnetonka.....Beaver.....4 January 1907.....Frank C. Erkel
Discontinued effective 15 April 1910, mail to Willowbar.
- Minnelo.....Beaver.....18 October 1904.....Maraman Fletcher
Discontinued by order dated 27 July 1906, effective 15 August 1906, mail to Conquest.
- Mirabile.....Woods.....11 May 1895.....John Renfrow
Discontinued effective 18 April 1896, mail to Virgel.
- Mirage.....Comanche.....2 December 1902.....George B. Reilly
Discontinued by order dated 5 September 1905, effective 30 September 1905, mail to Manitou.
- Mishak.....Oklahoma.....29 March 1900.....Frank Mishak
Discontinued by order dated 17 June 1904, effective 30 June 1904, mail to Oklahoma.
- Mission.....Lincoln.....23 June 1892.....John F. Murdock
The appointee at first declined the appointment and the office was discontinued by order dated 18 August 1892. On 28 December 1892 a new order was issued again appointing Murdock postmaster, and at that time the office first commenced operation. Name changed to Fallis 13 July 1894.
- Mitchell.....Beaver.....28 August 1888.....James W. Mitchell
Discontinued effective 24 September 1890, mail to Grand Valley.
- Mitchell.....Lincoln.....5 April 1895.....Nathaniel Mullins
Discontinued by order dated 12 January 1905, effective 15 February 1905, mail to Merrick.
- Mitscher.....Osage.....3 October 1901.....Henry Huffman
Discontinued by order dated 26 May 1902, effective 14 June 1902, mail to Cedarvale, Kans.
- Momet.....Pottawatomie.....18 November 1884.....George Greyson
Discontinued effective 3 June 1885, mail to Johnson, Ind. T.
- Mondamin.....Kiowa.....24 July 1903.....J. Clay Adams
Name changed to Cold Springs 27 January 1913.
- Moonan.....Washita.....14 March 1901.....Emma Fallen
Discontinued by order dated 8 April 1905, effective 29 April 1905, mail to Dill.
- Moore.....Cleveland.....27 May 1889.....Albert M. Petite
- Mooreland.....Woodward.....5 February 1902.....Frank M. Jones
- Moral.....Pottawatomie.....28 May 1892.....Brooks H. Walker
- Moran.....Grant.....13 March 1894.....David H. Smalley
Discontinued by order dated 30 April 1904, effective 14 May 1904, mail to Hawley.
- Moretz.....Comanche.....6 September 1902.....William L. Moretz
Discontinued by order dated 25 March 1904, effective 30 April 1904, mail to Denton.
- Morgan.....Cleveland.....24 April 1901.....Morgan G. Morgan
Formerly Berry. Discontinued by order dated 29 June 1906, effective 31 July 1906, mail to Moore.
- Morris.....Greer.....25 August 1890.....James F. Black
Discontinued effective 6 November 1892, mail to Martha.
- Morrison.....Noble.....27 February 1894.....Edward L. Parris
Formerly Autry.
- Morvin.....Pottawatomie.....13 April 1898.....Clara Hurst
- Moscow.....Woodward.....3 May 1894.....Horace Cox
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to Mutual.

Mountain Park.....	Kiowa.....	28 February 1902..	William B. Poole Formerly Burford.
Mountain View.....	Washita.....	9 October 1900.....	Charles B. Snow Formerly Oakdale.
Mount Scott.....	Comanche.....	13 November 1901..	Janette Rowell Discontinued effective 15 March 1914, mail to Lawton.
Mountview.....	Washita.....	14 June 1894.....	Andrew J. Miller Discontinued by order dated 5 March 1900, effective 15 March 1900, mail to Segar.
Mount Walsh.....	Greer.....	5 December 1888..	Louisa A. Haynes Discontinued by order dated 17 August 1900, effective 31 August 1900, mail to Granite.
Mulhall.....	Logan.....	6 June 1890.....	Ancil B. Woods Formerly Alfred.
Mulkin.....	Blaine.....	16 January 1902.....	Lida Mulkin Discontinued by order dated 17 October 1902, effective 31 October 1902, mail to Bridgeport.
Mullins.....	Kiowa.....	11 November 1903..	Alvin E. Mullins Discontinued by order dated 27 July 1904, effective 13 August 1904, mail to Mountain Park.
Munden.....	Beaver.....	17 May 1907.....	H. W. Munden Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Riverside.
Munger.....	Oklahoma.....	16 January 1899.....	Ambrose D. Leach Name changed to Spencer 25 February 1903.
Muncie.....	Dewey.....	3 August 1901.....	Andrew W. Cagg On 26 August 1905 an order was issued discontinuing this office to be effective 30 September 1905, but the order was rescinded 13 September 1905; and on 2 August 1906 a like order was issued to be effective 31 August 1906, but was rescinded 30 August 1906, and in each instance the office continued in operation. Discontinued effective 31 October 1908, mail to Fountain.
Murdock.....	Beaver.....	31 January 1889.....	C. W. Bugbee Discontinued effective 12 August 1891, mail to Englewood, Kans.
Muriel.....	Beaver.....	4 August 1906.....	George A. Seaman The order establishing this office was rescinded 31 January 1907, and the office was never in operation.
Murray.....	Woodward.....	11 November 1902..	John O. Murray Discontinued effective 31 December 1914, mail to Rosston.
Mustang.....	Canadian.....	4 February 1895.....	Annie Maxwell
Mutual.....	Woodward.....	4 June 1895.....	Elias Heckart
Myrna.....	Beaver.....	7 December 1906..	Martin J. Streeter Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Jurgensen.
Myrtle.....	Kingfisher.....	24 September 1890..	Mrs. Annie VanDeven Discontinued by order dated 29 July 1904, effective 13 August 1904, mail to Hennessey.
Nabisco.....	Beaver.....	13 January 1904.....	Jasper M. Stark Discontinued by order dated 14 September 1906, effective 29 September 1906, mail to Tyrone.
Nagle.....	Kingfisher.....	18 March 1896.....	John H. Ruckman Formerly Snyder. Discontinued by order dated 15 August 1903, effective 31 August 1903, mail to Reeding.
Nardin.....	Kay.....	12 April 1898.....	Daniel E. Mahaffey Formerly Vilott.
Nashville.....	Grant.....	14 February 1894...	Clark L. Nash Name changed to Nash 23 March 1911.

- Navajoe.....Greer..... 1 September 1887..Walter H. Acers
Discontinued by order dated 8 April 1905, effective 15 May 1905, mail to Headrick.
- Navina.....Logan..... 2 October 1900.....John Berg
- Neal.....Pottawatomie..... 2 June 1894.....Susan B. Smith
Did not operate during the period 21 March 1896 to 4 August 1896. Discontinued by order dated 23 April 1907, effective 15 May 1907, mail to Earlsboro.
- Needs.....Woods..... 28 January 1896.....Ella Greer
Discontinued by order dated 8 January 1900, effective 31 January 1900, mail to Bryan.
- Neff.....Beaver..... 8 August 1904.....James H. Hicks
Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Hooker.
- Nelagoney.....Osage..... 1 December 1906..A. E. Selby
- Nellie.....Comanche..... 5 June 1902.....Nathaniel K. Hawthorn
- Nelms.....Comanche..... 7 November 1901..Clark C. Nelms
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Chattanooga.
- Neola.....Caddo..... 17 February 1902..Reuben N. Schooling
Discontinued effective 30 September 1910, mail to Fort Cobb.
- Nesbitt.....Kingfisher..... 10 January 1895.....Mathias T. Wolfe
Discontinued by order dated 5 May 1904, effective 14 May 1904, mail to Dover.
- Newalla.....Oklahoma..... 22 June 1904.....John Malone
Formerly Halifax.
- Newhope.....Grant..... 4 August 1903.....Ernest Howard
Discontinued by order dated 5 August 1904, effective 13 August 1904, mail to Manchester.
- Newkirk.....Kay..... 18 January 1894.....Wm. G. Jones
Formerly Santa Fe.
- New Ponca.....Kay..... 12 January 1894.....Wm. S. Thomas
Name changed to Ponca 7 July 1898.
- Nicely.....Canadian..... 8 August 1896.....Louis Courcier
Discontinued by order dated 28 October 1904, effective 15 November 1904, mail to Calumet.
- Niles.....Canadian..... 25 August 1902.....Wm. E. Niles
- Ninemile.....Blaine..... 6 March 1899.....Charles W. Copron
Discontinued by order dated 20 December 1899, effective 30 December 1899, mail to Dyke.
- Nira.....Woods..... 18 May 1903.....Arvilla M. Armstrong
Formerly Funston. Discontinued by order dated 15 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail to Avard.
- Noble.....Cleveland..... 18 July 1889.....Albert Rennie
- Nora.....Lincoln..... 23 June 1892.....Mrs. Clara G. Ballard
Discontinued by order dated 12 August 1902, effective 30 August 1902, mail to Tryon.
- Norman.....Cleveland..... 27 May 1889.....Daniel W. Marquart
- North Enid.....Garfield..... 19 January 1894.....Wm. A. Swartout
Discontinued effective 31 August 1923, mail to Enid.
- Northville.....Canadian..... 24 January 1894.....Jas. C. North
Discontinued effective 27 October 1898, mail to Geary.
- Nugent.....Greer..... 3 May 1894.....Lee W. Dugger
The order establishing this office was rescinded 2 June 1894, and the office was never in operation.
- Numa.....Grant..... 20 April 1898.....George A. Risen
- Nye.....Beaver..... 15 November 1893..Martha B. Baker
Site changed to Meade County, Kans. 8 December 1919.

Oakdale.....	Washita.....	14 October 1893.....	Wm. H. V. Yates
Name changed to Mountain View 9 October 1900.			
Oakley.....	Dewey.....	9 October 1899.....	John A. Dillon
Discontinued effective 7 April 1905, mail to Taloga.			
Oakwood.....	Dewey.....	15 June 1899.....	Milton F. Mills
Oberlin.....	Pottawatomie.....	25 April 1876.....	Mary Trousdale
Formerly Clardyville. Name changed to Wagoza 18 July 1881.			
Ocate.....	Woodward.....	31 January 1899.....	Taylor F. Maulding
Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1906, effective 15 November 1906, mail to May.			
Odema.....	Greer.....	18 June 1901.....	Leander H. Criswell
Discontinued by order dated 2 May 1906, effective 14 May 1906, mail to El Dorado.			
Odessa.....	Washita.....	15 August 1894.....	Morgan L. Smith
Discontinued by order dated 6 December 1901, effective 31 December 1901, mail to Canterbury.			
Odetta.....	Kiowa.....	13 July 1903.....	William L. Dunn
Okarche.....	Canadian.....	28 June 1890.....	Mrs. Laura M. Speer
Okeene.....	Blaine.....	27 January 1893.....	David Rupert
Okesa.....	Osage.....	17 January 1906.....	James B. Jones
Oklahoma.....	Oklahoma.....	18 December 1888.....	Samuel H. Radebaugh
Formerly Oklahoma Station. Name changed to Oklahoma City 1 July 1923.			
Oklahoma Station.....	Oklahoma.....	30 December 1887.....	Samuel H. Radebaugh
Name changed to Oklahoma 18 December 1888.			
Olds.....	Comanche.....	21 May 1902.....	Robert A. Deupree
Name changed to Davidson 20 June 1903.			
Oleta.....	Woodward.....	24 August 1901.....	Grant W. Bailey
Formerly Whitehead. Name changed to Fargo 17 February 1905.			
Ollie.....	Roger Mills.....	26 May 1903.....	August M. Fuchs
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1906, effective 31 March 1906, mail to Prentiss.			
Olustee.....	Greer.....	27 February 1895.....	James H. Ragon
Omega.....	Kingfisher.....	9 August 1892.....	John Smith
Omer.....	Kingfisher.....	17 June 1891.....	Mrs. Josie E. Bradshaw
Discontinued by order dated 25 June 1901, effective 15 July 1901, mail to Ball.			
Ona.....	Beaver.....	22 April 1907.....	Ida V. Schmoyer
Onasco.....	Caddo.....	18 March 1902.....	Louise P. Stenger
Discontinued by order dated 11 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail to Apache.			
Oneida.....	Kingfisher.....	23 June 1892.....	Frank M. Brown
Discontinued by order dated 4 February 1901, effective 14 February 1901, mail to Kiel.			
O'Neil.....	Woodward.....	23 January 1901.....	Stewart H. Fallis
Discontinued by order dated 8 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to Driscoll.			
Oneil.....	Woods.....	13 August 1907.....	Chas. R. Dennis
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Chester.			
Oney.....	Caddo.....	12 March 1902.....	Martin F. Hennessey
Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Fort Cobb.			
Onyx.....	Garfield.....	23 May 1894.....	William S. Rinsley
Name changed to Douglas 25 February 1903.			
Opal.....	Woodward.....	2 October 1900.....	George W. Spencer
Discontinued by order dated 28 January 1904, effective 30 January 1904, mail to Tangier.			

- Optima.....Beaver.....13 September 1886.....William H. Miller
 Ora.....Comanche.....25 September 1902.....Ora L. Kirke
 Name changed to Tallaville 24 June 1905.
- Oreana.....Comanche.....27 September 1901.....Benjamin N. Turk
 Discontinued by order dated 26 August 1905, effective 30 September 1905,
 mail to Cloverton.
- Orie.....Grant.....5 June 1894.....Samuel Hines
 Name changed to Deer Creek 27 February 1899.
- Orienta.....Woods.....12 March 1901.....Jefferson D. Boardman
 Orinsville.....Noble.....21 February 1898.....Wm. O. Cassady
 Discontinued by order dated 19 May 1900, effective 31 May 1900, mail to
 Glenco.
- Orion.....Woods.....10 April 1895.....Mary L. Dougherty
 Orlando.....Logan.....18 July 1889.....George N. Dodson
 Ortleigh.....Kingfisher.....5 June 1894.....Mary McElwain
 Discontinued effective 8 April 1896, mail to Lacey.
- Osage.....Pawnee.....23 May 1894.....Elliott B. Gravett
 Discontinued by order dated 21 August 1902, effective 15 September 1902,
 mail to Skedee.
- Osage.....Osage.....23 November 1906.....G. H. Saxon
 Osborne.....Kay.....6 February 1894.....Virgil P. Dillingham
 Name changed to Eddy 3 January 1901.
- Osceola.....Custer.....18 May 1895.....Alfred C. Parmenter
 Discontinued effective 31 January 1909, mail to Butler.
- Oshuskey.....Beaver.....15 October 1906.....Mrs. Maye Oshuskey
 Discontinued effective 31 May 1913, mail to Midwell.
- Osiris.....Woodward.....21 July 1900.....Sarah E. Lefever
 Discontinued effective 31 January 1909, mail to Perdue.
- Osmith.....Pottawatomie.....4 February 1884.....Samuel Davis
 Did not operate during the period 15 January 1887 to 1 September 1887.
 Discontinued effective 29 June 1888, mail to Sacred Heart.
- Otego.....Payne.....19 April 1894.....Geo. W. Clark
 Did not operate during the period 11 November 1895 to 18 June 1898. Dis-
 continued by order dated 4 September 1903, effective 30 September 1903,
 mail to Stillwater.
- Otex.....Beaver.....15 October 1906.....Miss Bettie Patterson
 Discontinued by order dated 9 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Tex-
 homa.
- Otis.....Greer.....7 June 1905.....Anderson M. Clark
 Discontinued by order dated 7 November 1905, effective 15 November 1905,
 mail to Lincoln.
- Otoe.....Noble.....3 May 1892.....Benjamin F. Swarts
 Formerly Redrock.
- Otter.....Kingfisher.....24 December 1892.....Wm. H. Luckey
 Did not operate during the period 27 September 1893 to 2 July 1894. Dis-
 continued by order dated 19 July 1899, effective 31 July 1899, mail to Alpha.
- Otwell.....Kingfisher.....1 June 1892.....Thomas Waters
 On 8 September 1892 an order was issued discontinuing this office, but the
 order was rescinded 14 September 1892, and the office continued in oper-
 ation. Discontinued effective 4 May 1894, mail to Lacey.
- Owens.....Kay.....8 December 1898.....Charles O. Howe
 Discontinued effective 31 August 1911, mail to Billings.
- Oxford.....Woods.....4 November 1898.....Wm. A. Knapp
 Discontinued by order dated 22 December 1903, effective 31 December 1903,
 mail to Carwile.

- Oxley.....Blaine.....23 November 1893.....Allen B. Lasswell
Discontinued by order dated 11 October 1901, effective 31 October 1901,
mail to Winnview.
- Palace.....Woodward.....17 April 1903.....Charles E. Bradley
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Buffalo.
- Paladin.....Beaver.....5 March 1903.....Rosa Curtis
On 12 May 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 31 May 1906, but the order was rescinded 1 June 1906, and the office continued in operation. Discontinued effective 31 August 1908, mail to Logan.
- Paladora.....Beaver.....25 April 1888.....John Burns
Discontinued effective 14 January 1899, mail to Liberal, Kans.
- Pana.....Garfield.....19 October 1895.....McClellan Race
Discontinued by order dated 19 February 1902, effective 15 March 1902, mail to Hunter.
- Paradise.....Payne.....23 June 1892.....Charles H. Miller
Discontinued by order dated 15 December 1904, effective 14 January 1905, mail to Coyle.
- Paris.....Kingfisher.....13 June 1891.....Gustavis A. Akers
Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1901, effective 31 December 1901, mail to Dover.
- Parker.....Kay.....2 April 1894.....Wm. H. Padon
Formerly Blackwell. Name changed back to Blackwell 4 February 1895.
- Parker.....Custer.....24 April 1901.....James M. Gilbreath
Discontinued by order dated 24 March 1906, effective 30 April 1906, mail to Clinton.
- Parkland.....Lincoln.....19 December 1894.....McShelly Fishback
- Parkman.....Day.....29 August 1902.....Eliza Saber
- Parks.....Grant.....25 March 1895.....Sue L. Wighton
Discontinued effective 25 March 1896, mail to Caldwell, Kans.
- Parkville.....Dewey.....17 June 1895.....Patrick W. McGonzill
Discontinued by order dated 22 November 1900, effective 30 November 1900, mail to Oakley.
- Parnell.....Lincoln.....13 July 1895.....William C. Parnell
Name changed to Payson 22 August 1903.
- Partridge.....Lincoln.....9 April 1892.....George R. Partridge
Discontinued effective 31 July 1908, mail to Wellston.
- Paruna.....Woodward.....5 March 1903.....George H. Overbeck
- Parvin.....Kingfisher.....23 November 1892.....Wm. N. Rogers
Discontinued by order dated 2 March 1904, effective 19 March 1904, mail to Okeene.
- Paul.....Dewey.....18 July 1904.....Lorenzo D. Jones
Discontinued effective 31 March 1911, mail to Grow.
- Pawhuska.....Osage.....4 May 1876.....Lizzie Hiatt
- Pawnee.....Pawnee.....26 October 1893.....Henry C. Jacobs
Formerly Pawnee Agency.
- Pawnee Agency.....Pawnee.....4 May 1876.....George F. Howell
Name changed to Pawnee 26 October 1893.
- Payne.....Payne.....19 June 1890.....Albert M. Haverstock
Discontinued effective 12 February 1894, mail to Cimarron City.
- Payson.....Lincoln.....22 August 1903.....Matea N. Brunt
Formerly Parnell.
- Peace.....Woodward.....10 December 1903.....Bessie L. McPherson
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1908, effective 15 February 1908, mail to Quinlan.

- Pearl.....Woodward.....16 December 1897..Annie Coulter
Discontinued effective 30 September 1911, mail to Curtis.
- Pearson.....Comanche..... 5 December 1901..James E. Pearson
Discontinued by order dated 22 September 1904, effective 15 October 1904,
mail to Davidson.
- Peaster.....Roger Mills..... 3 December 1900..Daniel N. Dudgeon
Discontinued by order dated 2 February 1907, effective 28 February 1907,
mail to Doxey.
- Pecan.....Cleveland.....20 January 1896.....Jesse J. Brown
Discontinued by order dated 6 May 1905, effective 31 May 1905, mail to
Lexington.
- Peck.....Day.....15 February 1906..Albert C. Wilbert
- Peckham.....Kay.....15 July 1899.....Wm. Leonard
- Pedee.....Noble.....27 July 1894.....Charles E. Jennings
Discontinued by order dated 17 May 1904, effective 31 May 1904, mail to
Billings.
- Pegnot.....Grant.....20 January 1896.....Elijah W. Dennis
The order establishing this office was rescinded 3 March 1896, and the office
was never in operation.
- Pennington.....Oklahoma.....13 March 1894.....Joseph A. Huskey
Name changed to Sweeney 22 June 1896.
- Peoria.....Beaver..... 1 March 1890.....Jesten Hickman
Discontinued effective 29 April 1891, mail to Beaver.
- Perdue.....Woodward.....24 April 1901.....Robert Sneeringer
On 8 June 1904 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective
30 June 1904, but the order was rescinded 21 June 1904, and the office con-
tinued in operation. Discontinued effective 31 July 1909, mail to Ellendale.
- Perkins.....Payne.....31 January 1890.....Jesse E. Stanton
- Perry.....Noble.....25 August 1893.....Charles P. Drace
- Persimmon.....Woodward.....21 April 1894.....George Allison
Discontinued by order dated 9 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail
to Mutual.
- Perth.....Logan.....22 May 1899.....Wm. Denny
Name changed to Lovell 12 February 1906.
- Phelps.....Comanche.....11 January 1902.....Robert P. Simpson
Discontinued by order dated 29 July 1904, effective 15 August 1904, mail
to Lawton.
- Phroso.....Woods.....19 September 1900..James Case
- Pickee.....Kay.....13 September 1897..Edward A. Hildebrand
The appointee declined, and the office did not commence operation until
the appointment on 18 January 1898 of John H. Johnston. Discontinued by
order dated 13 October 1902, effective 31 October 1902, mail to Kildare.
- Piedmont.....Canadian.....26 December 1903..John R. Coykend
- Pierceton.....Kay.....26 May 1894.....Louis M. Pierce
Name changed to Autwine 5 March 1903.
- Pilgrim.....Woods.....25 June 1904.....Wm. A. Stapp
Discontinued by order dated 16 November 1905, effective 15 December 1905,
mail to Winchester.
- Pilot.....Roger Mills.....18 June 1903.....Lula M. Tucker
Discontinued by order dated 2 November 1905, effective 30 November 1905,
mail to Harrington.
- Pink.....Pottawatomie.....24 January 1894.....Joseph M. Fahnestock
The appointee declined, and the office did not commence operation until the
appointment on 19 March 1894 of Thos. M. McKittrick. Discontinued by
order dated 24 January 1906, effective 14 February 1906, mail to Tecumseh.

Pinkston.....	Day.....	31 October 1904.....	Edward Hall
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1908, effective 15 February 1908, mail to Grand.			
Pior.....	Roger Mills.....	3 March 1900.....	John F. Bolding
Name changed to Doxey 5 December 1902.			
Piqua.....	Woods.....	22 May 1899.....	John F. Peeler
Discontinued by order dated 3 January 1903, effective 15 January 1903, mail to Cherokee.			
Pixlee.....	Custer.....	6 April 1899.....	Elizabeth B. Young
Discontinued by order dated 14 September 1904, effective 30 September 1904, mail to Busch.			
Plains.....	Woodward.....	18 March 1907.....	James T. Darling
Discontinued by order dated 9 April 1908, effective 30 April 1908, mail to Catesby.			
Plainview.....	Greer.....	5 February 1898.....	Virgia Wood
The appointee declined the appointment, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 20 June 1890 of J. W. Kelley. Did not operate during the period 2 December 1898 to 19 February 1901. Discontinued by order dated 30 April 1902, effective 15 May 1902, mail to Mangum.			
Plano.....	Washita.....	21 July 1897.....	Andrew J. McMillan
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1904, effective 31 March 1904, mail to Mountain View.			
Pleasant Valley.....	Logan.....	29 February 1904.....	Charles M. Howland
Formerly Anna.			
Plover.....	Comanche.....	12 June 1902.....	Jacob S. Funk
Discontinued by order dated 16 August 1904, effective 31 August 1904, mail to Comanche, Ind. T.			
Pluma.....	Woodward.....	10 February 1902.....	Howard M. Covert
Discontinued by order dated 19 December 1905, effective 15 January 1906, mail to Curtis.			
Plumb.....	Payne.....	21 March 1892.....	William McCoy
Discontinued by order dated 17 August 1900, effective 31 August 1900, mail to Ripley.			
Plymouth.....	Woods.....	22 August 1894.....	Henry R. Phelps
Discontinued by order dated 31 August 1905, effective 30 September 1905, mail to Homestead.			
Poarch.....	Roger Mills.....	15 July 1899.....	James H. Poarch
Poe.....	Greer.....	17 December 1891.....	Richard M. Thorp
Discontinued effective 12 October 1895, mail to El Dorado.			
Polk.....	Kay.....	4 April 1894.....	Geo. W. Littleton
Discontinued by order dated 30 September 1904, effective 15 October 1904, mail to Tonkawa.			
Pollan.....	Dewey.....	8 June 1901.....	Joseph Z. Pollan
Did not operate during the period 30 September 1903 to 8 February 1904. Discontinued effective 31 August 1913, mail to Vici.			
Pollock.....	Lincoln.....	16 September 1892.....	Salem J. Hardin
Name changed to Belton 20 November 1893.			
Polo.....	Noble.....	31 January 1894.....	Andreas C. Anderson
Discontinued by order dated 19 August 1904, effective 15 September 1904, mail to Perry.			
Polona.....	Canadian.....	28 March 1890.....	Rizon D. Hovions
Discontinued effective 21 March 1891, mail to Frisco.			
Ponca.....	Kay.....	4 December 1879.....	Joseph H. Sherborne
Name changed to Whiteagle 21 August 1896.			

- Ponca.....Kay.....7 July 1898.....Elbert W. Hoyt
Formerly New Ponca. Name changed to Ponca City 23 October 1913.
- Pond.....Grant.....13 November 1879.....William E. Malaley
Discontinued effective 14 April 1887, mail to Caldwell, Kans.
- Pond Creek.....Grant.....18 July 1889.....George W. Haines
Discontinued 25 March 1890; this office was never in operation.
- Pondcreek.....Grant.....29 September 1893.....Samuel H. Cummins
- Pope.....Woods.....3 June 1902.....Clyde T. Dobbins
Discontinued 29 August 1902; this office was never in operation.
- Port.....Washita.....21 February 1901.....William H. Bunch
- Portland.....Washita.....16 May 1904.....James M. Wheeler
Formerly Salem.
- Postle.....Beaver.....6 July 1905.....Charles E. Agens
Discontinued effective 15 June 1915, mail to Camp.
- Potter.....Garfield.....4 February 1895.....Lida Potter
Discontinued by order dated 1 June 1904, effective 15 June 1904, mail to Orlando.
- Prague.....Lincoln.....12 August 1902.....David Barrett
- Prairie.....Grant.....28 June 1894.....Julia Hitt
Discontinued by order dated 8 April 1901, effective 30 April 1901, mail to Hillsdale.
- Pratt.....Woodward.....17 April 1903.....Charles S. Rackley
Discontinued by order dated 19 April 1906, effective 14 May 1906, mail to Farry.
- Prentiss.....Roger Mills.....26 January 1903.....Ursa L. Fockler
The appointee declined the appointment, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 9 April 1903 of Wm. W. Anderson.
- Preston.....Beaver.....30 June 1892.....Edith Fought
Discontinued by order dated 17 December 1901, effective 31 December 1901, mail to Hardesty.
- Pringle.....Woodward.....18 May 1901.....Elias J. Babcock
Discontinued effective 31 May 1914, mail to Curtis.
- Progress.....Day.....4 April 1906.....Albert J. Key
Discontinued by order dated 9 July 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Texmo.
- Pronto.....Beaver.....23 February 1904.....Willard G. Young
Discontinued effective 27 February 1909, mail to Sophia.
- Prospect.....Greer.....6 June 1900.....Robert P. Tyler
Discontinued by order dated 28 February 1906, effective 31 March 1906, mail to El Dorado.
- Providence.....Day.....15 May 1903.....Lewis E. Gower
Discontinued by order dated 22 January 1907, effective 15 February 1907, mail to Parkman.
- Prudence.....Woods.....30 April 1895.....John F. Kimmerly
Discontinued by order dated 4 June 1901, effective 15 June 1901, mail to Lyons.
- Prue.....Osage.....30 September 1905.....Joseph Shaeffer
- Pueblo.....Kiowa.....17 April 1903.....Samuel E. Combs
The appointee declined, the order establishing the office was rescinded 16 July 1903, and the office was never in operation.
- Pulis.....Beaver.....4 August 1906.....Joseph Pulis
Discontinued by order dated 18 November 1907, effective 14 December 1907, mail to Oshuskey.
- Purvis.....Greer.....9 April 1892.....Reanzo L. Jefferson
Did not operate during the period 14 October 1895 to 26 April 1901.

Putnam.....	Dewey.....	4 June 1895.....	Lyman Reed
Quanah.....	Comanche.....	25 October 1907.....	Wm. A. Fuqua
Discontinued effective 31 July 1911, mail to Grandfield.			
Quartermaster.....	Custer.....	13 September 1901.....	Sarah E. Chaffin
Discontinued by order dated 12 September 1905, effective 14 October 1905, mail to Harmon.			
Quartz.....	Greer.....	25 February 1888.....	Albert C. Farmer
Discontinued by order dated 10 July 1900, effective 31 July 1900, mail to Granite.			
Quay.....	Pawnee.....	24 February 1903.....	Sylvester Brock
Formerly Lawson.			
Quincy.....	Cleveland.....	21 March 1892.....	Vincent E. Breese
Discontinued by order dated 19 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904, mail to Mustang.			
Quinlan.....	Woodward.....	27 April 1901.....	James R. Millor
Rabbitt.....	Blaine.....	18 May 1905.....	Beaty B. Creamer
The order establishing this office was rescinded 17 June 1905, and the office was never in operation.			
Racine.....	Canadian.....	24 June 1895.....	George W. White
Formerly Clermont. Discontinued by order dated 7 January 1902, effective 31 January 1902, mail to Mathewson.			
Radium.....	Caddo.....	23 April 1904.....	M. E. Seward
Discontinued by order dated 3 July 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Gracemont.			
Ragsdale.....	Beaver.....	24 March 1904.....	George R. Ragsdale
Rainy.....	Washita.....	28 April 1894.....	T. J. Shepherd
Discontinued by order dated 14 April 1905, effective 15 May 1905, mail to Rocky.			
Ralley.....	Beaver.....	26 April 1907.....	Herman Homer
Discontinued effective 31 March 1914, mail to Griggs.			
Ralph.....	Greer.....	12 June 1900.....	T. N. Wilmore
The order establishing this office was rescinded 6 October 1900, and the office was never in operation.			
Ralston.....	Pawnee.....	15 June 1894.....	Louis K. Purdom
Rambo.....	Pawnee.....	3 December 1900.....	Edward W. Williams
Discontinued by order dated 3 October 1903, effective 14 October 1903, mail to Pawnee.			
Randlett.....	Caddo.....	3 May 1902.....	Grace A. Simler
Discontinued by order dated 30 September 1905, effective 31 October 1905, mail to Anadarko.			
Range.....	Beaver.....	21 May 1895.....	John F. Smallwood
Rankin.....	Roger Mills.....	12 May 1902.....	John T. Rankin
Ransom.....	Payne.....	9 April 1892.....	William L. Dix
Discontinued effective 25 April 1894, mail to Ingalls.			
Rathbone.....	Custer.....	3 March 1893.....	James A. Wilks
Discontinued by order dated 2 December 1904, effective 31 December 1904, mail to Foss.			
Rawdon.....	Woodward.....	18 May 1901.....	Anna C. Vaughn
Discontinued by order dated 26 June 1905, effective 15 July 1905, mail to Higley.			
Raymond.....	Dewey.....	5 April 1894.....	Hezekiah Frazer
Discontinued by order dated 16 June 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Lenora.			
Readout.....	Woodward.....	19 September 1902.....	Jesse P. Rathburn
Discontinued effective 30 June 1913, mail to Murray.			

Reason.....	Day.....	26 July 1902.....	Jesse D. Chandler
Redcliff.....	Washita.....	21 July 1900.....	Charles E. Perry
The order establishing this office was rescinded 6 October 1900, and the office was never in operation.			
Red Horse.....	Woodward.....	13 February 1906.....	Silas Moyer
The order establishing this office was rescinded 16 May 1906, and the office was never in operation.			
Redmoon.....	Roger Mills.....	14 October 1893.....	George E. Shufeldt
Redpoint.....	Beaver.....	25 April 1896.....	Wm. C. Wood
Discontinued effective 28 February 1915, mail to Guymon.			
Redriver.....	Greer.....	20 February 1900.....	C. T. Cannon
The order establishing this office was rescinded 8 August 1900, and the office was never in operation.			
Redriver.....	Comanche.....	20 June 1904.....	Jefferson D. Thomas
Discontinued by order dated 2 September 1904, effective 15 September 1904, mail to Waurika.			
Redrock.....	Noble.....	8 November 1881.....	Charlotte Woodin
Name changed to Otoe 3 May 1892.			
Redrock.....	Noble.....	9 June 1892.....	Joseph H. Schnell
Formerly Magnolia.			
Redwood.....	Washita.....	28 August 1903.....	James Cummins
Discontinued by order dated 14 April 1905, effective 15 May 1905, mail to Rocky.			
Reed.....	Greer.....	16 September 1892.....	John R. Graham
Reeding.....	Kingfisher.....	27 August 1900.....	Mary A. Reed
Relief.....	Garfield.....	11 July 1899.....	John L. Rainey
Discontinued by order dated 5 March 1900, effective 15 March 1900, mail to Cropper.			
Remington.....	Osage.....	18 January 1905.....	Lewis L. Denoya
Discontinued effective 15 March 1912, mail to Burbank.			
Remus.....	Pottawatomie.....	3 July 1893.....	Wm. R. Foyil
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1906, effective 15 February 1906, mail to Maud.			
Renfrow.....	Grant.....	25 May 1894.....	Ida Walton
Reno City.....	Canadian.....	15 June 1889.....	Norman W. Dickson
Discontinued effective 30 October 1899, mail to El Reno.			
Retrop.....	Washita.....	12 January 1900.....	Ira J. Porter
Discontinued by order dated 8 February 1905, effective 28 February 1905, mail to Sentinel.			
Retta.....	Kay.....	3 April 1902.....	Josiah Bean
Discontinued by order dated 23 January 1908, effective 15 February 1908, mail to Blackwell.			
Rhea.....	Dewey.....	7 November 1895.....	Ben F. Richardson
Rhoads.....	Roger Mills.....	26 April 1904.....	Albert H. Rhoads
Discontinued by order dated 20 June 1905, effective 14 July 1905, mail to Grimes.			
Rice.....	Beaver.....	2 March 1906.....	Catherine L. Spradlin
Richards.....	Comanche.....	5 November 1901.....	Lewis F. Boyce
Did not operate during the period 15 August 1906 to 19 June 1909. Discontinued effective 9 March 1910, mail to Apache.			
Richburg.....	Noble.....	10 April 1894.....	Ernest G. Richardson
Discontinued by order dated 8 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail to Perry.			
Richland.....	Kay.....	25 May 1894.....	Mrs. Mary J. Breedlove
Name changed to Guiley 10 September 1894.			

Richland.....	Canadian.....	29 February 1904.....	Andrew J. Smith
Richmond.....	Woodward.....	6 November 1893.....	John W. White
Did not operate during the period 31 October 1904 to 28 April 1905.			
Ricks.....	Greer.....	27 May 1902.....	John H. Ricks
Discontinued by order dated 2 December 1904, effective 31 December 1904, mail to Warren.			
Riddle.....	Lincoln.....	23 October 1901.....	Sarah J. Cook
Discontinued by order dated 24 July 1903, effective 15 August 1903, mail to Meeker.			
Ridgeton.....	Roger Mills.....	19 December 1904.....	Bessie S. McColgin
Discontinued by order dated 13 December 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Hamburg.			
Riley.....	Dewey.....	23 November 1892.....	Wm. A. Espy
Discontinued by order dated 13 April 1903, effective 30 April 1903, mail to Cestos.			
Ringwood.....	Woods.....	23 March 1894.....	John D. Branham
Ripley.....	Payne.....	23 February 1900.....	John P. Hinkel
Riverside.....	Beaver.....	20 March 1888.....	David S. Hays
Roark.....	Greer.....	15 December 1903.....	Wm. M. Roark
Discontinued by order dated 24 December 1904, effective 15 January 1905, mail to Reed.			
Rock Falls.....	Kay.....	12 February 1894.....	Burke C. Payne
Discontinued effective 25 June 1898, mail to Bramen.			
Rockford.....	Blaine.....	10 April 1894.....	Adam Lockhart
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1902, effective 15 March 1902, mail to Ferguson.			
Rock Island.....	Canadian.....	20 July 1889.....	David C. Bethel
Name changed to Clermont 30 April 1892.			
Rock Island.....	Canadian.....	5 October 1892.....	David C. Bethel
Discontinued effective 21 July 1898, mail to Okarche.			
Rocky.....	Washita.....	12 July 1898.....	John C. Riffe
Rogers.....	Custer.....	25 June 1892.....	Willis E. Rogers
Discontinued by order dated 2 June 1903, effective 15 June 1903, mail to Thomas.			
Roll.....	Day.....	9 December 1903.....	Ada Perkins
Romance.....	Noble.....	4 June 1895.....	Richard M. Johnson
Discontinued effective 8 January 1896.			
Rome.....	Day.....	5 May 1899.....	Morgan L. Smith
Discontinued effective 30 September 1909, mail to Roll.			
Romulus.....	Pottawatomie.....	25 June 1892.....	Mrs. Nancy E. Cagle
Roosevelt.....	Kiowa.....	31 October 1901.....	Jacob D. Richlider
Roscoe.....	Woods.....	17 April 1900.....	Lois J. Roberts
Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Fairview.			
Rosedale.....	Cleveland.....	18 July 1890.....	James W. Massey
Site and name changed to Conception, Oklahoma County, 7 September 1892.			
Roseland.....	Dewey.....	1 February 1900.....	Wm. R. Houghland
Discontinued by order dated 14 January 1908, effective 31 January 1908, mail to Putnam.			
Rosna.....	Comanche.....	19 December 1901.....	Benjamin C. Dillon
Discontinued by order dated 8 May 1902, effective 31 May 1902, mail to Lawton.			
Rossville.....	Oklahoma.....	21 February 1895.....	John P. Barnard
Formerly Jay. Discontinued effective 19 August 1895, mail to Cavett.			
Rossville.....	Lincoln.....	7 October 1895.....	Kate McGinley
Discontinued by order dated 23 January 1907, effective 15 February 1907, mail to Wellston.			

Rothwell.....	Beaver.....	24 September 1887	James S. Hart
	Discontinued effective 18 April 1898,	mail to Paladora.	
Roundgrove.....	Woods.....	17 September 1894	Jacob Maxey
	Discontinued by order dated 23 May 1901,	effective 15 June 1901,	mail to Carwile.
Roy.....	Beaver.....	25 July 1894.....	Clara Westmoreland
	Discontinued by order dated 20 December 1902,	effective 31 December 1902,	mail to Eubank. ⁷
Rucker.....	Comanche.....	25 August 1902.....	John D. R. Cooper
	Name changed to Letitia 28 November 1903.		
Rue.....	Greer.....	18 June 1901.....	Berry E. Owens
	Discontinued effective 14 January 1902.		
Rusk.....	Woods.....	21 March 1894.....	Theodore Roberts
	Discontinued effective 31 October 1912,	mail to Fairview.	
Ruskin.....	Beaver.....	17 March 1906.....	Dee Spohn
	Discontinued effective 15 September 1909,	mail to Cline.	
Russell.....	Greer.....	29 January 1901.....	Clem M. Jones
Ruth.....	Dewey.....	20 June 1895.....	Henry C. Moler
	Discontinued by order dated 13 July 1904,	effective 30 July 1904,	mail to Putnam.
Rutter.....	Pawnee.....	11 October 1899.....	Robert Frost
	Discontinued by order dated 5 September 1900,	effective 15 September 1900,	mail to Valley.
Sac and Fox Agency.....	Lincoln.....	25 October 1875.....	Mrs. Minnie M. Howard
	Discontinued effective 31 December 1910,	mail to Stroud.	
Sacred Heart.....	Pottawatomie.....	24 May 1888.....	John Lavacy
	Formerly Sacred Heart Mission. Did not operate during the period 23 January 1895 to 26 October 1895.		
Sacred Heart Mission.....	Pottawatomie.....	30 January 1879.....	Isadore Robot
	Name changed to Sacred Heart 24 May 1888.		
Saddle Mountain.....	Kiowa.....	22 January 1902.....	Libbie Eimon
	The appointee declined, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 5 April 1902 of Catherine E. Bare.		
St. Albans.....	Payne.....	21 March 1894.....	Lee Short
	Discontinued effective 4 March 1895,	mail to Cimarron.	
Salem.....	Greer.....	23 June 1892.....	Lewis M. Medlin
	Discontinued effective 15 November 1892.		
Salem.....	Washita.....	28 December 1892.....	Sarah Woods
	Name changed to Portland 16 May 1904.		
Salt Creek.....	Osage.....	26 November 1906.....	Elmer W. Parsons
	Name changed to Grainola 28 March 1910.		
Saltfork.....	Grant.....	4 February 1902.....	Elmer Smith
	Formerly Elmpark.		
Salton.....	Greer.....	12 July 1898.....	Lee J. Chaney
	Discontinued effective 31 December 1914,	mail to Vinson.	
Sampsel.....	Beaver.....	23 May 1906.....	Aaron D. Sampsel
Samsville.....	Custer.....	16 January 1893.....	Mattie Sams
	Discontinued by order dated 21 December 1905,	effective 10 January 1906,	mail to Butler.
Sandcreek.....	Grant.....	5 June 1895.....	John Lung
	The date the spelling of this office was changed to Sand Creek is not available.		

⁷ So in the original. Eubank had been discontinued the previous September. See fn. 6.

- Sandy.....Greer.....12 April 1902.....John C. King
The order appointing the postmaster was rescinded 9 October 1902, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 8 March 1905 of Manerva C. McDowell. Discontinued effective 31 August 1910, mail to McKnight.
- Sanford.....Beaver.....14 June 1901.....Cleo Quinn
This postoffice was never in operation.
- Sanford.....Comanche.....5 July 1902.....Milam L. Emanhiser
Discontinued by order dated 29 July 1904, effective 12 August 1904, mail to Davidson.
- Santa Fe.....Kay.....5 October 1893.....Wm. G. Jones
Name changed to Newkirk 18 January 1894.
- Saratoga.....Woodward.....5 May 1906.....Hugh B. Huls
- Sayre.....Roger Mills.....23 October 1901.....Theophilus L. Keen
- Scheidel.....Washita.....5 January 1899.....Frank J. Scheidemantel
Discontinued by order dated 16 February 1903, effective 15 March 1903, mail to Foss.
- Schley.....Pawnee.....24 December 1898.....Adam Becraft
Discontinued by order dated 3 April 1903, effective 30 April 1903, mail to Bryan.
- Schofield.....Comanche.....11 January 1902.....Robert J. Schofield
Discontinued by order dated 5 January 1906, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Manitou.
- Schrock.....Woodward.....15 October 1906.....Ephriam Scrock
Discontinued effective 31 August 1909, mail to Coy.
- Scott.....Caddo.....11 January 1902.....James A. Vance
- Seay.....Blaine.....25 June 1892.....James A. Marsh
Discontinued by order dated 3 January 1901, effective 15 January 1901, mail to Stearns.
- Seay.....Blaine.....25 October 1901.....Enos C. Miles
Formerly Stearns, Kingfisher County. Discontinued by order dated 4 January 1904, effective 30 January 1904, mail to Okeene.
- Sedalia.....Roger Mills.....7 May 1903.....Leroy Jones
Discontinued by order dated 30 November 1907, effective 31 December 1907, mail to Cheyenne.
- Sedan.....Kiowa.....29 December 1902.....Wm. N. C. Fox
- Seger.....Washita.....16 September 1892.....Clara E. Thralls
Discontinued by order dated 16 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Korn.
- Seiling.....Dewey.....4 May 1894.....Louis Seiling
- Selmon.....Comanche.....17 October 1902.....Susan E. Davis
Discontinued by order dated 3 May 1907, effective 31 May 1907, mail to Mount Scott.
- Sentinel.....Washita.....6 March 1899.....Charles W. Brooks
- Servado.....Oklahoma.....16 January 1893.....Thaddeus C. Arbuckle
Discontinued by order dated 16 June 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Luther.
- Sevenoaks.....Custer.....17 January 1894.....Margaret S. Tucker
Discontinued by order dated 14 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail to Thomas.
- Seward.....Logan.....15 May 1889.....Edward S. Manning
- Sewell.....Pottawatomie.....17 June 1905.....Jonathan F. Waters
Discontinued by order dated 11 December 1905, effective 31 December 1905, mail to Tecumseh.

Seymour	Oklahoma ⁸	15 November 1886	William S. Decker
	Discontinued effective 13 May 1887, mail to Redrock.		
Shade	Beaver	19 August 1890	Mary L. Fore
	Discontinued by order dated 21 August 1902, effective 15 September 1902, mail to Liberal, Kans.		
Shafter	Payne	1 November 1898	Wm. M. Wilson
	Discontinued by order dated 4 August 1905, effective 31 August 1905, mail to Yale.		
Shaner	Garfield	27 April 1894	Wm. H. Shaner
	Discontinued by order dated 2 March 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Marshall.		
Shattuck	Woodward	17 November 1893	Wm. H. Robb
Shawnee	Pottawatomie	2 April 1892	Mrs. Etta B. Beard
	On 25 February 1892 a postoffice named Shawneetown was discontinued at this same proximate location.		
Shawneetown	Pottawatomie	6 January 1876	Thomas Deer
	Discontinued effective 25 February 1892, mail to Tecumseh.		
Shell	Caddo	19 June 1902	Wm. L. Shaffer
	Discontinued by order dated 8 March 1906, effective 16 April 1906, mail to Fort Cobb.		
Shelly	Washita	7 September 1892	Mrs. Helena J. Kliever
	Discontinued by order dated 28 June 1906, effective 14 July 1906, mail to Cordell.		
Shelton	Beaver	16 May 1906	Frank F. Burnside
	Discontinued effective 30 November 1912, mail to Eva.		
Sheridan	Kingfisher	28 June 1890	George Rainey
	Discontinued by order dated 1 June 1904, effective 30 June 1904, mail to Hennessey.		
Shiloh	Logan	5 May 1899	Donald Campbell
	Discontinued effective 31 October 1908, mail to Meridian.		
Shirley	Day	19 June 1900	Edward E. Shirley
	Discontinued effective 31 October 1912, mail to Grow.		
Short Springs	Woods	19 March 1895	George Short
Shrewder	Greer	12 May 1902	Riley D. Curnett
	Discontinued effective 31 May 1911, mail to Dryden.		
Sibley	Garfield	21 April 1894	James B. Burwell
	Discontinued by order dated 9 December 1899, effective 30 December 1899, mail to Highland.		
Siboney	Kiowa	4 October 1902	T. S. Williams
	Discontinued by order dated 14 September 1907, effective 31 September 1907, mail to Manitou.		
Sickles	Caddo	14 October 1901	Hall A. Mason
Sieg	Kiowa	4 September 1902	Joseph H. Seig
	Did not operate during the period 31 October 1903 to 18 November 1903. Discontinued by order dated 29 July 1904, effective 31 August 1904, mail to Mountain Park.		
Siller	Pottawatomie	4 March 1903	Ivy Tarter
	Discontinued by order dated 11 December 1905, effective 31 December 1905, mail to Romulus.		
Silver	Oklahoma	3 December 1890	Clayborn Jones
	Discontinued effective 19 September 1894, mail to Choctaw City.		

⁸ Seymour was a "traveling post office" in connection with the construction of the A. T. & S. F. Ry.—E. H. Kelley, "When Oklahoma City was Seymour and Verbeck," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 346-53.

Sims.....	Kiowa.....	17 February 1902.....	Albert G. Harrison
		Discontinued by order dated 8 June 1904, effective 31 June 1904, mail to Roosevelt.	
Sinnett.....	Pawnee.....	27 September 1894.....	Wm. P. Sinnett
		Discontinued by order dated 14 December 1905, effective 15 January 1906, mail to Keystone.	
Sioux.....	Woods.....	7 June 1894.....	Anna E. Jones
		The order establishing this office was rescinded 27 August 1894, and the office was never in operation.	
Sixmile.....	Beaver.....	2 October 1896.....	James O. Judd
		Discontinued effective 18 April 1899, mail to Beaver.	
Skedee.....	Pawnee.....	10 February 1902.....	Thomas T. Wortham
Skeleton.....	Garfield.....	11 June 1894.....	James A. Taggart
		Discontinued by order dated 24 May 1904, effective 14 June 1904, mail to Fairmont.	
Sledgeville.....	Beaver.....	5 May 1906.....	James R. Willard
		Discontinued by order dated 1 February 1907, effective 28 February 1907, mail to Guymon.	
Slusher.....	Cleveland.....	13 June 1894.....	William P. Slusher
		Discontinued by order dated 16 June 1905, effective 14 August 1905, mail to Newalla.	
Snyder.....	Kingfisher.....	28 August 1890.....	Margaret A. Snyder
		Name changed to Nagle 18 March 1896.	
Snyder.....	Kiowa.....	26 May 1902.....	Wesley W. Willis
Solon.....	Woodward.....	10 May 1902.....	Alonzo C. Barthick
		Discontinued by order dated 24 April 1908, effective 31 May 1908, mail to May.	
Sophia.....	Beaver.....	4 March 1903.....	Sophia Miller
Southard.....	Blaine.....	6 September 1905.....	Emma L. Arndt
		Formerly Cherryvale.	
Sparks.....	Lincoln.....	30 August 1902.....	Alvarado Tansel
Sparta.....	Dewey.....	16 April 1901.....	Ephraim S. Smith
		Discontinued effective 15 March 1912, mail to Pollan.	
Speed.....	Kiowa.....	20 February 1901.....	Wm. J. Ryan
		Formerly Hardin. Name changed to Hobart 9 July 1901.	
Speer.....	Lincoln.....	29 March 1892.....	Joseph L. Speer
		Name changed to Lowe 15 December 1903.	
Speermore.....	Woodward.....	4 September 1901.....	Wm. H. Speer
Spencer.....	Garfield.....	11 November 1897.....	Benjamin F. Lilly
		Discontinued by order dated 30 July 1901, effective 15 August 1901, mail to Wilcox.	
Spencer.....	Oklahoma.....	25 February 1903.....	Charles Abel
		Formerly Munger.	
Spilman.....	Kiowa.....	19 September 1902.....	Sarah E. Coan
		Discontinued by order dated 19 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to Mountain Park.	
Springer.....	Beaver.....	6 March 1888.....	William A. Wright
		Discontinued effective 13 December 1888.	
Springfield.....	Comanche.....	18 February 1902.....	Wm. G. Rivers
		Discontinued by order dated 17 April 1908, effective 15 May 1908, mail to Saddle Mountain.	
Springs.....	Woods.....	18 May 1895.....	Louise C. Bresvington
		Discontinued by order dated 11 May 1904, effective 31 May 1904, mail to Manchester.	

- Springvale.....Logan.....21 February 1890.....John S. Darst
Discontinued by order dated 21 April 1903, effective 30 April 1903, mail to Enfield.
- Sprout.....Caddo.....25 March 1902.....Edward P. Sprout
Discontinued by order dated 3 February 1906, effective 28 February 1906 mail to Colony.
- Spurgeon.....Payne.....24 April 1901.....John H. Thomason
The order establishing this office was rescinded 26 July 1901, and the office was never in operation.
- Stacy.....Garfield.....9 January 1899.....J. B. Morgan
Discontinued by order dated 1 November 1901, effective 15 November 1901, mail to Garber.
- Stalter.....Woodward.....28 February 1903.....John W. Stalter
The order establishing this office was rescinded 7 July 1903, and the office was never in operation.
- Standard.....Logan.....30 June 1890.....William D. James
Discontinued effective 31 March 1904, mail to Crescent.
- Star.....Payne.....2 June 1902.....John H. Thomason
Discontinued effective 15 March 1906, mail to Yale.
- Stearns.....Kingfisher.....28 April 1894.....Chas. O. Stearns
Site and name changed to Seay, Blaine County, 25 October 1901.
- Stella.....Cleveland.....23 November 1892.....John D. Bailey
Discontinued effective 14 February 1906, mail to Newalla.
- Sterling.....Woods.....21 March 1894.....Benj. S. Gregg
Name changed to Virgel 24 October 1895.
- Sterling.....Comanche.....17 October 1901.....James G. Dependsink
- Stillwater.....Payne.....28 August 1889.....Robert A. Lowry
- Stineton.....Dewey.....3 November 1898.....Wm. B. Stine
Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1908, effective 15 February 1908, mail to Putnam.
- Stockholm.....Woodward.....6 July 1901.....Jennie I. Kerns
Discontinued effective 15 April 1915, mail to May.
- Stokes.....Kiowa.....23 January 1903.....Hugh Myers
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Sedan.
- Stone.....Day.....2 February 1894.....Kate S. Allen
Discontinued effective 30 November 1914, mail to Camargo.
- Stout.....Washita.....14 June 1899.....Benjamin W. Stout
Formerly Boggy. Name changed to Bessie 22 May 1903.
- Strain.....Dewey.....23 February 1904.....Samuel C. Strain
Discontinued by order dated 5 September 1906, effective 29 September 1906, mail to Vassar.
- Streeter.....Day.....15 September 1900.....Seymour W. Crosby
Discontinued effective 15 September 1909, mail to Crawford.
- Stroud.....Lincoln.....16 September 1892.....James W. Stroud
- Sturm.....Caddo.....10 February 1902.....Jacob J. Sturm
On 2 October 1903 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 14 October 1903 but the order was rescinded 10 October 1903, and the office continued in operation.
- Sully.....Washita.....17 April 1902.....Arthus D. Berry
Discontinued by order dated 14 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Cloud Chief.
- Sumner.....Noble.....22 May 1894.....Alexander R. Youree
- Sumpter.....Kay.....23 March 1901.....John R. Sumpter
Discontinued by order dated 30 January 1908, effective 29 February 1908, mail to Bramen.

Sunset.....	Beaver.....	22 April 1905.....	John Cross
Discontinued effective 30 September 1908, mail to Logan.			
Supply.....	Woodward.....	12 May 1903.....	Lemuel J. Gandy
Formerly Fitzgerald.			
Surprise.....	Beaver.....	3 January 1905.....	Angus L. Griffith
Discontinued effective 30 September 1910, mail to Logan.			
Swan.....	Custer.....	23 June 1902.....	Minnie Cagg
Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Thomas.			
Swanlake.....	Caddo.....	26 February 1902.....	Alicen W. Poe
Sweeney.....	Oklahoma.....	22 June 1896.....	Joseph A. Huskey
Formerly Pennington. Name changed to Harrah 22 December 1898.			
Sweetwater.....	Roger Mills.....	27 September 1894.....	George J. Colburn
Syria.....	Woods.....	25 May 1898.....	George J. Shahdy
Discontinued by order dated 26 June 1907, effective 31 July 1907, mail to Aline.			
Tackitt.....	Day.....	15 September 1900.....	Lewis L. Tackitt
Discontinued effective 11 March 1901.			
Tallaville.....	Comanche.....	24 June 1905.....	John W. Talla
Formerly Ora. Discontinued by order dated 24 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Marlow.			
Taloga.....	Dewey.....	22 March 1892.....	Harvey M. Cleaver
Tangier.....	Woodward.....	18 May 1901.....	George B. Armstrong
Tannar.....	Woodward.....	25 October 1904.....	Sylvanus W. Tannar
Formerly Burgor. Name changed to Carroll 10 July 1906.			
Tapley.....	Beaver.....	21 July 1904.....	Lessie S. Edwards
Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Elmwood.			
Taupa.....	Comanche.....	28 January 1902.....	Elton C. Deyo
Discontinued effective 31 May 1911, mail to Randlett.			
Taylor.....	Canadian.....	15 July 1889.....	Lula M. Taylor
Discontinued effective 1 November 1889; this postoffice was never in operation.			
Taylor.....	Custer.....	26 July 1895.....	Jeremiah H. Taylor
Discontinued effective 4 May 1899, mail to Weatherford.			
Teacross.....	Greer.....	29 November 1899.....	Alexandra B. Lankford
Discontinued effective 15 November 1911, mail to Dryden.			
Tecumseh.....	Pottawatomie.....	18 September 1891.....	Hendrick D. Baker
Tedda.....	Canadian.....	30 August 1904.....	George H. Studebaker
Discontinued effective 30 April 1913, mail to Niles.			
Temple.....	Comanche.....	8 August 1902.....	Richard Rudesill
Formerly Botsford.			
Tepee.....	Beaver.....	16 August 1906.....	Glenn R. Harmer
Terlton.....	Pawnee.....	30 November 1894.....	Edward Buchanon
Tesca.....	Comanche.....	3 April 1902.....	Albert H. Pritchard
Discontinued by order dated 7 January 1908, effective 31 January 1908, mail to Frederick.			
Texhoma.....	Beaver.....	12 November 1901.....	Joseph T. Williamson
Formerly Loretta. The appointee declined the appointment, and James A. Robertson was appointed 18 March 1902.			
Texmo.....	Day.....	20 June 1899.....	James H. Parks
Discontinued effective 15 August 1912, mail to Moorewood.			
Texola.....	Greer.....	12 December 1901.....	Reuben H. Grimes
Thelma.....	Comanche.....	20 July 1903.....	Helen Lord
Discontinued by order dated 8 September 1905, effective 30 September 1905, mail to Temple.			

- Thomas.....Custer.....12 February 1894.....William Thomas
 Thompson.....Pottawatomie.....21 March 1892.....John L. Willis
 The appointee declined, and the office did not commence operation until the appointment on 7 May 1892 of John R. Roberts. Discontinued effective 5 June 1894, mail to Brown.
- Thompson.....Caddo.....23 January 1902.....John F. Garrison
 Discontinued by order dated 8 July 1905, effective 31 July 1905, mail to Hydro.
- Thurston.....Canadian.....25 June 1890.....Wells S. Rice
 Discontinued by order dated 12 December 1902, effective 31 December 1902, mail to Mustang. On 2 May 1903 an order was issued appointing George Ault postmaster, but the order was rescinded 20 October 1903, and the office did not resume operation.
- Tibbets.....Woodward.....11 December 1902.....George R. Fields
 Discontinued by order dated 30 October 1905, effective 15 November 1905, mail to Mutual.
- Tiffany.....Beaver.....9 December 1887.....James H. Crawford
 Discontinued effective 23 May 1888.
- Tiffin.....Beaver.....24 April 1907.....John Tiffin
 Discontinued effective 31 January 1918, mail to Riverside.
- Tilden.....Grant.....25 April 1894.....Jas. I. Utterback
 Discontinued effective 23 April 1895, mail to Lamont.
- Timberlake.....Woods.....7 February 1895.....Emmet D. Keigger
 Discontinued effective 14 January 1905, mail to Helena.
- Tinney.....Comanche.....20 December 1902.....Willard L. Loughlin
- Tivoli.....Woods.....2 January 1896.....Henry T. Melhuist
 Discontinued effective 15 June 1913, mail to Chester.
- Todd.....Blaine.....22 August 1893.....Edward H. Townsend
 Discontinued effective 1 June 1895, mail to Okeene.
- Togo.....Woods.....23 June 1905.....W. R. Willis
- Tohee.....Logan.....13 November 1890.....Leopold Zipf
 Formerly Jackson. Discontinued effective 31 January 1906, mail to Meridian.
- Tokio.....Kiowa.....27 September 1901.....James A. Simmons
 Discontinued effective 31 January 1905, mail to Gotebo.
- Tonkawa.....Kay.....9 March 1894.....Eli V. Blake
- Topeka.....Noble.....30 November 1894.....Maurice S. Logan
 Discontinued effective 23 August 1895, mail to Burton.
- Trail.....Dewey.....18 June 1898.....John A. Mulkey
- Trammell.....Roger Mills.....20 August 1903.....James Trammell
 On 27 December 1905 an order was issued discontinuing this office to be effective 31 January 1906, but the order was rescinded 22 January 1906 and the office continued in operation. Discontinued effective 28 February 1907, mail to Cheyenne.
- Tribbey.....Pottawatomie.....4 February 1905.....Thomas Anderson
- Tripp.....Garfield.....1 July 1902.....John Boepple
 Name changed to Covington 24 February 1903.
- Trotter.....Greer.....25 April 1902.....David C. Young
 Formerly Francis. Name changed to Vinson 20 August 1903.
- Trousdale.....Pottawatomie.....7 March 1904.....Thomas M. McCall
- Troy.....Pottawatomie.....27 March 1894.....John A. Jackson
 Discontinued effective 26 July 1895, mail to Pennington.
- True.....Greer.....2 August 1901.....Edward F. Davis
 Discontinued effective 31 May 1905, mail to McKnight.
- Tryon.....Lincoln.....15 March 1899.....Marshal L. Bradburg
 Formerly Fouts.

Turn.....	Pottawatomie.....	25 January 1892.....	Christopher C. Turner
	Discontinued effective 29 October 1895, mail to Tecumseh.		
Turney.....	Beaver.....	26 April 1907.....	Chas. B. Turney
	Discontinued effective 31 October 1910, mail to Shelton.		
Twamley.....	Not Available ⁹ .	1 September 1890.	John Twamley
	Discontinued effective 13 November 1890; this postoffice was never in operation.		
Tyrone.....	Beaver.....	5 May 1892.....	Albert E. Blake
	Site and name changed to Barcross, Seward County, Kans.	20 September 1898.	
Tyrone.....	Beaver.....	26 July 1902.....	Hettie A. Duffy
Udell.....	Beaver.....	2 February 1907.....	Minnie M. Wood
	Discontinued effective 31 January 1909, mail to Beaver.		
Udora.....	Blaine.....	20 February 1895.....	Stanley Ward
	Discontinued effective 30 September 1911, mail to Geary.		
Ugo.....	Day.....	5 August 1905.....	Flossie F. Lawhon
	Discontinued effective 15 November 1906, mail to Arnett.		
Uncas.....	Kay.....	21 June 1895.....	James Kenton
Union.....	Canadian.....	28 August 1889.....	James D. Harston
Ural.....	Roger Mills.....	9 July 1894.....	Thomas F. Medlin
Valeria.....	Noble.....	3 October 1904.....	Rolland D. Fluke
	Formerly Lela. Name changed back to Lela	18 March 1905.	
Valley.....	Pawnee.....	26 July 1894.....	Lydia C. Donald
Valorous.....	Woodward.....	4 January 1904.....	Willard V. Cole
	Discontinued by order dated 8 September 1905, effective 30 September 1905, mail to Gage.		
Vance.....	Woods.....	17 June 1895.....	Carrie C. Vance
	Discontinued effective 29 January 1898, mail to Auburn.		
Varney.....	Beaver.....	31 October 1906.....	Frank C. Erkel
Vassar.....	Dewey.....	6 July 1901.....	Samuel B. Loughridge
	Discontinued effective 31 July 1913, mail to Vici.		
Veak.....	Custer.....	14 May 1900.....	Charles A. Veak
	Discontinued 31 December 1908, mail to Butler.		
Venus.....	Beaver.....	11 May 1894.....	Arminda Buchamon
	Discontinued effective 31 August 1909, mail to Ivanhoe.		
Verden.....	Caddo.....	5 May 1899.....	Henry H. Huston
	Did not operate during the period 15 March 1900 to 20 January 1902.		
Verdi.....	Woodward.....	22 December 1902.....	James A. Metcalf
	Discontinued by order dated 25 January 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Doris.		
Verne.....	Beaver.....	9 May 1907.....	John F. Kaser
	Discontinued effective 31 May 1910, mail to Griggs.		
Vernon.....	Kay.....	19 April 1894.....	John W. Walton
	Discontinued by order dated 28 July 1903, effective 15 August 1903, mail to Peckham.		
Vernon.....	Day.....	5 December 1904.....	Anna L. Adams
	Discontinued by order dated 6 March 1908, effective 30 March 1908, mail to Durham.		
Vici.....	Dewey.....	15 February 1900.....	Albert H. Vincent
Vicmurdock.....	Caddo.....	21 May 1904.....	Jonathan J. Mocabee
	Discontinued by order dated 8 September 1905, effective 30 September 1905, mail to Lacrosse.		
Victory.....	Greer.....	22 April 1892.....	Frank R. Heave
	Discontinued by order dated 11 October 1906, effective 31 October 1906, mail to Olustee.		

⁹ The location of Twamley is shown only as "Oklahoma Territory."

Vienna.....	Woods.....	18 August 1894.....	Louis Kuskua
Discontinued effective 13 October 1894, mail to Enid.			
Vilas.....	Woods.....	8 March 1894.....	David Rupert
Discontinued by order dated 9 April 1903, effective 30 April 1903, mail to Okeene.			
Vilott.....	Kay.....	2 February 1894.....	Chas. W. Vilott
Name changed to Nardin 12 April 1898.			
Vinco.....	Payne.....	5 March 1903.....	Horace L. Page
Vining.....	Woods.....	10 August 1894.....	Henry C. Powers
Discontinued by order dated 5 November 1907, effective 30 November 1907, mail to Florence.			
Vinson.....	Greer.....	20 August 1903.....	John W. Brookman
Formerly Trotter.			
Violet.....	Pottawatomie.....	6 April 1899.....	John Middleton
Discontinued by order dated 12 September 1906, effective 29 September 1906, mail to Konawa, Ind. T.			
Virbell.....	Woodward.....	25 June 1904.....	Virginia C. Bell
The order establishing this office was rescinded 8 October 1904, and the office was never in operation.			
Virgel.....	Woods.....	24 October 1895.....	Benj. S. Gregg
Formerly Sterling. Name changed to Capron 20 February 1899.			
Vista.....	Pottawatomie.....	22 December 1900.....	Joel E. Cunningham
Discontinued by order dated 6 November 1905, effective 14 December 1905, mail to Asher.			
Vittum.....	Logan.....	25 July 1900.....	George R. Partridge
Discontinued by order dated 19 August 1901, effective 30 September 1901, mail to Guthrie.			
Vonton.....	Woodward.....	2 December 1902.....	Wesley V. Kneisley
Discontinued by order dated 12 June 1906, effective 16 July 1906, mail to Woodward.			
Vrooman.....	Caddo.....	4 March 1902.....	Vrooman Hyde
Discontinued by order dated 17 July 1903, effective 31 July 1903, mail to Boise.			
Waco.....	Pottawatomie.....	12 June 1900.....	William T. Willson
Discontinued by order dated 3 February 1904, effective 13 February 1904, mail to McLoud.			
Wagoza.....	Pottawatomie.....	18 July 1881.....	John Clinton
Formerly Oberlin. Discontinued effective 9 June 1884, mail to Sacred Heart Mission.			
Wah-ti-au-cah.....	Osage.....	6 February 1880.....	Peter Perrian
Discontinued effective 6 July 1880.			
Wakita.....	Grant.....	14 November 1893.....	Chas. F. White
Walker.....	Comanche.....	27 September 1901.....	Harry B. Holt
Wallace.....	Woods.....	16 February 1903.....	Samuel G. Fender
The appointee declined, the order establishing the office was rescinded 6 June 1903, and the office was never in operation.			
Walnut.....	Roger Mills.....	20 November 1893.....	Isaac Sollers
Discontinued at once; never in operation.			
Walter.....	Pawnee.....	5 February 1897.....	Ellen Burnett
The order establishing this office was rescinded 25 May 1897, and the office was never in operation.			
Walter.....	Comanche.....	22 June 1906.....	Ella F. Hook
Name changed to Walters 23 July 1917.			
Walthall.....	Woods.....	23 April 1894.....	Fletcher P. Long
Discontinued by order dated 11 January 1906, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Ringwood.			

Wanamaker.....	Kingfisher.....	25 March 1890.....	Miss Clara M. Overton
Discontinued effective 31 December 1911, mail to Dover.			
Wandel.....	Kingfisher.....	5 May 1890.....	Benjamin M. Wandel
Did not operate during the period 6 October 1891 to 5 October 1892. Discontinued by order dated 2 March 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Kingfisher.			
Wanette.....	Pottawatomie.....	19 March 1894.....	Chas. P. McIninch
Warren.....	Greer.....	25 February 1888.....	William H. Cleveland
Warwick.....	Lincoln.....	26 October 1892.....	Edwin A. Wilson
Wash.....	Roger Mills.....	6 July 1898.....	Charley M. Baron
Discontinued by order dated 7 January 1908, effective 31 January 1908, mail to Carter.			
Washungo.....	Kay.....	15 November 1902.....	Henry S. Davenport
Spelling changed to Washunga 25 September 1906.			
Waterloo.....	Logan.....	9 April 1892.....	M. D. McNett
Formerly Burlington.			
Watonga.....	Blaine.....	23 March 1892.....	John H. Dillon
Waukomis.....	Garfield.....	25 November 1893.....	Frank F. Stevens
Waurika.....	Comanche.....	28 June 1902.....	Charles L. McGuire
Waynoka.....	Woods.....	10 April 1889.....	William Childress
Formerly Keystone.			
Weatherford.....	Custer.....	25 August 1893.....	Lorinda T. Weatherford
Discontinued effective 26 September 1898, mail to Dewey.			
Weatherford.....	Custer.....	28 October 1898.....	John W. Rice
Formerly Dewey.			
Webb.....	Payne.....	12 April 1895.....	William R. Fox
Discontinued effective 14 March 1896, mail to Stillwater.			
Webb.....	Dewey.....	17 April 1902.....	Hugh V. Jobe
Webster.....	Beaver.....	19 June 1906.....	Elmer Winslow
The appointee declined, the order establishing the office was rescinded 25 July 1906, and the office was never in operation.			
Weeks.....	Day.....	13 January 1906.....	John Weeks
Discontinued effective 30 April 1910, mail to Bishop.			
Weldon.....	Lincoln.....	28 July 1892.....	Reggina S. Jennings
Discontinued effective 15 November 1892.			
Wellborn.....	Beaver.....	17 December 1903.....	Rosa Johnston
Discontinued by order dated 17 March 1907, effective 15 April 1907, mail to Ragsdale.			
Wellman.....	Caddo.....	9 May 1902.....	Edna M. Kern
Discontinued by order dated 17 March 1906, effective 14 April 1906, mail to Eakly.			
Wellston.....	Lincoln.....	19 September 1884.....	Christian T. Wells
Did not operate during the period 9 June 1892 to 15 June 1897.			
Wentworth.....	Beaver.....	6 August 1903.....	Nelia Strauss
Discontinued by order dated 13 November 1905, effective 30 November 1905, mail to Sunset.			
Wesner.....	Woodward.....	7 May 1903.....	Ada Kemble
Discontinued by order dated 9 March 1907, effective 30 March 1907, mail to Yelton.			
West.....	Logan.....	9 January 1893.....	Charles West
Did not operate during the period 17 May 1893 to 15 November 1893. Discontinued by order dated 15 August 1902, effective 30 August 1902, mail to Navina.			
Weston.....	Woodward.....	22 May 1899.....	Clarence M. Perkins
Discontinued by order dated 19 March 1907, effective 18 April 1907, mail to Mutual.			

- Westpoint.....Payne.....13 March 1894.....Wesley M. Dial
Discontinued by order dated 24 February 1904, effective 15 March 1904, mail to Glencoe.
- Wheatland.....Oklahoma.....10 February 1902.....Alex E. Ellis
- Wheaton.....Woods.....27 February 1907.....Fred Reiman
Formerly Drumm. The order changing Drumm to Wheaton was rescinded 6 July 1907, and it is doubtful if the office ever operated under the name Wheaton. Drumm changed to Burlington 21 August 1907.
- Wheeling.....Comanche.....17 December 1903.....Philip Meyer
Discontinued by order dated 22 October 1907, effective 15 November 1907, mail to Indianola.
- Wheelless.....Beaver.....12 February 1907.....Wm. L. Wheelless
- Whisler.....Oklahoma.....9 June 1890.....W. L. Whisler
Formerly Center. Discontinued by order dated 18 July 1904, effective 30 July 1904, mail to Edmond.
- White.....Garfield.....14 April 1894.....Herson D. White
Discontinued by order dated 19 December 1902, effective 15 January 1903, mail to Cropper.
- Whiteagle.....Kay.....21 August 1896.....William W. Brown
Formerly Ponca. Did not operate during the period 15 October 1907 to 29 May 1908. Discontinued effective 15 June 1926, mail to Ponca City.
- Whitehead.....Woodward.....14 October 1893.....Stephen S. Comer
Name changed to Oleta 24 August 1901.
- Whitehorse.....Woods.....13 April 1895.....Samuel L. Nokes
- Whiterock.....Noble.....14 December 1894.....Algeron F. Garnett
Formerly Arnold. Discontinued effective 30 September 1915, mail to Billings.
- Wichita.....Comanche.....5 December 1901.....Thomas S. Saunders
Discontinued by order dated 3 March 1902, effective 31 March 1902, mail to Rosna.
- Wilber.....Caddo.....2 May 1892.....Edward S. Gillett
Discontinued effective 8 September 1892, mail to El Reno.
- Wilber.....Kay.....9 May 1894.....Decie L. Wilber
Discontinued by order dated 16 November 1908, effective 30 November 1908, mail to Peckham.
- Wilcox.....Garfield.....27 February 1895.....William L. Hoskew
Discontinued by order dated 22 August 1903, effective 31 August 1903, mail to Enid.
- Wildman.....Kiowa.....3 May 1901.....Sylvester A. Shaul
Discontinued by order dated 24 October 1904, effective 15 November 1904, mail to Mondamin.
- Wildwood.....Garfield.....4 December 1894.....James P. Wiley
Discontinued by order dated 13 May 1905, effective 31 May 1905, mail to Ames.
- Wilkins.....Beaver.....19 May 1905.....Mrs. Mary A. Bingham
- Willard.....Woodward.....26 February 1902.....Stephen A. Roberson
- Willow.....Greer.....17 October 1899.....Wm. O'Connell
- Willowbar.....Beaver.....5 October 1906.....Robert H. Wells
- Willowvale.....Greer.....18 April 1890.....Everett G. Walcott
Discontinued by order dated 19 November 1903, effective 30 November 1903, mail to Olustee.
- Wills.....Lincoln.....5 May 1899.....Ed H. Easter
- Willzetta.....Lincoln.....2 July 1904.....Daniel Kinsey
Formerly Guild. Discontinued effective 30 June 1909, mail to Sparks.
- Wilmoth.....Greer.....12 January 1900.....Emma C. Taylor
Discontinued effective 31 May 1911, mail to McQueen.

Wilton.....	Lincoln.....	23 November 1892.....	Wm. S. Moore
			Discontinued effective 25 March 1893, mail to Ingram.
Winchester.....	Woods.....	5 June 1894.....	Jonathan C. Fuller
			On 21 September 1906 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 31 October 1906, but the order was rescinded 23 October 1906, and the office continued in operation.
Windom.....	Payne.....	18 January 1890.....	John B. Chapman
			Discontinued effective 15 October 1892, mail to Stillwater.
Wingo.....	Roger Mills.....	14 April 1902.....	Gabe Sparks
			Discontinued by order dated 29 June 1906, effective 31 July 1906, mail to Mayfield.
Winn.....	Lincoln.....	5 February 1902.....	John C. Winn
			Discontinued by order dated 3 February 1904, effective 13 February 1904, mail to McLoud.
Winnview.....	Blaine.....	23 June 1892.....	Joseph B. Winn
			Discontinued by order dated 4 April 1905, effective 29 April 1905, mail to Hitchcock.
Winter.....	Woods.....	10 April 1901.....	James H. Galloway
			The order establishing the office was rescinded 16 July 1901; but on 3 October 1901 the office was again established with the same appointee. Discontinued by order dated 26 October 1907, effective 30 November 1907, mail to Fairbanks.
Wisby.....	Woods.....	6 November 1894.....	Charles Young
			Discontinued by order dated 5 October 1906, effective 31 October 1906, mail to Galena.
Witcher.....	Oklahoma.....	31 January 1903.....	Henry C. Whitehouse
Witt.....	Greer.....	28 April 1892.....	John L. Witt
			Discontinued by order dated 10 February 1903, effective 28 February 1903, mail to Hollis.
Wood.....	Washita.....	17 November 1892.....	Andrew J. Port
			On 2 August 1902 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 30 September 1902, but the order was rescinded 18 September 1902, and the office continued in operation. Discontinued by order dated 3 January 1906, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Port.
Woodbine.....	Woodward.....	18 February 1902.....	Orcil D. Smith
			The order establishing this office was rescinded 9 October 1902, and the office was never in operation.
Woodfill.....	Comanche.....	4 March 1902.....	Lewis C. Woodfill
			Discontinued by order dated 27 January 1908, effective 15 February 1908, mail to Lawton.
Woodward.....	Woodward.....	3 February 1893.....	James T. Hickey
Worth.....	Woodward.....	10 May 1902.....	John M. Holcomb
			Discontinued by order dated 2 December 1905, effective 31 December 1905, mail to Chaney.
Wright.....	Lincoln.....	30 June 1892.....	David C. Moore
			Did not operate during the period 16 October 1896 to 12 January 1897. Discontinued by order dated 3 October 1904, effective 15 October 1904, mail to Merrick.
Vyanet.....	Woodward.....	24 March 1902.....	James E. Sapp
			Discontinued effective 15 August 1912, mail to Cupid.
Vyatt.....	Woodward.....	25 August 1905.....	Jacob Smith
			Name changed to McKim 18 July 1907.
Vynona.....	Osage.....	17 December 1903.....	Arthur Rogers
			On 30 March 1905 an order was issued discontinuing this office, to be effective 29 April 1905, but the order was rescinded 13 April 1905, and the office continued in operation.

Yale.....	Payne.....	4 October 1895.....	Sterling F. Underwood
Yant.....	Lincoln.....	12 March 1901.....	Mary T. Stephens
Discontinued by order dated 18 February 1904, effective 29 February 1904, mail to McLoud.			
Yates.....	Payne.....	21 May 1890.....	Yates Smith
Yeldell.....	Greer.....	28 May 1892.....	Charles A. Smith
Discontinued by order dated 30 November 1904, effective 31 December 1904, mail to Hess.			
Yelton.....	Woodward.....	6 February 1902.....	Theodore A. Yelton
Yewed.....	Woods.....	24 December 1898.....	George Allen
Yoho.....	Roger Mills.....	4 June 1901.....	Thomas J. Yoho
Discontinued by order dated 17 May 1905, effective 31 May 1905, mail to Sayre.			
Youst.....	Payne.....	29 January 1901.....	Thomas T. Sears
Discontinued by order dated 17 June 1905, effective 14 July 1905, mail to Glencoe.			
Yukon.....	Canadian.....	28 March 1891.....	James M. Faris
Zangwill.....	Garfield.....	28 January 1897.....	Day G. Anderson
Discontinued by order dated 11 May 1905, effective 31 May 1905, mail to Bison.			
Zeigler.....	Woods.....	3 October 1904.....	John W. Henderson
Discontinued effective 15 August 1912, mail to Belva.			
Zella.....	Woodward.....	13 January 1906.....	George F. White
Discontinued effective 31 August 1908, mail to Chester.			
Zelma.....	Beaver.....	17 April 1903.....	Josie B. Hostetter
Zenda.....	Woodward.....	28 February 1903.....	Belle Weaver
Discontinued by order dated 7 June 1905, effective 30 June 1905, mail to Gage.			
Zion.....	Kingfisher.....	20 July 1891.....	John G. Crump
Discontinued by order dated 14 May 1906, effective 31 May 1906, mail to Crescent.			
Zula.....	Woods.....	8 June 1894.....	Lucy E. Hiatt
Name changed to Dacoma 31 October 1904.			
Zybra.....	Garfield.....	23 April 1898.....	John A. Anderson
Discontinued by order dated 22 August 1903, effective 31 August 1903, mail to Waukomis.			

OKLAHOMA HISTORY AND THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES*

By Kathryn M. Murphy

The National Archives is the depository for those records of the federal government deemed worthy of permanent preservation. By 1950 the volume of the records of the United States Government held by the National Archives had grown to nearly 900,000 cubic feet. Within these sources more than a century of Oklahoma history is represented and available to serve the needs of the historian, the federal and state governments, and the public generally. I shall endeavor to describe in general terms the original source material housed in the National Archives, which has since 1949 been part of the General Services Administration,¹ and indicate how that material can be made available at small cost to those who live in areas distant from Washington.

Origins of the National Archives

Prominent among the beautiful buildings comprising the Federal Triangle in Washington, D. C., is a rectangular building with a colonnade in the Corinthian order, fifty-two feet high. The entrance on Pennsylvania Avenue is flanked by a statue of an aged male figure representing "The Past," seated and holding on his lap the closed book of history; on the left and balancing this figure is one of a young woman representing "The Future." On the pedestal of the male figure is carved the inscription "Study the Past"; beneath the female figure is the inscription, "What Is Past Is Prologue." The graceful, compact lines of the edifice and the few special rooms frequented by tourists give little hint of the complex structure of stack areas housing extensive federal records. The cornerstone of this, the first National Archives building in our history, was laid by President Herbert Hoover on February 20, 1933.

In the early days of the federal government the administration of government records, federal and state, was rather a casual and haphazard affair. Until the removal of the seat of the National Government to Washington City in 1800, the federal records were moved about from place to place in accordance with the change in locale of that Government. Even during this early period, long before the expansion of government functions which we have witnessed more recently, the quantity of records was increasing rapidly

* This article on the National Archives at Washington, D. C. has been adapted for *The Chronicles* from a paper given before the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, on May 7, 1951, by Miss Kathryn M. Murphy, of the General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, National Archives Building, Washington 25, D. C.—Ed.

¹ 63 Stat. 381.

and their value was realized more and more. Their protection was seriously handicapped by the fact that in 1800 there was not a fireproof building in Washington. This fact was dramatically emphasized in 1800 when a substantial portion of the records of the War Department was destroyed by fire, and again the following year when a similar catastrophe destroyed many records of the Treasury Department. One illustration of the informality of official Washington in the early days is the fact that during this second conflagration President John Adams actively participated in carrying pails of water to the scene to assist in fighting the fire.²

Despite the fact that the need for specific action was universally recognized by officials in the federal government, nothing concrete was accomplished until 1810. In that year Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts moved in the House of Representatives for the appointment of a committee to investigate the current state of the national archives and make recommendations designed to improve the situation. The report made by this committee served as a spur to further activity, for it clearly indicated the current deplorable state of the records and the acute need for adequate and specially constructed housing. On April 28, 1810, Congress passed an act making an appropriation for the construction in the building west of the President's House of as many fireproof rooms as should be sufficient for the convenient deposit of all the public papers and records of the United States belonging to or in the custody of the State, War or Navy Departments.³ This is sometimes considered our first National Archives Act.

Not long afterward, however, the records began to outgrow the storage space provided and spill over into makeshift accommodations. Still another series of fires emphasized the hazards. The frequency of fires in the District of Columbia even after the Civil War was indicated by a report presented by the Fire Marshal of the District in 1915, which listed the numerous fires between 1873 and 1915. Added to damage by fire were the depredations of stamp and autograph collectors and of thieves seeking to purloin and sell documents of value, and the ignorance or negligence of some government officials. One official sought to solve the space problem for his office force by selling 400 tons of official records to a junk dealer. Frequent removal, dampness, heat, and insects all contributed to records destruction.

For many years a campaign was waged for an orderly program for maintaining and servicing records and for an appropriate building in which to house them. This campaign was characterized by frequent reports, discussions, investigations, and the cooperation of interested

² U. S. National Archives, *Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States* 1934/35 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 2.

³ 2 Stat. 589.



National Archives Building that houses the Public Records of the United States of America, at Washington, D. C.

private groups such as the American Historical Association⁴ and various patriotic societies. A printed Memorial was presented to Congress which inspired other organizations to participate more actively in the crusade. One highly important factor in spurring the motivation of scholarly societies was the increased emphasis on scientifically accurate studies, based on original record material. Access to such records in an orderly manner was essential. The constant growth of government agencies demanded ever-increasing office space, and officials began to look longingly at the large areas occupied exclusively by non-current records. By 1916 Congress embarked on an extensive public buildings program, which was revived and expanded at the close of World War I. In this program, the original conception of an archives building was essentially that of a structure designed primarily for storage purposes and constructed as inexpensively as possible. Only gradually did this concept give way to that of a substantial, practical, and uniquely constructed building.

Arrangement and Servicing of Records in the National Archives

Accessioned records are maintained in stack areas within the National Archives according to the agency of origin. For many years, the name of each of the custodial records units occupying several stack areas indicated the origin of the records that it maintained. Thus there were Divisions of Commerce Department Archives, Justice Department Archives, State Department Archives, etc. Several years ago, in the interests of economy and efficiency, reorganizations were effected in which two or more separate records units were united under a single chief, with a new name designed to express the nature of the content of the records. For example, the Divisions of Agriculture Department Archives and Interior Department Archives were in 1946 united to become sections of the Natural Resources Records Division,⁵ now known as a Branch of that same title. Actually, the original arrangement of accessioned records remains essentially undisturbed, being altered only when documents contained therein are found to be out of order. Rearrangement by subject has never been seriously considered and probably never will be since it would involve the destruction of the basic integrity of each individual file and the subject categories assigned would vary with the individuals charged with the task.

Frequently searchers anticipate that they will find neat little file boxes of cards, arranged by subject, providing a complete guide to all the records in the National Archives. Convenient as this sort of finding aid would be, such an undertaking for vast quantities of files, many of which are still not static, would be well-nigh impossible. Specialized subject guides have been compiled periodically,

⁴ 61st Congress, 3rd Session. Senate Document 838.

⁵ U. S. National Archives, Official Circular 47-27, *Organizational Changes in the National Archives*, December 31, 1946, p. 72.

however, and are available among the general finding aids for the convenience of investigators. But they are not exhaustive and the earlier ones are not up-to-date. Official published guides are produced by the Archives containing general subject indexes which are quite helpful, but of course they become out-of-date a few years after issuance, since the inward flow of records both old and recent is constant. Thus, the National Archives *Guide*, published in 1940, had to be revised in 1948, and now that edition is already quite out-of-date.

As a means of controlling the great mass of records in its care, the National Archives a few years ago assigned all records created by the federal government to particular record groups. Except in a few instances where "collective" record groups had to be created, each group is made up of records originating in a specific government agency. Numbers are assigned to record groups in the order of their establishment in the National Archives. To date 276 such record groups have been established. For example, Record Group 29 identifies the records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group 49 those of the General Land Office; Record Group 75 those of the Office of Indian Affairs.

All copies of inventories, special lists, statements of restrictions, and the like pertaining to a given record group are filed in the Central Search Room under the number assigned to that record group. This system not only prevents misfiling of finding aids and related documents, but it also clarifies for the searcher the identity of the records he needs in his work, for he is free to examine personally the finding aids with which he is concerned. Staff members within the various records branches in the National Archives are available to searchers for personal consultation and assistance in the solution of especially complex research problems. Since the archivists work constantly with the records, they possess unusual familiarity with the content and arrangement of the materials in their charge.

In each of the records branches search rooms are maintained where a limited number of private and government searchers may be accommodated. There is also a large and magnificent Central Search Room, which adjoins a reference library of more than 100,000 volumes, and is open until 10 p. m. Monday through Friday and Saturday until 5:15 p. m. in contrast to the branch search rooms, which close each weekday at 5:15 p. m. and are not open on Saturday. Records from any branch, however, may be sent to the Central Search Room and kept there for use during the day or evening for a reasonable period of time. The advantages these hours offer to investigators from out of the vicinity are, needless to remark, exceptional.

The search rooms are all maintained as one means of making original records available to responsible persons wishing to consult them for a serious purpose. Cards of admission valid for one year are

issued. No special influence or connection is requisite, but an initial interview with a member of the professional staff is required in which the applicant gives information regarding the purpose of his study and the nature of his project. After orientation regarding the nature and arrangement of the records involved and an introduction to the use of available finding aids, the desired records are made available subject, of course, to certain definite rules and regulations. The National Archives has a small professional staff which is engaged in the many aspects of archival work such as disposition, accessioning, the compilation of finding aids, and the answering of reference inquiries by letter. Thousands of reference letters are replied to annually, and without charge, but of necessity only a limited amount of time can be allotted to any one inquiry.

A wide variety of individuals use the facilities of the National Archives in their original research. Probably the principal users of the records of the federal government in terms of resultant publications are students and professors engaged in academic work. Each year a number of hard-working and enthusiastic searchers make exhaustive and analytical use of original records, obtaining from these sources information to be used in the preparation of theses, books and articles. Especially alert to the value of such source material are the younger men and women in the field of historical writing.⁶

Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman and Dr. Annie H. Abel were pioneers in archival research for the Oklahoma region, and the results they have achieved are monumental. Dr. Carl Coke Rister and Dr. Angie Debo also made extensive use of archival sources. Much that is unique as well as worthwhile in scholarly writing has materialized from the extensive studies made from original sources. *The Founding of Stillwater*, by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, clarifies the relation between information in federal records and local history and illustrates the use of records in the National Archives in writing the history of a town in the Oklahoma region.

Another group of searchers is composed of writers, amateur and professional. Much of the material used in the novel, *Anna and the King of Siam*, by Margaret Landon, was found in the National Archives among the records of the Department of State, as was similar material utilized by Kenneth Roberts in *Lydia Bailey*.

Still another group is made up of persons interested in genealogical research, either for professional purposes or as a hobby. Conspicuous among the records rich in information for this purpose are the schedules of population censuses, the General Land Office records, veterans' pension files from the Revolutionary War through the Spanish American War, military and naval service records, and

⁶ W. Turrentine Jackson, "Materials for Western History in the Department of the Interior Archives," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, vol. XXXV (June, 1948), pp. 61-76.

passenger lists of ships arriving in some of the main ports of the United States, some as early as 1819. These are among the most used sources and are exceedingly fruitful for research, especially the veterans' pension files. From these files, family genealogy can often be traced to the extent necessary to gain admission to organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, and similar patriotic societies.

Government investigators constitute another substantial portion of the users of federal records. The valuable information embodied in reports of now defunct government agencies and of surveys made in the past on a variety of subjects are frequently in current demand for various purposes, such as the extensive loyalty checks requisite for appointment to sensitive government posts.

Applications of Microfilm Techniques

The use of microfilm to supplement reference activities was initiated in the National Archives about 1936, shortly after the opening of the building. For instance, an index to 2,600,000 pension files of the Veterans' Administration, a substantial portion of which had already been transferred to the National Archives, was filmed and the original index was retained by the Veterans' Administration as essential to the servicing of that portion of the pension files remaining in the custody of that agency.⁷ This and similar instances of the successful use of microfilm to augment the collection of finding aids soon suggested to progressive-minded archivists the numerous practical advantages deriving from the application of microfilm techniques to records problems, not merely to those involving storage and security, but as a medium for making records more readily available to the public.

Research into aspects of this subject by the Bureau of Standards has demonstrated that correctly processed microfilms, if kept under proper storage conditions, are as permanent as the best grade of letterpress printing on the best rag stock paper.⁸ Even the microfilm produced by Prudent Dagron, its inventor, which, now over sixty-five years old, was preserved by the casual and unscientific method of insertion between pages of a pamphlet, is still in such good condition that satisfactory enlargements can be made from it with little difficulty.⁹

The term "negative microfilm" refers to the original microphotographic record made with a camera specially designed for the purpose. A "positive microfilm" is a duplicate record made on film from the negative by contact printing. White lines and black

⁷ *NA Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States*, 1936/37, p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁹ L. Bendikson, "Dagron's Autograph Postal Service of 1870," *Journal of Documentary Reproduction*, vol. IV (December, 1941), p. 239.

backgrounds appear on the negative, while on the positive such lines appear as black on white, as in the original record. Positive printing is generally done with a continuous strip printer or photo-electrically controlled step printer.¹⁰

One important aspect of microfilming is the fact that it means greater security for records. Especially in the case of highly active records, damage to the originals results from frequent handling over a period of years; there is also the possibility of loss from careless use or deliberate removal of documents from the records. It is desirable, too, to create film reproductions of records the originals of which may be destroyed by fire or bombing. The catastrophes of global war may demand immediate transfer of irreplaceable resources to places of relative safety. Even with every precaution, indeed, it is entirely possible that large-scale destruction will be the fate of substantial portions of records of Government agencies, both federal and state. Such a loss could seriously hamper the conduct of even current routine on the part of the Government and might jeopardize the legal rights of individuals. If these records exist elsewhere in microfilm form, the information will survive for future needed consultation.

Another advantage of microfilming is the reduction in necessary storage space, if records of lesser value are microfilmed and then disposed of. If a single frame is used, one roll will carry approximately 1200 letter-size pages requiring 1200 exposures; if a double frame is used one roll will carry approximately 1600 letter-size pages requiring some 800 exposures.¹¹ The resultant saving in storage space is obvious. An indication of the attitude of Congress toward the practicality of this use of microfilm was the Act of September 24, 1940, which provided for the disposition of the originals of certain photographed records of the United States Government and specified that such photographed copies should have the same force and effect as the originals for purposes of the admissibility of evidence for legal purposes.¹²

Besides microfilming for the above purposes, the National Archives has initiated a program of microfilm publication. More than mere microfilm reproduction, it is essentially a program of sub-publication in microfilm form of original records carefully arranged and edited by a professional staff to the extent necessary to render the finished product intelligible to the user. Since the records are so carefully arranged and edited, a searcher may often

¹⁰ Ralph De Sola, *Microfilming* (New York: Essential Books, 1944), pp. 32, 34.

¹¹ U. S. National Archives, Policies and procedures governing the administration of the file microcopy program (049-97). Albert H. Leisinger, Memorandum to Director of Records Control, "Dr. Campbell's draft of P. C. (049-77) — Administration of the file microcopy program," August 17, 1949.

¹² 54 Stat. 958.

save time by using the microfilm rather than the often unwieldy originals.

Publication of documents in printed form is a lengthy, tedious, and expensive process and involves the inevitable element of subjectivity in the selection and editing of specific documents for inclusion in the publication. Moreover, modern scientific methods of research require the use, wherever possible, of original materials or facsimiles, and this is achieved by the publication of such facsimiles in microfilm. Present-day scholars want to obtain access to source materials inexpensively and promptly and are aware of the expense of printed books and the desirability of being able to examine all rather than a selected group of documents in a given series. Consequently they are alert to the advantages offered by microfilm. This type of publication has definite advantages over the traditional published volumes since it eliminates in large measure the human elements of subjectivity and error.

A most attractive feature of microfilm publication is that it makes records available to the researcher at a distance. No longer need he sacrifice time, money, and convenience in order to gain access to original records if they have been published on microfilm; they can be supplied to him promptly and economically for use on a microfilm reader in his home or local library at his convenience. Once the master negative has been produced, a positive microfilm print is always readily available. As emphasis on the use of source material for research purposes continues to grow, attention must be given to the procurement and availability of source material in microfilm form. Microfilm publication includes many of the desirable features of printed documentary publications in addition to several peculiar to itself, such as ready availability and inexpensiveness.

From a cultural point of view, this program is of great benefit in expediting the creation of specialized collections of source materials concerning a given subject or geographical area, such as the history of Oklahoma or of the Pacific Northwest or some phase of diplomatic history, making pertinent records easily available to interested individuals located in areas distant from the depository containing the original records.

The problem of selecting records for microfilm publication is not resolved by any simple formula. Restraint in selection is desirable in the interest of intelligent administrative planning as well as a balanced economical program on a long term basis. Personal evaluation of records is necessarily somewhat subjective, but it is prerequisite to any such comprehensive program. Those determining the preliminary bases of values generally concede that only records having a high research value in terms of their total volume should be microfilmed. The microfilm publication program has

been developed in the pattern of copies of complete series of records, with the proviso that under special circumstances, where feasible, a film might be prepared on a given subject with the series factor given secondary consideration; also, that there should be filmed closely related units of records, such as indexes, registers, and similar finding media designed to facilitate the use of complex general subject files. The microfilm publication program is carefully planned by members of the staff of the National Archives. In general records are accepted for the program only if they are judged to be of substantial interest to enough scholars so that the demand for the publications will defray the expense of publishing. Careful consideration, however, is given to suggestions or requests by scholars that certain bodies of records be included in the program.

The two main factors, then, for determining the selection of records for inclusion in this program are (a) the evaluation of them by experts on the basis of their utility to historians, attorneys, sociologists, political scientists and other scholars as well as general public searchers; and (b) the tangible expressions of the desire of the public and of Government agencies alike as manifested by the requests for either microfilms of the records or for access to the originals in person or through correspondence. After a microfilm project has satisfied one or both of these primary requisites, other limiting factors may be discovered in the form of such considerations as the amount of necessary rearrangement, repair, or editorial work necessary to achieve the desired comprehensiveness.

A *List of File Microcopies of the National Archives* was first published in 1947; this has been superseded by a revised and more comprehensive edition published in 1950, which lists 3,474 rolls of 35 mm. master negatives, representing reproductions of over two million pages completed up to June 30, 1950. Arranged in this list according to the organization of the Government, that is by Government Department, the microfilm publications are listed thereunder by Record Group, with the "general records" of a Department listed first. Information supplied includes full inclusive dates, the total number of rolls filmed and the total footage, the "File Microcopy Number" assigned (which is distinct from the Record Group Number), general descriptive and explanatory notes where desirable, and the number of each roll with the inclusive dates and its footage. A subject index appears in the 1950 edition of the *List of File Microcopies*. Although it is necessarily limited, it is a guide to pertinent microfilm publications within broad subject classifications.

The method of computing prices is simply stated—four dollars for each fifty feet of film to the nearest fifty, the final price being computed on the basis of the total footage on any one order. The price of a special microfilm order—that is, an order for microfilm not in the publication series—is computed on the basis of three to five dollars for each one hundred pages, depending on physical vari-

ations of the records and attendant difficulties in handling them. Material in the publications series is thus available at far less cost than that of a special order for microfilm.

An indication of the awareness of various governmental authorities of the possibilities and future importance of microfilm publication is the fact that a number of states and foreign countries have sent archivists and technicians to the National Archives for specialized training in the techniques and administration of microfilm work.¹³

Records in the National Archives Relating to Oklahoma

The topic of records in the National Archives relating to the history of Oklahoma is a most extensive one, far too much so for adequate treatment here. Indeed, for more than two years a staff of research specialists under the direction of Dr. Gaston L. Litton, Archivist of Oklahoma University, has been working assiduously on the compilation of a special guide to records relating to Oklahoma in the National Archives. Oklahoma is represented in small or large degree in virtually every record group. The terminal dates of these groups are subject to alteration through continued accessioning. New record groups may be expected to be added to those already surveyed and to introduce pertinent Oklahoma material into existing record groups in which they are not now represented. Certain records are especially rich in materials for such a subject approach—those of the War Department, the General Land Office, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example.

For many years there has been a tendency to regard federal history as something quite separate and distinct from that of the various states and smaller communities. So gigantic in size and scope has the National Government become that it has seemingly lost contact with many purely local problems and activities. An examination of any sizeable quantity of records of the federal government, however, demonstrates that in the aggregate they relate to the interests of separate localities.

Much of the earliest history of the area which was to become present day Oklahoma is vividly reflected among the records of the War Department, especially those of the several military posts located in or near that territory. Among the most celebrated and active were Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. These records of army posts are a part of Record Group No. 98, Records of the United States Army Commands. As far back as 1813 territorial divisions, departments, and districts designed to facilitate military administration were established and their records are among the records of these commands. Troops stationed in such frontier posts dealt directly with the local situations involving both Indians and white

¹³ *NA Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States*, 1948/49, p. 32.

settlers and the resulting records illustrate much of the activity peculiar to their problems.¹⁴ Quite an extensive span of Oklahoma history may be found, therefore, in the original documents which tell the dramatic story of the exploration and development of that area from the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 to the present time. Many old frontier posts, such as Fort Sill, have remained active, have been modernized and continue to serve although now devoted to a somewhat different aspect of military activity. Such records are fruitful for the scholar devoted to historical researches; they contain substantial source material of value to sociologists and political scientists; and they also enlighten those engaged in the pursuit of belle lettres, who find chronicled the dramatic episodes which combine to make up the frontier tradition in the American way of life.

Vast quantities of "Letters Sent, Military Affairs, 1800-1861" have been published in microcopy form on 43 rolls, totaling 1,475 feet. The subject content of this large series relates to military affairs, pension and bounty lands, Indian Affairs—in short the extensive matters which fell within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War at that time.

One collection of records, a bit out of the usual to be found among official government archives in the National Archives, is a large quantity of the records of the Confederate States of America. These came into possession of the federal government through capture, and by later donation and purchase. They were known in the Adjutant General's Office, which had immediate custody, as the "Rebel Archives." Along with records of the various bureaus of the Confederate War Department are those of the Confederate Treasury, Post Office and Navy Departments and of the Confederate Congress.

Records of service in the Confederate Army are included and may be illustrated by those relating to General Stand Watie, tenacious Cherokee leader for the Confederacy. They indicate that he was appointed Brigadier General in the Indian Territory, reporting to General Edmund Kirby Smith on May 10, 1864, the formal acceptance of his commission being delivered to Richmond, Virginia, on July 1, 1864. He is described on an inspection report in his official record as being "zealous and able, diligent and attentive to orders and duties." Standing quite alone and following immediately thereafter is the single comment "Sober." This information is contained in the report dated July 27, 1864, at Camp Kincaid, Cherokee Nation.

Included also is General Stand Watie's recommendation that his son Saladin Ridge Watie, be appointed as his father's aide-de-camp. Saladin had entered the Confederate Army July 12, 1861, as a pri-

¹⁴ NA, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Adjutant General's Office*, compiled by Lucille H. Pendell and Elizabeth Bethel (1949), 149 pp.

vate in Company D, 1st Cherokee Regiment. In support of this request Elias C. Boudinot, in a letter addressed to President Jefferson Davis, March 2, 1865, substituted the name of Saladin Watie for that of a previously named candidate to a cadetship in the Confederate States Army. He explains his change of sponsorship by the fact that Saladin possessed the requisite record of meritorious service and was known as a "youth of great courage and high moral and intellectual worth." Correspondence from prominent Confederate statesmen stressed the merits of Stand Watie and the political advisability of formally recognizing the contribution of the Cherokee Nation to their cause.

The disposition of the public domain of the United States offered a challenge in the field of federal administration early in our history. An office was formally established as early as 1812 within the Treasury Department and charged with the immediate supervision of this function, which had formerly been handled by the Office of the Secretary and the Register of the Treasury.. In 1849 it was transferred to the Department of the Interior,¹⁵ then newly created, and in 1946 it was consolidated with the Grazing Service as the Bureau of Land Management. During most of its history it was known as the General Land Office. Most of the records detailing its operations and dating as early as 1796 are in the National Archives; there are a few accessions containing documents dated as recently as 1951.

These records consist primarily of land entry papers, case files, maps, records of claims investigations, and similar documents which guarantee the legal titles to most of the land located west of the Alleghenies, excluding land in Texas. The story of the early rush for land when portions of Oklahoma were opened for white settlement is told, much more colorfully than one might suppose, in these yellowed timeless papers. Oklahoma occupies a unique place in the history of the building of the frontier; it is the only state in which there was such a dramatic occurrence as the Run of '89 and the opening of the Cherokee Outlet with its attendant excitement and adventure that has fired the imagination of so many writers. These seemingly routine and official looking documents recreate the entire incident under the searching eyes of modern historians.

The National Archives has extensive official records produced by field offices of the federal government in Oklahoma such as those kept by the register and receiver of the Guthrie Land Office. The Guthrie records show, for example, that on April 22, 1889, a total of twenty-six entries were made for lands. Five men made homestead entry, and twenty-one filed soldier's declaratory statements. Mark S. Cohn made the first homestead entry, and Benton Turner

¹⁵ 9 Stat. 395.

filed the first soldier's declaratory statement. No women made entry on that day.¹⁶

A veritable gold mine of personal information concerning the early pioneers may be found here. Volumes of Registers and Receivers' Abstracts contain data regarding the date of receipt, number of receipt, name, residence, detailed description of tract purchased, quantity, valuation per acre, and fees and commissions involved in the transaction; these are arranged by date. The Tract Books, on the other hand, arranged by land description, present a picture of all occupants within a given area and include somewhat similar information such as the date of sale of the land, number of the Receipt and Certificate of Purchase, to whom patented, date of the patent and the volume and page citation where the record of the patent may be found. A sizeable area in the National Archives is occupied by records of the Guthrie Land Office and each of the other land offices in Oklahoma Territory.

Perhaps the aspect of Oklahoma most closely identified with its local history is the Indian. Close relations between the various Indian tribes, both those native to the area and those who migrated from their Eastern homes, are reflected among the records of the Office of Indian Affairs.¹⁷ This agency was devoted primarily to such matters as education, health, legal rights, and the economic progress and development of the several Indian tribes. Originally established as an agency within the framework of the War Department in 1824, its purpose was to absorb the functions relevant to Indian problems which had formerly been performed within the Office of the Secretary of War. Like the General Land Office, this organization also was inherited in 1849 by the newly-created Department of the Interior, where it has remained to the present day. The majority of its records dated prior to 1933 have been deposited in the National Archives. They are far from uniform in nature and substance for they include such wide variations in record material as Indian census rolls and annuity rolls, correspondence, photographs, maps, records of Indian peace and treaty commissions, local records of many field superintendencies, and records of the Office of Indian Trade and the Board of Indian Commissioners. The printed annual reports of Indian Agents are supplemented by bundles of manuscript letters written by them during the year.

Since the creation of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946,¹⁸ a total of 370 claims on behalf of Indian tribes have been filed be-

¹⁶ Records of the General Land Office, R. G. 49, *Registers and Receivers' Monthly Abstracts of Land Entries, U. S. Land Office, Guthrie, Oklahoma*, 1889.

¹⁷ A helpful inventory on this subject is the *List of Documents Concerning the Negotiation of Ratified Indian Treaties, 1801-1869*, compiled by John H. Martin. This is Special List No. 6, issued by the National Archives in 1949, and comprises 175 pages.

¹⁸ 60 Stat. 959.

fore that body of which 25 have been settled. An award was made to the Choctaws and Chickasaws in October, 1950, involving over two million dollars in compensation for the Leased District. The attorneys in such cases make extensive use of facsimiles, both photostat and microfilm, of original records of the Office of Indian Affairs.

At the conclusion of the Civil War there occurred a trend in the movement of population westward; many newly discharged soldiers, feeling the loss of adventure and opportunity, were reluctant to fit themselves into outgrown modes of life and looked to the frontier, that traditional outlet for human ambitions and dreams, as a solution to their quest for a new and more promising livelihood on a firmer economic basis. Many interesting details are revealed in the veterans' pension applications concerning not only the veterans themselves but their survivors, who settled in the vicinity of Oklahoma during that period.

At the time of the taking of the 1890 census, a special enumeration was made of union veterans and widows of union veterans of the civil war. A microfilm publication has been completed for this special enumeration (FM 123), and Roll 76 of that publication contains the schedules for the Oklahoma and Indian Territories, which can be purchased at a cost of four dollars. Pension papers relating to many of those listed on these schedules are available in the National Archives.

The schedules of population censuses, taken decennially since 1790 by the federal government, provide a listing of all inhabitants of the United States. Prior to 1850 only the heads of families were named, the other members being listed numerically, according to age and sex. Beginning in 1850 every member of a household was listed by name along with such miscellaneous information as age, race, sex, place of birth and occupation, to mention only the more significant data. Let me emphasize that these listings differ substantially from the printed compendiums found in local libraries and frequently confused with the original federal census entries. The compendiums are composed entirely of statistical abstracts or summaries, whereas the original census schedules from which this statistical data is compiled contain the actual names and additional information of a personal nature entered by the census enumerator.

A close study of the census schedules made recently revealed the hitherto unknown existence of listings for the year 1860 of 18 Oklahoma counties. They are contained in the original census volume for "Arkansas, Volume 8, 1860" under the entry "Indian Lands." The counties are: Atoka, Blue, Boktook, Cedar, Cole, Eagle, Gains, Jacksford, Kiamitia, Nashoba, Panola, Pickens, Red River, Samboy, Skullyville, Sugarloaf, Tishomingo, and Towson. The value of these records is enhanced by the fact that the population census schedules

for Oklahoma for 1870 are missing. Therefore, these 1860 schedules represent the only extant federal census records for Oklahoma prior to 1880.

The Geological Survey was established in the Department of the Interior in 1879. It was charged with the responsibility of reporting on the Nation's mineral and water resources, the making of topographic maps, and the supervision of the leasing of petroleum and other minerals on public and Indian lands. This agency assumed certain functions and acquired records resulting from earlier surveys made of western areas by the Interior Department and the Office of the Chief of Engineers of the War Department. A quantity of records, covering the period 1867-1946, includes correspondence, monthly reports of geological field parties, field notebooks, original drawings of topographic maps and prints of aerial mapping film. Included is an atlas of map exhibits prepared for the State of Texas and submitted to the Supreme Court as an exhibit in defense of its position in the Red River boundary dispute with Oklahoma in 1922.

Westward migration constituted one of the major aspects of the opening of the west. The early pioneers sought virtually alone and unassisted to locate desirable trails to the Pacific coast and the federal government manifested an active interest in the blazing of suitable trails to facilitate movements of population westward and in the publicizing of these roads. Similarly, investigations were conducted pertaining to Pacific railroad surveys and western wagon roads as well; and the period covered by records of these investigations in the National Archives is 1851-1875.

A unique study undertaken by a modern federal government agency, the Soil Conservation Service, is that made by Dr. Charles Warren Thornthwaite of three counties in Oklahoma—Kingfisher, Blaine and Logan. These were selected for a detailed climatic study. Weather stations were set up in strategic locations and detailed observations of rainfall, temperature, precipitation and soil erosion were chronicled on extensive sets of highly detailed maps arranged according to a unique set of formulas established by Dr. Thornthwaite. An illustration of the fine detail is that records concerning a single storm of four hours duration fill an entire drawer. Maps were made to cover intervals throughout each day. This study was undertaken during the period 1935-1937 in an effort to make a comparative scientific study upon which to base corrective measures in combating the effect of undesirable weather conditions upon the productivity of the soil. Ultimately these maps were amalgamated with the Muskingum Project, a similar climatic study of another area, which was inspired by the success achieved in the study of these three Oklahoma counties.

This paper has set forth the absence of a coordinated plan of centralized responsibility for the administration of the records of

the federal government prior to the establishment of the National Archives; the origin of this agency, its organization and the arrangement of records in its custody; the fact that a substantial volume of records in its custody has already been identified as relating to Oklahoma and the probability that future accessions will augment this volume; and the fact that facsimile microfilm copies of these records, which are of historical interest to Oklahoma or any other state, can be obtained from the National Archives at relatively small cost, making such copies conveniently available to interested persons distantly located from the depository for the originals.

The importance of the National Archives to the American people is well expressed in the following inscription read by many a gazing tourist: "The romance of our history is here preserved in the chronicles of those who conceived and builded the structure of our nation."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

PUBLISHED INDEX FOR *The Chronicles*, VOLUME XXIX

Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and others receiving *The Chronicles* regularly can obtain the published Index for Volume XXIX, 1951, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk Archivist, by addressing a request to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

SPECIAL COMMUNICATION FROM DR. ANGIE DEBO

The following letter has been received from Dr. Angie Debo, of Stillwater, Oklahoma, protesting the publication in *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), pp. 224-47, of a letter by Mr. J. B. Wright, of McAlester, a native Oklahoman who served many years in the U. S. Indian Office to the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma:

117 N. Knoblock
Stillwater, Okla.
January 31, 1952

Dr. Charles Evans, Editor
Chronicles of Oklahoma
Historical Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Evans:

I have waited too long before writing this letter, but finally at the urging of friends, I have decided to make a friendly protest against your publication in the Summer issue of the *Chronicles* of a letter by Mr. J. B. Wright of McAlester criticizing my *Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions*.

In all my career as a writer I have never replied to a review of one of my books. A reviewer is supposed to be a scholar in his own right, and his judgment is entitled to respect. If he makes a mistake, it is his own reputation that suffers. Thus if Miss Wright had reviewed my *Report* unfavorably, I should have made no objection, because she is a distinguished historical writer who has earned the right to criticize. But this is different. It is simply a letter from an individual correspondent.

I can sympathize with this writer, who is justly proud of his Choctaw blood and humiliated at the publicity given to the degraded condition to which some of these once great people have been reduced. But because of the intensity of his personal reaction he has not been able to read my *Report* objectively. Thus he has made statements about it which I wish to correct. I shall take time to reply to only one he takes up.

He says that I "am inclined to generalities. A reader might be led to believe that all Indians are placed in the same category . . . ministers, . . . men of wealth, etc., and classify them."

As a matter of fact I have made this distinction consistently throughout the *Report*. On page 1, speaking of this successful group, I said:

"They became leaders of the new composite society, and their traditions and their history became an important part of the state's cultural heritage. This fact is of basic significance." And in a footnote I stated, "This is discussed more fully in—" and I gave page references to two of my books.

On page 8 after describing the plight of landless Indians, I said:

"There are of course many 'landless' Indians of all these tribes who feel no lack. They make their living in the world outside—at skilled or unskilled labor, in the professions, in business. They constitute no problem, and require no rehabilitation."

On pages 27-28 after describing the policy of educational loans for Indians, I said:

"Many more attend college through their own or family initiative without outside help. These are unknown to statistics, but their presence is plainly apparent on every Oklahoma campus. They enter fully into student activities and graduate into the professional and business life of the general population. Many are making careers for themselves in distant states."

My *Report* of course, was not concerned with what I characterized as "these completely adjusted Indians." Naturally the major part of the work was devoted to those in need of rehabilitation. But even with this depressed class I cited instance after instance of hopeful response to opportunities. I described the progress of several who had become "successful farmers by any man's standards," and characterized their children as farm boys that would have been a credit to any community in the United States." And in my final summary on page 34 I said—still speaking of this underprivileged group—"It has been clearly demonstrated that the Indians do respond to agricultural opportunities, that they do benefit by educational training."

I shall not make my letter tedious by answering Mr. Wright's other objections. This reply to his first one should show that my *Report* received something less than a just evaluation in the *Chronicles*. I am sure you did not realize that in throwing your pages open to a private correspondent you were placing me in a difficult position, and I know you will permit me this defense.

Cordially yours,
Angie Debo

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF *Books Abroad*

An event in Oklahoma of international significance celebrated in January, 1952, was the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of *Books Abroad* that has been subsidized from its beginning by the University of Oklahoma and has served as "an indispensable tool of research in comparative literature, in bibliography and library science." Volume I was launched as a small magazine of thirty-two pages in January, 1927, through the Department of Modern Languages in the University of Oklahoma, under the leadership of Roy Temple House¹ who is internationally known for this step toward the ideal of World

¹ W. A. Willibrand, "Roy Temple House," *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. 5 (May, 1948), The University of Oklahoma.

Literature. A paper² read at the celebration of this Twenty-fifth Anniversary, by Dr. W. A. Willibrand, now Consulting Editor, touches briefly on the history of the development of *Books Abroad*, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"Back of *Books Abroad* was an adventurous type of hard work and also a dynamic vision which seemed to make failure impossible. This spirit of adventure, this unrelenting pursuit of a vision was thoroughly Oklahoman. One might compare the first year of *Books Abroad* with the many hundreds of towns and villages that sprung up in Oklahoma immediately after the different land openings. Our pioneer leaders knew what American communities were supposed to look like and they proceeded to build accordingly, intensely eager because of an intense awareness of personal adequacy to meet the hardships as well as the opportunities of pioneering. Roy Temple House, his first two associate editors, [Stephen] Scatori and [Josiah H.] Combs, together with their gifted advisory editor, Kenneth C. Kaufman, were each of them known to have a deep and far-reaching cultural inheritance, a linguistic versatility and a style of expression that rendered them totally adequate to the new editorial venture. . . .

"Recognition came quickly to *Books Abroad*. In its second issue, spring 1927, there were contributions by distinguished professors at the University of Chicago, Stanford, Johns Hopkins, and New York University. When Volume One was complete the list of prominent regular contributors had grown considerably. A magazine with such a precocious infancy could no longer take its proof-reading workers by surprise when they saw contributions by distinguished American and European masters of the written word: Carl van Doren, Channing Pollock, Burns Mantle, Clifton Fadiman, Joseph Wood Crutch, Sinclair Lewis, Alfonso Reyes, Jacinto Benavente, Jacob Wassermann, Ezra Pound, George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Mann—all of these and many more sent pieces to the youthful journal.

* * * * *

". . . . *Books Abroad* began to be listed in 1935 and 1936 by Litchfield's *Classified List*, Lyle's *Periodicals for the College Library*, Ulrich's *Periodical Directory*, and Ayers *Directory*; but it was not until 1941 that its articles began to be listed in the *International Index to Periodical Literature*. . . .

"There are certain kinds of literary research which can well be done at the University of Oklahoma, thanks to *Books Abroad* and its extensive card files. I think particularly of the European authors who made their homes on the American continent (not only in the U. S.) during the quarter-century covered by the volumes of *Books Abroad*. Men like Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Franz Werfel, Ernst Toller, have been the subject of repeated studies; but many others have been neglected out of all proportion to their merit. Here I should like to mention the Swiss-American poet and philosopher, Gustav Mueller, and the Franco-German-American writer and editor of *Books Abroad* Ernst Erich Noth. Both of them began to be recognized long ago by some of the most reputable European publishers. When Mueller's sixth volume of poetry appeared last year I pointed out in the *American-German Review* that his work deserves to be studied. The same thing is true of Noth, whose talents and vital contacts with European letters bode well for his continued progress in creative work. . . .

"Mueller is one of many internationally significant authors who have given profound substance to the mid-twenties' dream of Roy Temple House. The spiritual meaningfulness of that dream is being carried forward nobly

² This paper titled "On the 25th Anniversary of '*Books Abroad*,'" by W. A. Willibrand, has been recently published (1952) in *The Oklahoma Quarterly*, at the University of Oklahoma.

by Ernst Erich Noth, who in a little more than two short years has won the admiration and the loyalty of the living first collaborators and readers of *Books Abroad*."

REPORT OF E. H. KELLEY, OKLAHOMA STATE BANKING DEPARTMENT

The Chronicles for summer, 1951 (Vol. XXIX, No. 2, pp. 173-6) contained an article "Oklahoma City Historical Markers," which reviewed the project promoted and completed under the auspices of *The '89ers*, by which this organization marked a number of outstanding historic sites in Oklahoma City in 1939, with a small bronze plaque or tablet erected at each of the different locations and bearing an inscription giving a brief history of the site marked. This article presented a list of seventeen of these bronze markers giving the exact inscription on each, located at the different historic sites in Oklahoma City.

On the south side of the main entrance to the Huckins Hotel, 20 North Broadway, Oklahoma City, is one of these bronze tablets erected by *The '89ers* to mark the site of the Citizens Bank established here in 1889. The inscription on this marker reads as follows: "*This tablet marks the site of the Citizens Bank. The first bank opened for business May 30, 1889. James Geary, President, L. A. Gilbert, Cashier and A. L. Welsh, Asst. Cashier.*"

Mr. E. H. Kelley, of the Oklahoma State Banking Department, who is known as the "Roving Ambassador" for the Historical Society in his work in the Banking Department over the state, is compiling a history on banks and banking in Oklahoma. He has stated that his purpose is to publish a Bank Directory covering the opening date of all private, incorporated territorial, state chartered and National banks that ever operated in either Indian Territory or Oklahoma Territory or the State of Oklahoma. Since the date of the opening of the Citizens Bank in Oklahoma City to be given in his Bank Directory will not be in agreement with the date of the opening of this bank appearing in the inscription of the marker, cited above, Mr. Kelley has presented a brief summary of his research in this matter. He finds the date of the opening of the Citizens Bank in Oklahoma City to have been in the first week of May, 1889, instead of the last week (May 30) as recited on the bronze tablet erected by *The '89ers*. Mr. Kelley's report giving citations from his research and his comments in this matter with reference to the Citizens Bank of Oklahoma City are as follows:

The Organization

Irving Jeffs Bunky, *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City* (Oklahoma City, 1890), p. 74:

"Citizens Bank on the southeast corner of Main and Broadway was the first to open for business in the Territory. James Geary, Fox Winnie and A. L. Gilbert were in the City at the opening and on the 27th day of April,

it suddenly occurred to them to start a bank, and acting on the impulse, they set to work and by May 30th they had a building up and were doing business."

Comment:

There is no doubt in my mind about the date of organization. I have set the date at April 27th 1889, after discussing this matter with several citizens interested in banking, who were on the ground, having made the run to Oklahoma City, and whose memory places the date at about the date set by Bunky. Preparations for opening took time. There were checks and deposit tickets to be printed, books to be purchased, forms of notes and drafts to be made, and since the "Times" did not come off the press for its first issue until May 9th 1889, the organizers would have to obtain their supplies of printing from out-of-town sources. Proof of this statement follows. Bunky did not set the date of opening of the bank in his book—he merely stated that by May 30th 1889 the bank building was up and they were doing business.

Bunky, *op. cit.*, p. 35:

"The Oklahoma Journal was established by A. C. and W. W. Scott under the firm name of 'Scott & Scott'. A large and well assorted plant was shipped from Iola, Kansas, about the time of the opening, arriving in Oklahoma City May 1st. The first copy of the paper, an 8 column folio was issued May 9th and was the first paper published in Oklahoma City. The first issue of the paper was called 'The Times'. The name was changed in the next issue, May 16th to *The Oklahoma Journal*."

***The Commercial*, Ogden City, Utah, Saturday, May 18, 1889:**

"W. H. Hicks handed us a copy of the Oklahoma Times yesterday of May 9th. It is a healthy looking eight column weekly and contains some remarkable statements about the new town. That the paper was issued under the most embarrassing conditions appears from the announcement that part of the material was still in the car and the rest in three different shanties in the city."

Comment:

The clipping from Utah has been deposited in the Historical Society. The Oklahoma Times of May 9th 1889 is in the files of the Historical Society and the Advertisement of the Citizens Bank appears in this issue, along with an Add of The Oklahoma Bank, showing and stating there were two banks in operation in Oklahoma City on that date. It was necessary to seek information covering the opening of the Citizens Bank, from sources outside of Oklahoma Country, which had not yet been designated as a Territory.

The Opening

***The Oklahoma Almanac & Industrial Record* of 1908, p. 50, col. 2:**

"The Citizens Bank was the first financial institution to begin business in Oklahoma City."

Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (Topeka, 1890), p. 78:

"The Citizens Bank was the first to do business in Oklahoma City."

***The St. Louis Republic*, St. Louis, Mo., May 7, 1892:**

"Oklahoma City: Mr James Geary was born in Missouri. He was one of the first men on the ground here, and his bank The Citizens, was the first one opened in the city."

***Reminiscences of '89ers* (Book in Carnegie Library, Enid, Okla.), p. 105:**

"James Geary; He organized and opened the first bank as The Citi-

zens Bank, May 3rd 1889 and was its president until selling out in July 1892 to Captain Stiles and others."

Kansas City Times, Kansas City, Mo.:

"Oklahoma City, I. T. May 2nd 1889: The Citizens Bank opened its doors for business today. It is the first bank to engage in business in this city."

Carters Monthly Magazine:

E. R. Brown, Editor of Times-Journal, Oklahoma City, wrote an article on Oklahoma City, which was re-printed in *Carters Monthly Magazine*, an extract from which is as follows: (P. 6, picture of James Geary; p. 7, picture of Citizens Bank as the first bank in Oklahoma City, and p. 8):

"Mr. James Geary was on the site of Oklahoma City before the opening and was eye-witness to the stampede for lots by those arriving on the afternoon of April 22nd 1889. Mr. Geary had seven cars of lumber on the site of the city three days in advance of the opening. As soon as the hour set for opening arrived he had men and teams at work distributing lumber on the lots staked off and had no difficulty in disposing of it. At the end of the fifth day Mr. Geary had erected 39 buildings, thus affording accommodations for the stocks of goods being brought into the city for sale. Mr. Geary also organized the Citizens Bank, which was ready for business eleven days after the opening (May 2nd). It was the first bank of the city. Mr. Geary was President of it for three years."

The Indian Chieftain, Vinita, I. T., p. 1, col. 6:

"Oklahoma City, I. T. May 3rd 1889:

The Citizens Bank opened its doors yesterday and it is the first bank to engage in business in this city."

Comment:

The clippings from the *St. Louis Republic* and the *Kansas City Times* and the full article in Carter's Monthly Magazine are in the Oklahoma Historical Society's files. *The Indian Journal*, Vinita, I. T., is in the Historical Society's files also. Since the majority of opinions have set the date of May 2nd, 1889, as the opening day for the Citizens Bank in Oklahoma City, I have selected that date for my Bank Directory.

Among some of the items shown above are statements subject to contradiction. Bunky states that the Citizens Bank was the first to open in the Territory. My research does not bear out this statement.

E. E. Brown in his article states that James Geary was on the ground before the hour of the opening of the Oklahoma Country, by the "Run" of April 22, 1889. He may have been down to make arrangements for all that has been said but an article appeared in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* for September, 1889 (Page 361), written by Hamilton S. Wicks, stating that Mr. Geary was in the caboose with him on his way to Oklahoma on April 22nd, 1889. I obtained a photostat of this article which I have deposited in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Then again, the papers in Oklahoma City show the Citizens Bank was in operation long before May 30th, 1889; here is one:

The Oklahoma Pioneer, Oklahoma City, Saturday, May 11, 1889, p. 4, col. 4:

"Oklahoma City already has two solid banking institutions, The Citizens Bank and The Oklahoma Bank, both open for business. Both houses have abundant working capital and all are managed by safe and competent financiers."

—El. H. Kelley

A HISTORY OF INGERSOLL, OKLAHOMA.

The following history of Ingersoll, now only a "ghost town" in Alfalfa County, is an interesting contribution from Mary Blue Coppock (Mrs. M. L.), of Cherokee, Oklahoma:

Ingersoll, Oklahoma, is located in what was formerly known as the Cherokee Outlet. This region was opened to settlement by the United States Government on September 16, 1893. This opening, recorded as "The Famous Race for Homesteads," was made by men of great stamina, vigor and courage.

For almost a decade the pioneers who had made the race into the Outlet and secured homes for themselves and families, were without a railroad or town nearer than sixteen miles distant. They were served by a general store in the exact location where Ingersoll was located many years later. This general store handled groceries, hardware, piece goods by the bolt, besides a few standard drugs and patent medicines. The post office was located in this same store. All the goods that supplied this store had to be hauled by wagon and team from the railroad towns of either Alva, Oklahoma, or Kiowa, Kansas. Alva was the county seat of the county, then known as County M, which later became known as Woods. Both of these towns were located on the Santa Fe railroad, the only one serving northwestern Oklahoma. The mail was brought from Alva by horse-drawn hacks. All crops raised by the farmers had to be hauled to these railroad towns, and these long drives were extremely hard and grueling. It would take a full day to make the trip and return with badly needed supplies. All building equipment had to be brought in this way. Often the weather was extremely hot, but more often extremely cold, as the crops were most generally taken to market after the fall crops were planted.

When it was rumored that a railroad was to be built through out community, it created a great deal of excitement and rejoicing. Surveyors and company officials began arriving in 1900. Since there were no hotels or other accommodations for keeping them, it behooved some one in the community to open their home to these strangers. My parents, Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Blue, always interested in anything that would bring improvement, opened their home and provided rooms and meals. While this created a great deal of extra work for my mother, she never complained, for it brought into our home association with many interesting people, who were not only well educated, but refined and cultured. In return for my mother's many kindnesses, they did many lovely things for her. I well remember one incident that was quite amusing to us. One of the young officials of the road was from Kansas City, Missouri, which was a large, noisy city with its clanging street cars and busy traffic. After one night in our home he remarked he was ready to return to the City for it was so quiet in our country home he couldn't sleep.

While the railroad road bed was being surveyed, townsites were laid out all along the right-of-way, and lots sold in anticipation of the day when these towns would actually have railroad service. The committee in charge of the Ingersoll Townsite set a day for a grand opening when they hoped to really put Ingersoll on the map. Evidently this company did a masterly job of advertising, for they had interested people as far away as the eastern seaboard states. I can personally testify to this, for in the summer of 1903, I was on a train enroute from Washington, D. C., to Newport News, Virginia. On the crowded train a strange young lady sat down beside me, and as fellow travelers will do, we began chatting. She inquired where I was from. When I told her from Ingersoll, Oklahoma, she became very much interested, as she said her father a year or two before had purchased lots in Ingersoll as an investment. This was

indeed a most unusual coincidence, as my father had been both chairman and secretary of the townsite company that had sold the lots to her father. By the time the above incident took place, Ingersoll had developed into a thriving little village and I was proud to tell her all about its amazing growth and of its various activities.

At its peak of prosperity, Ingersoll was a town of over 1,000 inhabitants. It was located on the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad which ran from Geary, Oklahoma, to Waldron, Kansas, and from there extended to Wichita, Kansas. There was also a spur running from Ingersoll to Alva, Oklahoma. The town is located in one of the greatest wheat growing sections of the state. At its peak, the town had three churches, two banks, a flour mill, two grain elevators, a newspaper, a cultural club that studied Browning, Shakespeare and the Chautauqua courses, a thriving Masonic Lodge, Eastern Star and Odd Fellow Lodge. There were also seven saloons, with their attendant pool halls and "what-have-you," although the better element of the town wasn't at all proud of these. This flourishing little town remained prosperous and active for eight or ten years. Then a rival town five miles distant began to overshadow the activities of Ingersoll.

In the year of 1901, shortly after the Choctaw Railroad began construction, another company began building a rival road paralleling the Choctaw for almost its entire length. This was known as the Orient Road which ran parallel one-half to one or two miles from the Choctaw for many miles. On this Orient railroad, five miles distant from Ingersoll, a company had organized and was planning to establish a town to be known as Cherokee. The people of Ingersoll realized a town that close to theirs would be very detrimental to their prosperity. They also realized it would be to the advantage of both towns if a plan could be worked out whereby the two towns could merge and be established on both the Choctaw and the Orient roads. After much arguing and bickering, Ingersoll offered to move their buildings two miles to the south where the two roads were only about one half mile apart, if Cherokee would agree to build their town in that location. Ingersoll also agreed to take the name of Cherokee for the combined towns. However, selfish interests prevailed and the town of Cherokee was laid out five miles from Ingersoll.

At the time Oklahoma became a state in the year 1907, the Constitutional Convention divided the County of Woods into three counties, naming Alva the County Seat of Woods, Fairview, the County Seat of Major, and Cherokee, County Seat of Alfalfa. This was accounted for by the fact that two members of the Constitutional Convention were from Cherokee. In 1908 a petition was circulated by Ingersoll, Carmen and Jet asking that an election be held giving the people a choice in determining what town should be their County Seat. The election was held in 1908 with Cherokee, Ingersoll, Carmen and Jet candidates for the honor. Cherokee won tidily, receiving 54 per cent of all votes cast when 40 per cent was all that was necessary for a decision. Carmen contested the election on the grounds that the voters were not required to raise their right hand when they subscribed to the affidavit. This contest dragged along for two years when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in March of 1912, making Cherokee the County Seat.

Thus, we find several factors contributing to the undoing of Ingersoll: the locating of Cherokee five miles away; permitting saloons to locate in Ingersoll while Cherokee denied them this privilege; a fire in 1912 that destroyed the main business block; then another later that burned the hotel and hardware store; a bank robbery that did irreparable damage to the building from two blasts of T.N.T.; and the decision that made Cherokee the County Seat. With regard to the saloons in Ingersoll, it should be remembered this was the day of local option in Oklahoma, and

the age-old question as to saloons contributing to the prosperity of a town was shuttled back and forth just as it is today in many places. It appears from all the foregoing, that this one situation is fairly good proof of the fallacy of this claim.

An interesting event occurred in Ingersoll when Carrie Nation with her famous hatchet visited the town. While she didn't use the hatchet on any of the bars, she did use her viriolic tongue to good advantage. As she stood haranguing the group that had assembled to hear her speak, she spied a gentleman placidly chewing his tobacco. Pointing her finger at him, she scornfully said, "You remind me of a billy goat chewing his cud." The man so honored was Eli McLaughlin, who had made the race into Oklahoma, homesteaded a farm, and at that time was president of one of the banks in Ingersoll.

Today, February 1952, Ingersoll is almost a phantom town. A few of its first citizens are still living and look back with a nostalgic longing to those days when Ingersoll was a thriving hamlet with all the business establishments, the churches, schools, fraternal organizations, clubs and societies that went to make up a metropolitan city of that day. Today, one church and the two story Masonic building of brick are all that remain of such organizations which contributed to the culture and refinement of the people of Ingersoll. For one of its size, it had as honorable and distinguished a citizenry as ever graced any town anywhere.

The town received its name from a Mr. Ingersoll who was president of the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad. The town of Amorita, fourteen miles to the northeast and located on the same railroad, was named for the wife of Mr. Ingersoll.

The first postmaster of Ingersoll was Clifford McDaniel who received his appointment September 13, 1901. Mr. McDaniel was the first teacher in the first rural school in what is now Alfalfa County. This school was located two miles east of Ingersoll.

The length of the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad was 106.3 miles from Geary, where it started, to Waldron, Kansas, and was completed in 1902. This line was abandoned for passenger service September 15, 1936. The spur from Ingersoll to Alva was 15.6 miles, and was also built in 1902. This spur is still in use for freight service, as is the line from Geary to Ingersoll. No passenger service on any of the lines.

—Mary Blue Coppock

INTRODUCTION OF OKLAHOMA FOLKLORE TO NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Editorial Department of *The Chronicles* presents the following contribution on "Oklahoma Folklore" from Mr. Bob Duncan, Curator of Local History and Folklore Collection in Oklahoma City Libraries, in which he outlines some future contributions on this subject that will be planned for publication in "Notes and Documents":

OKLAHOMA FOLKLORE

For many years now, since the departure of Dr. B. A. Botkin to the Library of Congress, and the disappearance of the Oklahoma Folklore Society of the 'twenties, collection of Oklahoma folklore has lagged behind the preservation of materials in any other area of Oklahoma history.

With this number of *The Chronicles*, a certain portion of each will present a contribution designed to discuss the various aspects of Oklahoma folklore, as well as to publicize what is currently being done to preserve Oklahoma's rich folk heritage.

The Local History and Folklore Collection of the Oklahoma City Libraries was established in the spring of 1949 to collect and classify Oklahoma folklore, and at the same time to serve as an information center where the public would be able to find a listing of Oklahoma folklore collectors over the state, together with a description of their collections as to type of material and amount.

As of this date, the plan has been successful. The Oklahoma City Libraries Collection includes a vast amount of material, ranging from folk songs to witchcraft and superstitions. In addition, it has served over a hundred scholars, historians and writers all over the country interested in Oklahoma folklore.

One disturbing thing has been discovered in the Oklahoma City Libraries' project, however, and that is that there appears to be more interest in Oklahoma folklore outside the state than there is within the state. Perhaps it is because most Oklahomans live too close to their folklore to be able to recognize its true value. Nevertheless, until more Oklahomans become active in the field of folklore collection, the coverage of all the different areas of folklore within the state can never be adequate.

Oklahoma's value as a folklore center lies in the fact that few places in the United States can offer so many varied traditions and cultures existing in such close proximity to one another. After all, Oklahoma's history as a settled territory, excluding the history of the Indians, is less than sixty-five years old. Yet in this half century, Oklahoma has passed through many phases of development, from the cattle camp to the city, and folklore from each area of progress is still to be found in the state.

In the first place, Oklahoma is one of the few regions where the folklorist can observe the influences of Anglo-American culture on the cultures of so many Indian tribes. For instance, folklorists are already at work on English ballads found among the Cherokees in which Indian heroes have been substituted for English ones. In the same manner, the Indians have contributed much to the beliefs of present day Oklahomans, especially in the eastern part of the state. As an example, much of the folk medicine persisting in eastern Oklahoma is a blend of the old Indian methods and the white man's innovations.

Aside from the Indian influence, the first Anglo-American folklore to lend any impact on our modern way of life was that of the cowboys who threaded across the state on a number of different trails for two decades following the Civil War. Not only did these trail drives develop into the Oklahoma cattle industry, but many beliefs and traditions brought here by the early cattlemen still persist in force in Western Oklahoma.

After the land openings, when the cattle ranges were cut down and Oklahoma's economy became primarily agricultural, much of the cowboy's folklore became adapted to a more stable way of life. The square dance of the cowboy joined with the dance formations of the settlers brought from their homeplaces in other states and "Hell Among the Yearlings" was played side by side with "Old Dan Tucker."

It was only natural when the oil industry moved into Oklahoma and many young men went into the industry, that the folklore of oil should be an adaptation of the old and familiar folklore with a new industrial society. Thus, a common dance tune like "Turkey in the Straw" was combined with new lyrics beginning, "Said the driller to the tooler. . . ."

Older folk stories of buried treasure were adapted to lost oil wells, and the traditional water witcher became an oil doodlebug.

Even urban folklore in Oklahoma reflects a union of the various phases that Oklahoma has passed through. Weather signs developed by the cattlemen on the high plains in Oklahoma are still very much in evidence in Oklahoma City. Where hill folklore in the eastern part of the state declares that to see a redbird means you will soon see your lover, a red car means the same thing to many young people in the city. Where seeing a white horse once allowed a country swain to kiss his girl, the city courter can assume the same privilege when he sees a car with one headlight burning.

But in addition to the influence that industrial progress and urbanization have had on Oklahoma folklore, there is another element equally as important. That is the regional folklore developed by settlers from other states who rebuilt their old traditions to conform with a new physical environment. This is illustrated by the fact that Southern Oklahoma, "Little Dixie," has a closer cultural alliance to Texas and Louisiana than it does to the Oklahoma Panhandle. The language and beliefs of the eastern part of the state are much closer to those in Arkansas than they are to those in the wheat country of Western Oklahoma.

Divided by three basic regions, the high plains on the west, the rolling plains in the center of the state and the Ozark foothills on the east, Oklahoma has a great variety of basically different regional folklores existing within her borders. When the pattern of progress from cowboy to agricultural to industrial to urban is superimposed over this picture of regionalism in Oklahoma, the resultant mixture of the various elements in Oklahoma folklore presents a vastly exciting and complex cultural mosaic.

It is hoped that in subsequent issues of *The Chronicles*, contributions of folklore can be printed from people in different parts of the state who know a region from first hand experience. For under the stress of modern living, much of the old folklore is rapidly disappearing with the passing of the old timers who lived through the early periods of Oklahoma's growth. It is up to today's Oklahomans to preserve the traditions and beliefs of yesterday for the generations of tomorrow.

—Bob Duncan

BOOK REVIEW

A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma. By Muriel H. Wright. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951. XVII, 300 pp. Illustrations, suggested readings, bibliography, and index. \$5.00. Number 33 in the Civilization of the American Indian Series.)

This compact and readable volume brings into sharp focus the impact Indian settlement has had upon the history of Oklahoma. But wayward federal policies toward Indian tribes and remnants of tribes located here were national in scope, hence the volume will attract more than local interest.

The 24 page introduction presents a synthesis of colonial and federal relations with the Indians, and sufficient information on linguistic divisions, removal problems, cultural advances, organization and location in Indian Territory, allotment, assimilation and present status.

Sixty-seven tribes are discussed topically. Twenty-nine of these still retain their identity but the others were adopted into or assimilated by other tribes immediately before or after removal to Indian Territory. Where possible, the author has traced the origin of the name of the tribe and its English translation, the location of the tribe in Oklahoma, present and past census data, historic locations, government, contemporary life and culture. Not treated lightly are the many evidences of oppression, cruelty, subtlety, and duplicity used in attempting to solve the Indian problem by federal and state officials.

The work is sufficiently encyclopedic in form to furnish general answers to questions about our Indian neighbors, their leaders, origins, institutions, contributions and adaptability to citizenship status. Many have achieved prominence in community, state, and national affairs but our counties of lowest per capita income are those where the Indian population is greatest. Acquisitiveness and drive for economic gain are not Indian characteristics.

Every reader, certainly every Oklahoman should enjoy this book: colorful place names peculiar to Oklahoma, such as "Swapping Back Church," the sympathetic treatment of the greatest mass migrations in the history of our country, removal of the Five Tribes, information on the tribe that carried on its own allotment program, and definitions peculiarly ours, such as the "fullblood white Quapaw."

The value of the book is increased by 128 illustrations of leaders, places, and happenings among the Indians. The only omission of any moment is an illustration of the former capitol of the Creek

Nation. Six maps of the Indian country or Oklahoma, 1837-1951, are included. Of utmost interest is the one that appears on page 24 which shows former Indian reservation or Indian nation boundary lines in respect to the present state and county lines.

The University of Oklahoma Press is to be commended for the excellent format in this, Number 33 in its Civilization of the American Indian Series.

—J. Stanley Clark

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGIES

MATTHEW ANTON SWATEK

1867-1942

Matthew Anton Swatek (spelled "Svatek" in Bohemia), also known and hereafter referred to as "Mike Swatek", was born near Prague, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia), on August 16, 1867. He was the eldest son of Frank and Josephine Swatek.

Frank Swatek was an average citizen of Bohemia, and spent much of his time in the military service of Bohemia. He engaged in the trade of stone and brick masonry. In 1880 Frank and Josephine Swatek disposed of their earthly possessions, and brought their family of seven children, namely: Mary, Mike, Frank, Jr., Antonette, Joseph, Josephine and Charles, to America. After meeting all immigration requirements, they established their first home in America, at Plattsmouth, Nebraska.

Without delay Frank Swatek taught his sons the trade of stone masonry and brick laying. As soon as it was possible, every member of the Swatek family became naturalized citizens of the United States, and as soon as Mike was of voting age, he voted for President Grover Cleveland—and was one of his greatest admirers.

Soon the family moved to Omaha, Nebraska, where work was more plentiful, and by 1887 they had accumulated sufficient money to meet the necessities of life. Possessing the pioneer spirit, and having experienced many hardships, they proceeded to Caldwell, Kansas, where they prepared themselves for the opening of the Oklahoma country.

Mike and his father were in the "Run" of April 22, 1889, first arriving at Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Later they traveled to Guthrie, and by train to Oklahoma City, where Mike Swatek, early in May, staked his present homestead, nine miles southwest of Oklahoma City. This is the homestead which he owned the remainder of his life, no part of it ever having been alienated or mortgaged to anyone.

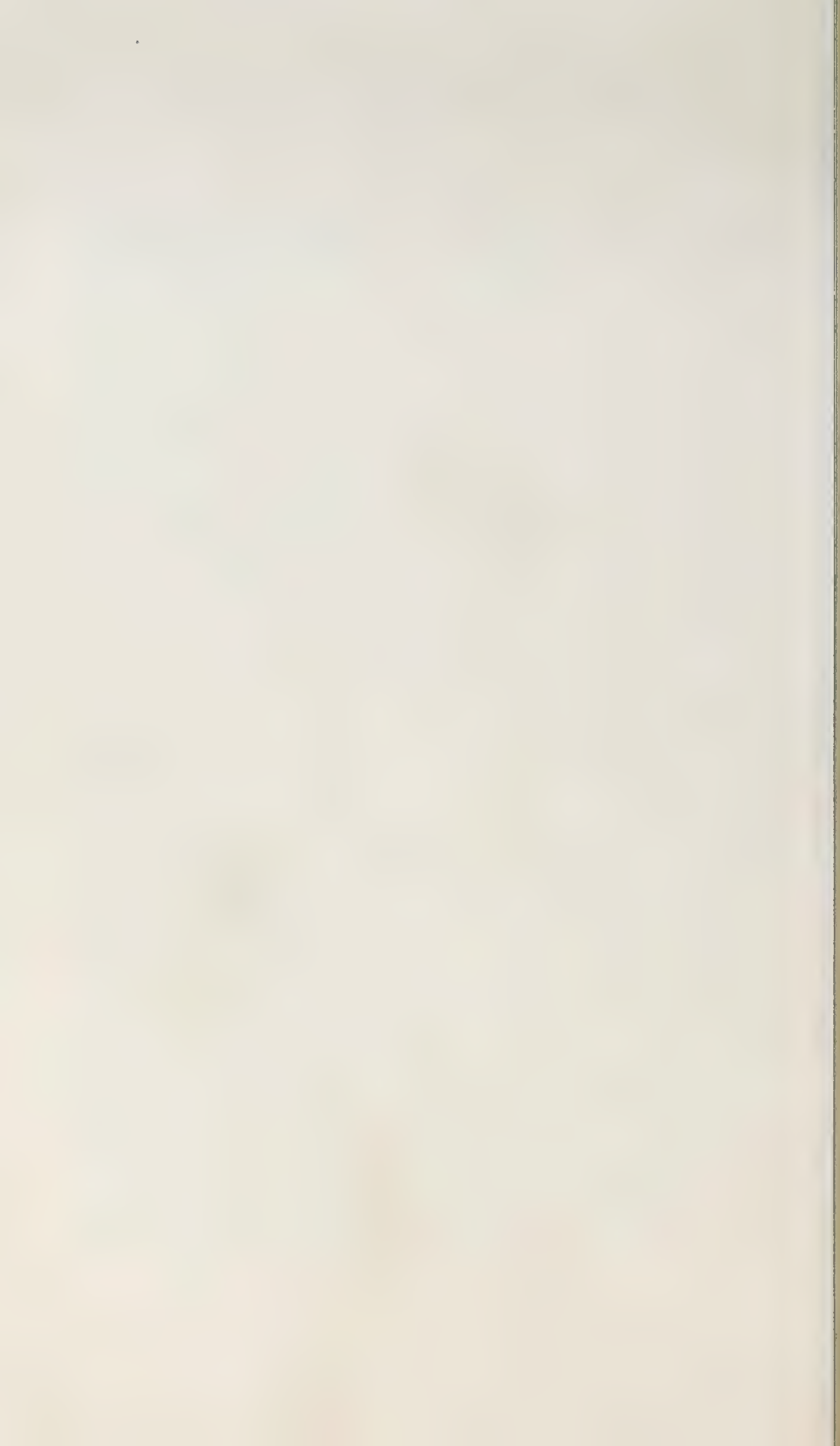
By 1892, his services as a stone and brick mason became almost indispensable to the growth of Oklahoma City, where he worked by day, and in addition to carrying on his trade, he managed to farm his homestead on Mustang Creek. After Mike Swatek had staked his homestead and begun the work necessary to meet the requirements of the Government for homesteading land, he walked, requiring one day and one night, to Kingfisher, Oklahoma, to comply with the regulations necessary to perpetuate his claim to his homestead. Later he assisted his father in securing a homestead near Wheatland, which has always been known as a Bohemian settlement.

On September 14, 1892, Mike Swatek married Lottie Kasl, and from this union the following children were born: Clara (now deceased); Lily (now deceased); Charles M.; Roy E.; and Marie (née Swatek) Bohanon.

As early as 1894 he organized a construction company, and started the building of pioneer cities and towns in Oklahoma. In 1908 he organized the M. A. Swatek Construction Company, and operated under that Company until 1935, at which time he retired from the active construction business, turning the M. A. Swatek Construction Company over to his



MATTHEW ANTON SWATEK



sons who have continued the operation of the M. A. Swatek Construction Company.

It is said by all those who knew him that Mike Swatek's working day was from sun-up to sun-down; that he worked an average of fifteen hours a day. He was untiring in his efforts and was always a builder. Although he did not have the advantage of a common school education, he was considered well educated. He was a student of history, engineering, philosophy and government, and readily adapted himself to all the problems of the contracting business. He held the record of having been the first contractor to lay a concrete road in the State of Oklahoma—the road from the State Capitol east to Choctaw, Oklahoma—laid in the fall of 1921, now known as Highway #62. He engaged in the road contracting business, and also constructed the streets throughout many cities in Oklahoma. Some of the early day towns in which he constructed the early pavement or brick streets are: Perry, Oklahoma City, Stillwater, Cherokee, Blackwell, Tonkawa, Chickasha, Norman, Pawnee, Cleveland, and many others. In addition to this type of construction, he built many of the finest buildings and structures in Oklahoma City in the early days, among these were the first City Hall in Oklahoma City; the Oklahoma City Water Department building, and the theater building now known as the "Warner", the old Overholser Hippodrome Theater, the "Doc & Bill" Furniture Store, the first annex to the Huckins Hotel, the first annex to St. Anthony's Hospital, and many other buildings.

A true pioneer, Mr. Swatek took great pride in providing for all the comforts of life for his own family. He believed in his friends and associates and in the future of his country and state. He was one of the organizers of the 89er's organization and was present at all annual banquets, bringing his entire family with him. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge, and affiliated himself with Crown Heights Methodist Church of Oklahoma City, taking an active part in the building of this new church. Mike Swatek was a true builder, always working at building something for someone else.

Mike Swatek's character and energy, and his talent for organizing for better building, made him one of the outstanding pioneers among the earliest citizens of Oklahoma City. He opened the Addition known as "Cashion Place" in Oklahoma City, where a City Park at this time is named in honor of him. He served his community in other ways, such as being a member of the Oklahoma City Council, and was a member of the Oklahoma County Excise Board for a number of years, as well as President of the Association of General Contractors.

"Who would not be a Builder
To labor day by day?
And laboring try to lessen
The thorns upon life's way?
To help to form a column,
All perfect and complete?
Fit for building that great Temple
Wherein we hope to meet?"

—Luther Bohanon

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

GRIFFIN PUTNAM CARR 1882-1951

Oklahomans are prone to accept the advantages of paved highways and of magnificent buildings in the cities of the state, forgetting to visualize this beautiful country as it was fifty years ago, or to bear in mind the labor and patience that have gone into its development.

The life work of Griffin Putnam Carr has left indisputable testimony of his vision, skill and ability in this development. He gave the community in which he lived landmarks that are a credit to his memory and a source of pride to his family and friends. He more than any other man shaped the appearance of modern Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Griffin Putnam Carr was born January 13, 1882, at Gravelly Springs, Alabama, and died August 1, 1951, in Shawnee. He was the son of William T. Carr and Ione Murphrey Carr, and was the oldest of seven children, with three brothers and three sisters. His mother died when he was sixteen years old, and soon afterward the family moved to a farm near Savannah, Tennessee. Like many other American boys he received his education in a country school, which was supplemented later by diligent study and deep reading. His habits of industry and perseverance and his ambition were acquired in the round of chores and hard work that kept him and his younger brother, Andrew, busy from Monday mornings to Saturday nights on the bottom farm near the Tennessee River.

Horace Greeley's admonition, "Young Man Go West," still heralded the call of the Oklahoma country, for soon after Griffin Carr reached the age of twenty-one, he came to the young town of Shawnee, Oklahoma Territory, arriving on January 20, 1903. He had very little in the way of money to pay his expenses but he secured board at the Lake Hotel which was the starting place of many another fortunate young man at the time. Meals there were wholesome and hearty, served at the price of fifteen cents each.

Young Carr started out to find work, and took the first opening that was offered, that of brakeman on the railroad. The weather was very severe for a boy from the South, and he soon gave up this job. Then he found work as a carpenter with Mr. Wingo, a well known contractor of the time, and it was not long until Griffin Carr was taking contracts for himself. The first house that he undertook to build by himself was a large two-story residence for A. B. Jones at Dale, Oklahoma, which is still standing in good condition. Mr. Carr's ability was soon recognized and his services were in constant demand. He later became well known as the contractor for many buildings in Shawnee, including both of the bank buildings, the Elks' building, the Aldridge Hotel, the Junior High School, the Wesley Methodist Church, the First Presbyterian Church and other substantial buildings including several for the Cameron State Agricultural College at Lawton, Oklahoma.

Mr. Carr was married to Miss Docia Pittman on March 17, 1907. They were the parents of three children: Glenn Carr, of Shawnee; and Meryl Carr and Mrs. Edith Carr Guild, of Oklahoma City.

Mr. Carr was a member of Lodge 107, A.F. and M.; Shawnee Chapter 32, R. A. M.; Shawnee Commandery 36, K. T. Consistory at McAlester; the Shrine in Oklahoma City; and the Elks' Lodge and the Rotary Club of Shawnee.

He enjoyed fellowship with his friends and loved out-door sports, especially hunting and fishing. Mr. and Mrs. Carr's residence is counted one of the most beautiful in Shawnee. Their family is popular and respected for its fine social and religious influence that has reached out over the community in the growth of their home city in the state of Oklahoma.

—Florence Drake

Shawnee, Oklahoma



GRIFFIN PUTNAM CARR



MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 24, 1952

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in the Historical Building, at ten o'clock A. M., January 24, 1952, by General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: General W. S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, H. B. Bass, George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Thomas G. Cook, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, R. G. Miller, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, W. J. Peterson, Colonel George H. Shirk and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

President Key reported that Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. N. G. Henthorne and Mr. H. Milt Phillips had sent letters of excuse for their non-attendance at the meeting. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary, be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion, which passed.

The President introduced the new members of the Board: Mr. H. B. Bass, Enid, Oklahoma, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Durant, Oklahoma, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma, and Mr. R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City. The President called attention to the Secretary's report to the Board, and to the great progress of the Society as reported therein.

President Key also suggested that henceforth a copy of the Agenda be placed before each member of the Board.

The matter of the meeting place of the next annual meeting of the Society was taken up and Judge Thomas A. Edwards made the motion that the President appoint a committee of three, including the President, for the selection of the place of the next Annual Meeting. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion, which passed.

Dr. T. T. Montgomery invited the Board to hold the Annual meeting at Durant. Mr. W. J. Peterson extended an invitation to the Society to meet at Okmulgee for its birthday anniversary. It was suggested by the Secretary that the Society had received two invitations in the past from the City of Shawnee to hold the annual meeting there. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour stressed the importance of this invitation from Shawnee by saying that it had been half-way promised to that city. It was decided that the President of the Board receive these invitations and present them to the Executive Committee which will have power to act.

The President gave a brief resumé of the principal activities of 1951 and of the progress made. "We have added to the historical documents, artifacts and relics in the museum, as well as a number of fine paintings. Over the State, we have placed fifty additional markers to commemorate historical sites and they have stimulated interest on the part of private individuals, like Mr. H. B. Bass, one of our new Directors, and some private organizations, to purchase and erect proper markers commemorating historical sites. Perhaps in another year we can consider properly a

continuation of that program. The Legislature voluntarily offered to request continued appropriations for this marker project but due to economic conditions and the fact that we have just completed marking one hundred sites, the Executive Committee thought they would not ask for additional funds at this time. Probably in a year or two we should avail ourselves of the help that the Legislature has given us and offers to give us again and mark additional sites. We have had no personnel troubles. We have had two changes through the year among the Staff, the two appointments being made because of resignations. We have received some fine collections of historical documents, etc., but we do not want to let up in our efforts to secure more historical papers.

The President then called attention to the matter of Microfilming by this Society, and Col. George Shirk was asked to present his report on this subject. Colonel Shirk reported that there had been ordered for delivery in March, a Recordak Microfilm Reader for the reading of 35 mm films, at a cost of \$350.00; that right now we are concentrating on two things—the material of the National Archives and the older papers in the newspaper room of the Society; that the Society could purchase for a very small sum microfilm copies of large files of early records now on file in the National Archives. He said that the older newspapers belonging to this Society are falling to pieces and should be microfilmed and the film used instead of the newspaper. Colonel Shirk stressed the point of room for filing the current newspapers now coming to the Society as becoming very serious, and, if possible, it would be an answer to the problem if the leading newspapers of the State would furnish the Society microfilms of their papers instead of the papers themselves.

The President stated that the Legislature meeting in January, 1951, had appropriated \$1500.00 for the purchase of historical documents, artifacts, relics, etc., and that the Society has its own personal funds, and encouraged the committee to enlarge its activities and acquire a large amount of microfilms of documents.

Dr. I. N. McCash made the motion that the report of the Microfilm Committee be accepted and that the committee be continued. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion, which passed.

The President called attention to the improvements of the *Chronicles*. He spoke in high praise of the splendid historical content sustained, its growing popularity within and without the State, and all of this largely due to the capable and exact work of the Editorial Department, and that the Editorial Committee headed by Dr. E. E. Dale, a Director, and Professor of History, University of Oklahoma, is doing an outstanding job.

Mr. W. J. Peterson pointed out that the News Letter had become almost indispensable. This knitted the membership and general public with the Society in a positive and practical way. President Key continued by calling attention to the many Life Members received during the past year; that proof of this was found in the twenty new Life Members presented by the Secretary at this meeting. He stated that members of the Board and eminent citizens throughout the State, as for example, Mr. H. B. Bass, a new Director, and Mr. Stanley Draper, Secretary-Manager of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, and others, were responsible for a great many of these new members.

Dr. Evans said of the twenty new Life Members received this quarter, Mr. Stanley Draper had sent in some eight or ten Life Members and suggested that he be given a vote of thanks.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the Board give Mr. Stanley Draper a vote of thanks for his fine work in securing new Life Members for this Society. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion, which passed.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore presented her report as Treasurer for the quarter which revealed such a spendid condition of the finances that it could be said that the Society was having the highest income, both from State appropriations and from the membership fees, etc., in its history. It revealed the total received from the miscellaneous funds were \$974.94 for the quarter; of this amount \$450.00 came from Life Memberships, \$75.50 from Annual memberships, and the renewals of Annual Memberships, \$229.00. A motion was made by Mr. George L. Bowman that the report of the Treasurer be approved and this was seconded by Mr. W. J. Peterson, which was unanimously passed.

At this point, the Secretary stated that an electric folding machine was very much needed for issuing the News Letter, thousands of campaign letters for a larger membership and a constant line of communications, as programs, etc. This electric folding machine would save the Society staff members who did this work many hours which should be given to their own work. A motion was made by Mr. W. J. Peterson and seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour that a folding machine be purchased out of the appropriated funds, which passed unanimously.

The Secretary called attention to the fact that his secretary, Mrs. Dorothy Thurston, had been seriously ill, and that Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, Indian Archives Division, had been called upon to do his secretarial work as well as that of her own department, and suggested that he felt Mrs. Looney should be remunerated in the sum of \$50.00 out of the Special Fund for such extra work. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made the motion that the sum of \$50.00 be paid to Mrs. Looney for extra services required of her during December 1951 and January 1952. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The matter of the water seepage into the basement was considered and it was the motion of Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour that the Board of Affairs be petitioned to remedy this serious threat to our newspapers and the building on the whole. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion, which passed.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: William E. Boswell, Henderson, Tex.; Neil J. Dikeman, Anadarko; Thadeus Lowell Duran, Weatherford; B. D. Eddie, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Maud Neff Gilmore, Hooker; Mrs. Iva Beatrice Kelley, Comanche; Louis Clifton Kyrkendall, McAlester; Robert W. Merten, Guthrie; John Calhoun Norris, Ada; G. A. Perrine, Grove; J. G. Puterbaugh, McAlester; Clarence Robison, Shawnee; Orpha B. Russell, Tulsa; Sheldon L. Stirling, Oklahoma City; Lloyd Story, Valliant; Leslie Swan, Oklahoma City; Roy E. Swatek, Oklahoma City; Charles M. Swatek, Oklahoma City; George Fredrickson, Oklahoma City.

ANNUAL: Elsie Frances Baker, Quapaw; E. R. Bryant, Muskogee; John A. Bush, Oklahoma City; J. G. Cafky, Forgan; Mrs. Cuba Belle Campbell, Talihina; Mrs. G. P. Carr, Shawnee; Mrs. Leo D. Chamberlin, Afton; Mrs. Alma Colglazier, McAlester; Mrs. Nat Coulter, St. Louis; Holland C. Ford, Sr., Granite; Mrs. Pliny S. Frye, Durant; Ernie Gasser, Oklahoma City; Mary Mildred Graves, Stillwater; Edwin G. Green, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Samuel B. Hackett, Norman; Claude C. Harris, Muskogee; John E. Heatley, Oklahoma City; Mrs. E. F. Heller, Vinita; H. J. Huddleston, Ada; Mrs. Frans Ittner, Pasadena, Calif.; Pauline P. Jackson, Tulsa; Frank K. Janson, Tulsa; Russell L. Kurtz, Nowata; Reubin M. Leekley, Tulsa; Mrs. Charles Lynch, Ardmore; Hallie McKinney, Durant; Duncan McRae, Tulsa; F. M. Overstreet, Ponca City; J. C. Philippi, El Reno; Mrs. Jasper E. Smith, Vinita; T. E. Sperry, Oklahoma City; Harold E. Staadt, Tulsa; David A. Stovall, Hugo; Dick Tenney, Tulsa; Dewey D. Tennyson, Seminole; Mrs.

Green Thompson, Durant; Mrs. May M. Walker, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Clayton N. Winn, Tulsa; A. C. "Clem" Wright, Houston, Tex.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that the applicants be received as members in the class as shown in said list. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following gifts and pictures had been received: A permit for a white man to live and work in the Chickasaw Nation, presented by Mrs. Elmer Faubion Haynes; cannon used in the Battle of Missionary Ridge, presented by the estate of Frank A. Stuart; scarifier, presented by Dr. I. N. McCash; Ostrich feather fan, presented by Mrs. R. A. Conkling; hatchet, found buried near old Fort Supply, presented by Leonard Saxon; a Spanish Bugle, two Spanish Bridles and a riding quirt made of horse hair, a guidon of the Spanish Fifth Infantry, these were captured in the Philippines during the Spanish American War, presented by Mrs. Carolyn T. Foreman; saddle bags and a canteen used by a Rough Rider in the Spanish American War, also presented by Mrs. Carolyn T. Foreman; record book of the first Church in Oktaha, Ind. Ter., certificate of sale for the First Congregational Church of Oktaha, newspaper clippings of J. D. Reinhardt, Constitution of the First Congregational Church of Oktaha, a pass to go through the picket line of the Confederate Army; letters written during the War Between the States; will of F. E. Brady, a Manual of Missions, presented by Mrs. Bida Reinhardt York, Muskogee; map of the Indian Territory presented by W. T. Hardy, McAlester; newspaper clippings and pictorial booklet of South McAlester, Ind. Ter., 1902, presented by Mrs. Frank Sittel, McAlester; campaign button "Wm. H. Murray for President", badge "Doyle for Governor", badge "Haskell and the Constitution", badge "First State Conference of Charities, Guthrie 1908", badge, "A. P. A. Convention", campaign card of Geo. F. Feaster, membership card of Henry S. Johnston National Rifle Association of America 1931, Christmas Greeting to Gov. Henry S. Johnston from A. I. Thompson, presented by Henry S. Johnston; 32 letters dating from 1821 to 1836 written by Susan Comstock Requa while at Hopefield Mission as a missionary, presented by Mrs. Eugene Crowley, Richards, Mo.; 18 documents dating 1830 to 1845, among papers of Governor Pierce M. Butler, Cherokee Indian agent, presented by his grandson, Pierce Mason Butler, Nashville, Tenn.; 11 printed petitions in cases of Ponca and Miami tribes of Indians before Indian Claims Commission, presented by Edwin A. Rothschild, Chicago, Ill.; Brief of plaintiff in case of Otoe & Missouri Indians pending before Indian Claims Commission, presented by Luther Bohanon, Oklahoma City; printed petition in case of Cheyenne & Arapaho Indians pending before Indian Claims Commission, presented by William Howard Payne, Washington, D. C.; 32 printed documents in various cases of Indian tribes pending before Indian Claims Commission, presented by Indian Claims Commission. 36 vols. World Almanac 1894-1943, 2 vols. Okla. Territorial Governors' Reports, 1891-1907, 1 vol. American Indian Magazine 1916, 4 vols. Annual reports U. S. Indian Inspector for Indian Territory, 3 vols. Annual Reports of Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, 1 vol. Official Journal of Oklahoma Annual Conference M. E. Church 19th Sess., *The Lure of the Indian Country*, by Oleta Littleheart, 1 vol. Okla. State Board of Registration for Professional Engineers, Sept. 1935, Quapaw Agency Indians, by Charles Banks Wilson, presented by Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa; 2 copies *Beginnings of Protestant Christian Work in Indian Territory*, by Grant Foreman, presented by Grant Foreman; 24 books presented by Charles H. Tompkins, El Reno; 50 publications, presented by Wilburn Cartwright, Secretary of State.

Photographs: Callie Graham, Hillie Braden, Berl Hess, Sulphur Springs, Seare Crowe, May Vandergriff, Dess Wallace, Jim Lush, Cora Deem, G. Fitzgerald, George Kuykendall, Hattie Graham, Perry Froman, Celeste Froman, Dr. Haynes, Aggie Pool, Sarah Short, Mrs. Avaryt, George Graham

and his saddle horse, Henry McLish, John Mosier, Henry Jones, The Shepherd Sisters, Ina Klinglesmith, Ed Newblock, Ed Rexse, Home of Perry Froman, Callie Graham's shop in Norman, White Mound School, Noble Hardware Company, Evelyn Brittian, Mr. Dellinger, Fred Stockston, Edith Burns, Dora Kelley, Cora Hughes, Donna Jenkins, Rev. Wherry, Vida Marquart, Ida Remmer, Vernie Danner, suspension bridge, John Graham's Family, presented by George Shirk; Court House and Confederate Monument at Sherman, Texas, first kindergarten at Oktaha, Oktaha Trading Company, presented by Mrs. Bida Reinhardt York; large framed photograph of the Secretaries of State in 1910, presented by John Conner, an oil portrait of John Easley, presented by Ardmore friends.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that the gifts and pictures be received and that a letter of thanks be written by the Secretary to each donor.

The Secretary reported relative to the steel shelving for the newspaper room which was ordered immediately after the meeting of the Board on November 1, 1951, stating that we have been advised that we may receive said steel in June. The Wesbanco Company stated this delay was due to restrictions of the U. S. government.

Col. George Shirk reported on Rose Hill Cemetery, stating that an agreement had been made with Mr. Eugene Nash to act as caretaker of the forty acres owned by the Society, and moved that said agreement of December 5, 1951, with Mr. Nash, be approved. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion, which passed.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made the motion that the Society have the forty acres of Rose Hill Cemetery owned by the Society, fenced. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion, which passed.

The Secretary called attention to the fact that Mr. Claude Hensley of Oklahoma City, had given many valuable gifts of documents, etc., to this Society. Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that Mr. Hensley be given a vote of thanks for his generosity and that he be invited to continue the same. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison stated that the United Daughters of the Confederacy at Vinita, Oklahoma, has been very interested in the Cabin Creek Battle Ground which is in Mayes County, just south of the Craig County line; that they have acquired the ten acres where the battle was fought and where the graves are; that there has been a state marker for sometime; that he has aided these women on numerous occasions; that he had the line surveyed for them and helped them acquire the title; that the land has cost \$800.00. "The County Commissioners are interested in building a better road to it, it being in the center of the section. They plan to place a nice woven wire fence around it. The citizens of this section have never asked the Society for any help. We do those things locally. These women would appreciate if the Society would see fit to do something to aid them in their undertaking. They owe \$600.00 but it must be paid in sixty days or they will lose at least \$100.00 they have paid. They will spend not only the \$600.00 but at least another \$1000.00. We think it is in order for the Society to help some on the preservation of that old historical site. We think it would be better if it were taken in the name of the historical society. I move that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee as \$200.00 are requested by the United Daughters of the Confederacy at Vinita, to aid it in the purchase and improvement of this ten acres". Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed.

At this point, the President stated that the terms of five members of the Board had expired: Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. George L. Bowman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn and Mr. R. G. Miller. Judge Edgar

S. Vaught moved that each of the above should be reelected for another term of five years as members of the Board of Directors. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made a motion that each member of the present Staff be reelected for a term of two years, subject to performance of duty and the Executive Committee having the power to terminate their service. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

Colonel George Shirk moved that the rules of the Society be suspended and that the following officers be reelected for two years from the present date: General W. S. Key, as President, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, as President Emeritus, Redmond S. Cole, as 1st Vice-President, Baxter Taylor, as 2nd Vice-President, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, as Treasurer, Grant Foreman, as Director of Historical Research, and Dr. Charles Evans, as Secretary. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Secretary Evans arose to say: "This is five times you have honored me with this responsible position and it marks a certain period in my life. I don't remember in my 81 years that I have appreciated an honor more than the one you have given me. I say this with no emotion; it is just a clear cut statement of gratitude. I have never met a Board composed of as many eminent men and women as I find around me here today and for that reason I shall always treasure this tribute, and I thank you beyond any measure of words."

Judge Baxter Taylor spoke as follows: "Pardon me if I add a word, with reference to the life of Society at the present time. I have been here a part of this Board for some 32 years. Most of you were little boys. My observation of the present order of things implies the conclusion that this Society is doing its best work, progressing in the most happy fashion. It is staffed by the ablest members, and may I say that the Board of Directors, all in all, are of the strongest citizenship in this State. We are doing good work and pressing forward and as a man of years but very young yet in spirit, I look forward to greater progress. Nothing is finer than preserving the history of Oklahoma and handing it down to the youth of the country."

President Key spoke: "May I express to you my appreciation of the honor and responsibility which you have accorded me. It has been very pleasant to work with this fine Board. I was a sort of protege of old Governor Bob, our departed leader. It is a source of increasing pleasure to be associated with this Society. I, too, recognize the prestige of the membership of this Board and it is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us, and I want to thank you for your confidence."

Mr. George L. Bowman took the floor and said: "I would like to say a word in this connection having been a member for a long time and now I have been reelected a member of this Board. It is quite a different Society today from the one I met when I first entered upon my duties here twelve years ago. The character and the ability of those men and women were splendid; they did their work well, but with a body of Directors enriched with visions and powers growing out of the experience of the recent years and accented by the coming of five new Directors of eminence on the Board today, it is my opinion there is a wonderful improvement of this Society over the old days."

Mr. W. J. Peterson said: "I voice the sentiment of this entire directorship, when I say, General Key and Dr. Evans, that each Director appreciates what you are doing and have done. We are proud of you."

Mrs. Frank Korn spoke: "It was thirty years ago today since I came upon the Board of the historical society. With Judge Taylor, we weathered

the storms together and I am pleased to know that I served with men of such great character as I have met here. They were strong and temperamental and they each did their work as they saw it, and I am pleased to know the new members we have. I thank you for my reelection and will oblige with the best service I can possibly render."

Mrs. Korn then presented three books that had been presented to her by J. C. Penney, her cousin: "Laymen Speaking", edited by Wallace C. Speers, "Main Street Merchant", by Norman Beasley, and "Fifty Years with the Golden Rule", by J. C. Penney. She also presented a beautiful medallion of Mrs. J. B. A. Robertson, the gift of her nephew, J. B. Butler, of Muskogee, and a half dollar centennial piece of the Centennial of Missouri from 1821 to 1921, which Governor and Mrs. Robertson attended. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made the motion that these gifts be accepted and a letter of thanks be written to Mrs. Korn. Mrs. Jessie Moore seconded the motion which passed.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore stated that it was 32 years on January 20, 1920, when she was elected a member of this Board and its Treasurer. "I want to say that I thank the Board and its officers for the very great courtesy shown me in giving me this office for all these years. History has been my hobby all my life. I was born in the old Chickasaw Nation in 1871 so I have watched the growth of Indian Territory for a good many years and I have always loved its history. When I was visiting in Santa Fe, N. M., I visited the state historical society. I have always been very deeply interested in New Mexico. I told the Secretary when I went in that I was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society and had always been interested in the history of New Mexico. She said, "Well, Mrs. Moore, I can understand why you would be interested in New Mexico's history because Oklahoma has no background whatever." I told her that Oklahoma has a background that goes back 30,000 years; that we had the cave dwellers, the mound builders, the Caddoan civilization, the five Indian Nations that established in a wilderness a wonderful civilization of the old South, the "run" of the settlers into the western part of Oklahoma, the two territories, and then the commonwealth of Oklahoma. So you see Oklahoma has a background. Before I sit down I wish to say as an Indian that we have an Indian on this Staff who is an outstanding Oklahoman, Miss Muriel H. Wright. When the Rockefeller Foundation asked us to give her a leave of absence to write a book, "A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma", we gave her this leave, and this book was published in September, 1951. I think we are to be congratulated upon having such an historian as Miss Wright as one of the editors of the *Chronicles* and also as a research worker. She is so thorough, she makes every issue of the *Chronicles* an authentic magazine because of her great research. We should appreciate that. I want to make a motion that this Board give a vote of appreciation to Miss Wright for her wonderful book that is so outstanding in the history of this State. Mrs. Frank Korn seconded the motion which passed.

Dr. Emma Estill Harbour stated that the founders of the historical society, the Oklahoma Press Association, and the earliest members of the Board of Directors should not be forgotten: Charles F. Colcord, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Judge Robert L. Williams, Jasper Sipes, and others. No men of higher worth served the State, and they laid deep and broad the foundation of this Society.

Dr. I. N. McCash said: "I wouldn't be true to my own feelings if I didn't acknowledge, with gratitude, my reelection as a Director. I succeeded, Gen. Charles F. Barrett. Now, today, I am elected the third time. I have tried to serve this Society and I am getting much satisfaction out of it. I want to tell you of something we are doing at Enid. There is a monument erected four miles north of Enid by the Cow Punchers Association of the Cherokee Strip. This monument is on the right of way of

Highway 81 which circles, it, leaving a space like a half moon. We have the consent of the cow punchers of which Ed Stinnett is living and president at this time, to place the remains of Jesse Chisholm there. Mr. H. B. Bass, Mr. Stinnett, Mr. Fred Bailey and I recently found the burial place of Jesse Chisholm nineteen miles west of Okarche which is marked with a slab 16" x 32" tall with a cement base with the inscription "Jesse Chisholm Born 1805 Died March 4, 1868 No Man left his home cold or hungry" Mr. H. B. Bass has given me authority to say that he will pay all expenses for the removal of the remains of Jesse Chisholm, which will be followed from an archeological standpoint. We have secured the consent of Chisholm's granddaughter that this may be done. We think it would be well if you would appoint a committee of three, giving authority, without cost to the Society, to carry this out legally and then finally to present to this organization that ground containing the body of Jesse Chisholm who is honored by the monument and by the trail. Judge Edgar S. Vaught made the motion that a committee be appointed relating to this matter, which was seconded by Mr. George L. Bowman, and passed. President Key appointed Mr. H. B. Bass, Chairman, Dr. I. N. McCash and Judge Thomas Edwards, as a committee to act on this project.

Mr. Thomas A. Cook called attention to Mrs. Moore's statement relative to New Mexico's conception of Oklahoma's background. He said, "I, too, visited New Mexico's Historical Society and was given a definition of Oklahoma and its history very similar to that received by Mrs. Moore. Perhaps, I did not present my State and its history as forceably and eloquently as did Mrs. Moore but I did my level best." "Usually," said he, with a smile, "the Chickasaw, Mrs. Moore, and myself, a Wyandotte, do not always see eye to eye, but in this case we took the warpath together. I propose that Mrs. Moore be given an extra round of applause." This was done with great zest.

Judge Robert A. Hefner was recognized and he paid tribute to the life of Hon. John A. Brown, a man of great public spirit, whose philanthropy had extended, not only over Oklahoma City, but throughout the State. No forward endeavor in behalf of Oklahoma and its capital city during the life of John A. Brown had failed to receive his best efforts. He, therefore, presented for consideration, the acceptance by the Society of a portrait in oil of Mr. John A. Brown for the gallery of eminent men and women. The motion was seconded by Judge Baxter Taylor, and passed unanimously.

The President here stated that the new members of the Board should be happily welcomed and that each be asked to tell how it feels to become an active member as well as splendid supporter of the Society.

Mr. H. B. Bass, eminent contractor, and business leader of Enid, was called first, and presented his view and feelings as follows: "Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. Most of my life my relatives and close friends have accused me of having a historical complex. I propose to be active and I look forward to serving on this Board."

Dr. T. T. Montgomery, President of Southeastern College, Durant, was next called upon and he responded by saying: "As the newest member of this Board, I feel like the tiniest sparrow taking a place among all these owls of wit and oratory. I hope to make you a good member. I think of things I would like to see done. Perhaps it will be sometime before I advance them because I am conservative and I want to ponder some things I have in mind. Should you decide to come to Durant for your Annual Meeting the latch string will be out for you. I know I can secure the backing of the Chamber of Commerce. We would like to show the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society our town, our Lake Texoma, our historical environment, the home of Judge Robert L. Williams, who has a fine place in the hearts of all present."

Dr. B. B. Chapman, Professor of History, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, was recognized next, and he said: "I would like to borrow one sentence from Dr. Montgomery, and that is, I hope to make you a good member. I will try to let people know we have this organization. I expect to invite the Society to Stillwater in the next two or three years. We enjoyed having you in May, 1950."

Mr. R. G. Miller, since he, for years, had been developing popular history in the most interesting way as Editor of the "Smoking Room" column of the *Daily Oklahoman*, caught very close attention when he said: "Thank you General, and ladies and gentlemen. I have been studying the history of Oklahoma for nearly 32 years because it was helpful to me in enlightening the State and doing newspaper work. I have tried to acquire a working knowledge of it and I am delighted that you thought enough of me to ask me to serve on this Board. I shall try to be a good member. My chief value as a member will be to help in a situation that I observe in every county in the State, and that is the lack of knowledge in each community of the State's history. They don't seem to care much about it. For example, I was in Mr. Harrison's town of Pryor last Summer for a little while. Mrs. Miller was with me. In paying the check for my lunch, I chatted with the cashier about the historical spots near Pryor and asked him to recommend some of the most important. I didn't want to see them. I had already seen them. He didn't know. He understood there were some Choteaus over there and there was a town called Salina and there was an old mission. I asked him if he ever heard of the Battle of Cabin Creek, or of Union Mission where the first printing press was operated, and whether he knew the story about the town of Salina. You go down to Altus. They don't know anything about Devil's Canyon. The Mangum people don't know anything about its early history. We have a big job to do to make Oklahoma people historically conscious. They are not that way now. That is true here in Oklahoma City. I was glad to hear the suggestion that we put up portraits of such men as John A. Brown, but if you start hanging pictures of men who have been leaders in their communities you can not limit that to Oklahoma City. There are 400 towns in Oklahoma and every one has produced a man equal to John A. Brown. When you go into the art gallery you have to be a governor, Judge, or hold a political office before you can get in. I am going to feel my way and if I see anything that I don't think is right I am going to say so. We have agreed to start a weekly, or at least, a monthly News service to the 300 newspapers in Oklahoma. Mr. Shirk and Dr. Dale and myself are going to take this material over that will be provided by the Society's staff and we will give it a newspaper flavor to inform the people of every community in this State as to what the Society is and what it is doing. Another thing I want to toss into the hopper at the proper time. Television is here and growing. There are two television stations in the State now and in another year there will be two more. In five years everybody in the State will be viewing television. I think I could name a committee of this Board who would go to the proper authorities of these television stations and get a thirty minute time. I believe we could build up a good listening and viewing audience in that way. I don't want to ask you people how many have visited interesting places, such as Union Mission, Coronado's foot prints. Sometimes I think we should charter a bus for two or three days and visit these interesting places and if you decide to do it I will go with you." These proposals met hearty approval.

The President concluded these remarks of the new Board members by expressing deep appreciation at the largest attendance of the Directors any quarterly meeting had recorded for many years. "Had there been," said he, "two or three more, we would have had a 100% gathering of the Board of Directors. This reveals an increased interest and a real appreciation of the new and larger life upon which the Society is entering."

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore presented, before the motion to adjourn had been made, one more point which she deemed of the utmost importance. "Dennis Flynn was one of the great men of Oklahoma. I know what he did for the western part of the State. He saved their homes and the women of western Oklahoma got a United States flag and they wrote on this flag, 'Dennis saved our homes.' I make a motion that this flag be framed." Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary called attention to the very large photograph of the Pioneer Woman presented by Mr. Z. P. Meyers of the Meyers Photo Shop of Oklahoma City. Mrs. Frank Korn made the motion that Mr. Meyers be thanked for this gift. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards made the motion that the meeting adjourn, which was seconded by Mr. George Shirk, and passed.

WILLIAM S. KEY,
President, presiding

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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THE SECRETARY

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THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

By N. B. Johnson,*

Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma

Instances in which the Indian people of the Americas formed themselves into cohesive forces across tribal lines to oppose an invader or to press for an advantage to themselves are strikingly lacking in the history of the western hemisphere. The crumbling of Mexico and Peru, centers of extraordinary cultures, was brought on in large part by the failure of those Indian groups to put up a common front of resistance.

Within our own borders, such unions of Indian tribes as have been achieved have been brief, sporadic and ineffective. The Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, resulting from the concerted action of all the Pueblos, achieved its brilliant coup, then faded at once and was never restored. The efforts of Pontiac and Tecumseh to awaken the tribes of their day to a sense of the dangers besetting them, failed ingloriously.

The Iroquois people, who came nearest to holding fast the loyalties of scattered tribes, had the ill fortune of supporting the wrong group of white men, and in the end their genius for organization was frustrated. The Ghost Dance movement which might have wrought an emotional unity of the western tribes, came to grief on a bitter winter day before the rifles and Hitchcock guns of the Seventh Cavalry at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota.

* Justice N. B. Johnson is a member of the Cherokee Tribe of Indians and a native Oklahoman who has for many years devoted his time and efforts to helping other Indians. With his home in the Indian Territory in the days before Oklahoma became a state, he saw Indian life in its transition stage. He received his early education in a Presbyterian Mission and later attended the public elementary schools and high schools, the Henry Kendall College (now Tulsa University), and the Cumberland University, Tennessee, from which he graduated in law.

Justice Johnson served as Assistant County Attorney of Rogers County, Oklahoma, later as County Attorney and City Attorney of Claremore, Oklahoma. In 1934, he was elected District Judge of the 12th Judicial District of Oklahoma where he served continuously until his election to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma in 1948, where he is now serving a six year term. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; a member of the Judicial Council of Oklahoma; a member of the Governors' Interstate Indian Council and President of the Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. He was a guiding light in the establishment of the National Congress of American Indians, and has been its President since it was founded. It is worthy of note and altogether fitting that the leader and president of this national organization to promote the progress of all American Indians is a native of Oklahoma where there have been no Indian reservations for over forty years and where Indians are citizens of the State with many of them counted among the leaders in professional, business and official life.—Ed.

Where fear and self-interest and religious fervor failed in past history, what likelihood was there that reason and logic would succeed in achieving union in modern times? Here, too, the record was not encouraging. Indians had attempted intertribal organizations before now and failed to bring it off. The American Indian Association, the National Council of American Indians, the American Indian Federation—these and other efforts failed to organize around a program and to stay alive. It is necessary to start with these sobering thoughts before going on to discuss the aims and hopes of the effort to create an organization of Indians.

Against the dismal record, were all the excellent reasons why the Indians should form themselves into an active, independent, articulate group. Everybody else had taken a hand in determining Indian welfare and Indian destiny—why should not the Indians themselves?

Against the discouraging record, also, it must be noted that Indians have persisted in the effort to achieve intertribal solidarity, within regions and within cultural groups. The All-Pueblo Council stood up against the powerful combination of private and public interests, and won victory for the Pueblo peoples and their lands. The Sioux people have kept alive a treaty council group, acting independently for the several Sioux tribes or bands, and in a common front in their long efforts to get recognition for their rights in the Black Hills.

The Indians of Nevada, for several years before the interruption of the war, met annually. These meetings were independent of any Indian Service influence and were highly successful. The Indians of Montana and, more recently, those of the Pacific Northwest, have organized regional conferences in which the mutual interests of the tribes in those areas will be advanced.

What are some of the reasons a nation-wide organization of Indians is imperative? Jurisdiction over Indians reposes in the U. S. Congress, with a federal agency to administer the laws passed by it. Indian affairs in comparison to national affairs, are small indeed. Few men in Congress have the time to make a thorough study of the needs and the desires of the Indian people. The few who do seriously study these matters are generally lost in the great storms and struggles which fall upon Congress. The Indian Service, as the administrative agency, is not always in the best position to influence Congressional policy. There are times when this federal agency is under fire by the public or by Congress. On such occasions, the Indian Service is often partisan and its recommendations must be viewed with skepticism by the Indians. Thus in moments of crises Indian tribes and the Indian people generally are left without an effective champion.

Conquered and forced into wardship by the white settlers of the United States, the Indians remained silent for more than a century. Others spoke for them. Sometimes these speakers were friends. Sometimes they were persons who spoke once for the Indians and twice for themselves. The Indians listened and watched and waited to speak their own minds and in their own behalf. Their speaking began at Denver, Colorado in 1944.

Indian delegates from 27 states representing some 50 tribes came to Denver that November. They had no financial angel paying the costs. Their personal funds were barely enough to defray travel expenses and their keep. No powerful political or other backers sponsored their gathering, but a strong and common purpose brought them together. This purpose was embodied in their creation, on that historical occasion, of the National Congress of American Indians of the United States and Alaska, an organization composed entirely of Indians designed to act and speak for themselves.¹

The underlying objective in forming this body was to inspire Indians, through planning and action together, to fulfill their destiny as independent, self-reliant citizens and not remain as dependent retarded wards of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs generation after generation. Its purpose is not to duplicate the functions of the Indian Bureau. On the contrary, its responsibility is to help the Bureau develop and apply policies in the interest of Indian welfare and to eliminate those policies and functions hostile to that welfare. Key goals set by the National Congress of American Indians to accomplish this fulfillment are as follows:

1. *Achievement by Indians of all rights under the Constitution and Laws of the United States.*

2. *Expansion and Improvement of Educational Opportunities*—provided for Indians, with special stress on professional and vocational training.

3. *Putting into Effect Better Methods*—finding productive employment for Indians and development of resources within their home communities.

4. *Major Increase in Health Facilities and Training for Indians*—clinics, hospitals, visiting nurses, nutrition courses, etc.

5. *Equitable Settlement of Indian Claims*—on the background of avarice-guided despoilment for many decades.

6. *Preservation of Indian Cultural Values*—presentation to the public of a better understanding of these first Americans.

¹ *The Indians of the United States Seek Together to Attain Citizenship*, a pamphlet published by the National Congress of American Indians, which may be obtained from the Secretary, 202 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D. C.



Judge N. B. Johnson, President, and Mrs. Henry Roe Cloud,
Supervisor, the National Congress of American Indians.

The National Congress of American Indians operates on a nation-wide basis. Its membership is limited to persons of Indian blood who belong to tribes recognized by the Federal Government. Two types of membership make up the organization: tribal and group affiliation and individuals.

Some of the accomplishments of the Indian Congress since its organization in 1944 are: It had a large hand in bringing about the creation of the Indian Claims Commission established by law in 1946, which provided a forum where Indian tribal claims might be more speedily adjudicated. It has fought for justice for the Indians of Alaska who have yet to be given an opportunity to obtain title to lands which they have occupied since time immemorial and which are rightfully theirs. It took the lead in securing for the Indians in the Southwest the right to vote. In 1944 there were several states which denied the Indian that right, notwithstanding the fact that all Indians were made citizens of the United States under the act of 1924.

In both World Wars I and II the Indians contributed more in the purchase of War Bonds and man power to aid in the war effort than any other comparable group within the nation and today thousands are fighting for their country in Korea. It was difficult to understand how any state could deny this fundamental right to such a loyal group of original Americans. Law suits, in which the Indian Congress had a part, were filed in the Courts of New Mexico and Arizona as a result of which final judgments were obtained decreeing the acts denying the Indians the right to vote unconstitutional.

It took the lead in securing Social Security Act privileges for the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. It has stood with the Pyramid Lake Paiute Indians of Nevada in opposing efforts in Congress to deprive them of lands confirmed to them by the United States Supreme Court. It has published and circulated to Indians in all parts of the country a monthly *Bulletin* which gives them a detailed report and summary of legislative matters pertaining to Indian affairs and discusses topics of current interest to Indians.²

It has insisted on the right of Indian tribes to have attorneys of their own choosing to represent them and it has vigorously opposed arbitrary regulations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs restricting the opportunity of Indians to learn by experience, by mistakes as

² *Washington Bulletin*, a monthly publication, published by the National Congress of American Indians, Ruth M. Bronson, Editor, 202 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D. C. This Bulletin is mailed without charge to members paying \$3.00 or more to the work of the National Congress of American Indians. To non-members the rate is \$5.00 per year.

well as by success. It has initiated a program to train leadership of local Indian communities in finding solutions for their problems.³

Today we have more than 400,000 officially recognized Indians in the United States and Alaska, divided into approximately 200 different tribes, speaking more than 55 distinct languages, of whom some 241,000 are living on some 50 reservations in various stages of adjustment.⁴ A few are very rich but most of them are very poor. Some are living much in the same manner as they lived 200 or 300 years ago and are still using the primitive methods of making a living. Others are technically trained and highly skilled in the professions in public life and in the industries and are making satisfactory adjustments into the social structure of the community in which they live. The latter is especially true in Oklahoma, with the exception of some isolated groups.⁵

Notwithstanding the progress some Indians have made, generally speaking, the American Indian today presents one of our most pressing social and economic problems. There are large segments in each of the tribes who are living in isolated rural communities and because of historical factors, bad lands, bad health, lack of schools and lack of opportunity are sub-marginal socially and economically and have been prevented from becoming assimilated into the social and economic life of the Nation. Many are living in dire need and want.

The conditions of the Navaho tribe of Arizona and New Mexico which numbers more than 60,000 reflects a tragic story of neglect and indifference on the part of our government. In 1868, when the Navaho capitulated to Kit Carson and his army, the United States entered into a peace treaty with them. By its terms the Navahos agreed to stay on the reservation and compel their children to attend school. On the other hand, the United States committed itself to the Navahos in several important particulars, among which was a pledge that "for every 30 children between said ages (6-16)

³ The planning and direction of this project is under the supervision and direction of Mr. D'Arcy McNickle and Mrs. Henry Roe Cloud. Mr. McNickle is a member of the Flathead tribe, distinguished writer and Indian leader, who for sixteen years has served as special assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in charge of tribal relations. Mrs. Roe Cloud is a member of the Chippewa tribe, who has had wide experience in the development of Indian leadership and in club work of various types among both Indian and white groups. She is now the National Chairman of Indian Affairs for the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Roe Cloud was selected as the American Mother of 1950 in recognition of her outstanding achievements in helping to build a better life in the communities in which she has lived.

⁴ *Aspects of Indian Policy* prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress for Committee on Indian Affairs (79th Congress 1st Session), p. 5.

⁵ W. G. Stigler, Congressman from Oklahoma, "Extension of Remarks", *Congressional Record*, February 21, 1952, Page A1109.

who could be induced or compelled to attend school a house shall be provided and a teacher, competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education, shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and satisfactorily discharge his or her duties as a teacher.”⁶

This provision of the treaty has been disregarded. There are more than 15,000 bright-eyed, intelligent school children between the ages of 6 and 16, who are without school facilities or educational opportunities. Hundreds of children brought to school by their parents are turned away for lack of room. Thousands of Indian children have no shoes, even in winter. It is estimated that three out of every 10 Navaho children born die before they are one year old. Fifty percent of all deaths on the reservation are children under the age of five years.⁷ The death rate from tuberculosis on the reservation is the highest in the Nation. It is estimated that the death rate of the Navahos from this disease per 100,000 is 380 as compared to the death rate of 40 per 100,000 for the rest of the population. There are approximately 2,000 active cases of tuberculosis on the reservation.⁸

The land of the Navahos is very poor and at best can meagerly support but little more than one-half of its population. What is true of Navahos is also true of the Pimas and the Papagos and other tribes in the Southwest.

The National Congress of American Indians is endeavoring to bring to the attention of the American public the true picture of the Indian's plight. It is believed that when once the public is cognizant of the deplorable conditions under which many American Indians live, it will respond to his needs and public opinion will demand that legislation in the form of rehabilitation bills or other measures to improve his standards of living will be adopted. It is not to the credit or best interest of any nation to have within its borders a large segment of people living below the standards of health, sanitation and education of other citizens.

Today, many tribes are possessed of material resources in reservation status which require only additional development and utilization by the Indians in order to provide an adequate standard of living for the tribe. Assistance should come from the Federal government for this development, either in the form of loans or grants, or both, so that Indians may have an opportunity to improve their standards of living and at the same time hasten the day when they will be self-supporting citizens and integrated into the life

⁶ Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II., "Treaty with the Navaho, 1868", Article 6, p. 782.

⁷ "Our Navajo Children are Americans Too", a pamphlet published by *Save the Children Federation*, 80 Eighth Avenue, New York 11, New York..

⁸ George I. Sanchez, *The People*, published by the United States Indian Service, Haskell Institute Print Shop, Lawrence, Kansas, March, 1948.

of the community. This program can be accomplished, or fulfilled, only through the cooperation by the Indians and the Government in all phases of program operations from the planning stage to the final execution.

The Indian situation is at a point where it is imperative that Congress, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indians themselves and the general public are going to have to work together toward a common objective to provide opportunities in the form of long-range programs which will enable the Indians to make a decent livelihood for their families. Long range programs must be adopted for this purpose if the Indians are to be spared the tragic fate of the Navaho and other Indians of the Southwest, in 1946 and 1947 when truck caravans were rolling into that section from all parts of the Nation bringing clothing and food to prevent death from exposure and starvation.

The U. S. Congress recently authorized an appropriation of fifty million dollars to India, and has sent millions to Europe to help the needy. In the light of this, it can ill afford not to help its own native American Indian people.

In dealing with the various Indian problems of the past, the United States has followed many policies and has made many mistakes. It followed a policy of extermination, forced migration, isolation and paternalism. What happened to the Indian is a matter of history which almost everyone knows. Those who resisted were destroyed. Some retired to the reservation and became bitter while others compromised and accepted the way of life offered them by the white man.

Lack of greater progress by the Indian Bureau toward the solution of the Indian problem after more than 100 years of administration lends strength to the idea that a thorough study of the administration of Indian affairs should be made for the purpose of determining the feasibility of making adjustments which will lead to the elimination of duplicate services between the various units of the Federal government as well as between the States and the Federal government with a view of streamlining the administration of Indian affairs in keeping with current needs and responsibilities.

In some areas there is a pressing need for the continuation of many services which can best be administered by the Indian Bureau for and on behalf of the Indians, but definite steps should be taken to consolidate State and Federal services wherever feasible and practical, and place such services under the supervision and control of the State. Such services as health, education and welfare may well be taken over by some of the states, which would result in more effective and efficient administration. It is encouraging to note that within recent months the Bureau of Indian Affairs has taken

definite steps in this direction in the fields of education and health by entering into contracts with the states to take over and administer these services.

It is felt that a strong Indian leadership such as is embodied in the National Congress of American Indians can effectively aid the Indian Bureau and the Congress of the United States to develop and apply policies for the improvement of Indian administration and to eliminate policies and functions detrimental to Indian progress and welfare.

One reason the Federal government has failed to make greater progress in its dealing with the Indians is because Indian leadership in the past, for the most part, has been negative and effective only in resisting the Federal policy. The philosophy back of the creation of the National Congress of American Indians was that Indian leadership should contribute to the formulation of Federal policy and should take the leading part in inquiring into the needs of the Indians and in making those needs vocal. Such leadership would perform an invaluable service.

Uninformed and misinformed members of Congress frequently introduce ill-considered legislation in Congress to abolish, or curtail work of the Indian Bureau on the theory that it is an expensive department of government maintained at an enormous cost to the Nation. The Indian Bureau may be due criticism but the fact remains that there is much work ahead for that agency before it can be liquidated. It would be tragic indeed for many tribes if the Indian Bureau were discontinued now, and their affairs turned over to the States, which for the most part are wholly unprepared to assume the burden of education, welfare, health, conservation and road construction. Immediate relinquishment of Federal supervision over the Indians in such States as New Mexico and Arizona would place a burden on those States which could not be borne because of lack of schools, hospitals and other facilities now administered and maintained by the Federal government and lack of funds to provide these facilities.

However a planned program should be followed by the Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the progressive liquidation of the Indian Service. While this cannot be done over night it can be realized tribe by tribe, area by area or state by state. Indians in such states as Oklahoma, Minnesota, California and Washington before too long should be ready for complete relinquishment of Federal control. Indeed for all intents and purposes many tribes are free from any control and supervision over their affairs. At one time the Indian Bureau followed the policy of making the Indian a "better Indian" and to encourage him to follow tribal government and retain the reservation status. Such a policy tended to segregate the Indian and continue the Indian problem indefinitely.

We should evolve a plan which will eventually lead all American Indians down the road to independence and complete absorption into the general citizenship. The American Indian wants first of all to be an American citizen like other American citizens. He wants to assume the responsibilities of citizenship and to enjoy the privileges of citizenship. For years, many Indian tribes have been in distress, in dire need. The extent of their suffering and their need is not generally known. The reasons for this are many: With the removal of the Indians to remote areas, most people lost sight of them—forgot them. Few Americans know the Indians as people who still live here in America today.⁹ When they are pictured at all, they are usually pictured as renegades, or hostiles, or in terms of old-fashioned history. Many people have forgotten the important contributions of the Indians to white civilization and white culture. The Indians taught the white man how to cope with the wilderness of this new continent, taught him to hunt, fish, trap and canoe. The Indians gave the white man the great gifts of cotton, corn, tomatoes, tobacco, potatoes, peanuts, beans and squash and these have today become multi-billion dollar American industries. Many Indians now have bad lands and death in return. Let us help the surviving American Indians to find a place in our American communities and right the old wrongs.

⁹ Suggested Readings for the history and progress of the Indian tribes in the state of Oklahoma: Edward Everett Dale, *Oklahoma: The Story of a State* (New York, 1950); Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).—Ed.

SAMUEL MORTON RUTHERFORD

*By Jerry Rand**

The Morton Rutherfords have influenced the course of history in this region for more than a century and a quarter. They helped plant the seeds of civilization in the Territories by crossing hazardous frontiers and living dangerous lives in unsurveyed lands. They had a tremendous respect for the law. It was the embodiment of their moral sentiment. The Rutherfords believed society could not exist without law and order. To that end they worked tirelessly. The impact of their beliefs has left its record on the Oklahoma scene.

The first Samuel Morton Rutherford identified with this region was born in Virginia, March 31, 1797, and left there in 1814 and, at the age of seventeen, enlisted in Ralston's Tennessee Volunteers and fought under Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. After his military service in 1817, in company with one French, he ascended the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers to the mouth of the Verdigris where he and French established the first trading post. After two years he sold out to Glenn and Pryor and pushed on into Arkansas in 1819 to assume a commanding place with those pioneers pressing the course of the empire westward.

For over forty years thereafter, he was in public service as a peace officer, a member of the Arkansas Legislature, Territorial Treasurer, Register of the Land Office, Superintendent of Indian Affairs west of the Mississippi River, and a member of the Commission that planned and executed the removal of the Seminole Indians from Florida. He was first representative from Sebastian County to the General Assembly and served as Probate and County Judge at Fort Smith; he was also a trustee of Arkansas college at Fayetteville.

His son, Robert B. Rutherford, fought as a captain for the Confederacy, practiced law successfully in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and there served as Circuit Judge from 1880 to 1892. Robert B. Rutherford's wife, Sally, was a South Carolinian, a daughter of Dr. William Butler, who served as one of his state's representatives in Congress in 1844. Mrs. Rutherford was a niece of Commodore Matthew Perry who "opened the door" to world interests in Japan, of Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of the Battle of Lake Erie, and of Governor P. M. Butler of South Carolina (1836-1838), who was

* W. Judson Rand, better known as "Jerry Rand," was an early-day Oklahoma newspaperman. He worked for *The Daily Oklahoman* for a time in 1913 and 1914, later managed the *Okmulgee Times* and then went on to New York where he was for many years on the staff of *The Sun*. When it was absorbed by the *World-Telegram* a few years ago, he retired.—Ed. (C. E.)

killed at the battle of Churubusco, August 20, 1847, during the War with Mexico.¹ Her brother was General M. C. Butler, who won fame as a cavalry officer in the Army of the South and served many years in the United States Senate.

Of such stock was Samuel Morton Rutherford, the subject of this paper. Culture and devotion to the highest principles of citizenship were his birthright, tinged with Old World courtliness by way of Sir John Rutherford of Edgarston, Scotland, whose two sons, in 1746, established the Rutherford line in Virginia. An appraisal of the character and accomplishment of Morton Rutherford, of Muskogee, now nearly thirty years after his passing, calls for a many sided approach in view of his varied activities—as citizen, peace officer, lawyer and statesman. One of the strongest facets of his career was his capacity for daring decisions and unflinching courage. He was an outspoken individualist, a brilliant counsellor, an able legislator, a loyal husband and family man, and warm friend, and an active churchman with the Rutherford pew in the Episcopal Church, Muskogee, always well filled on Sunday mornings. He was not one to exploit his accomplishments or court sensationalism. He preferred recognition for the public service he rendered beyond any hero worship for his encounters with lawlessness.

Rutherford was born in Louisville, Arkansas, February 16, 1859. The war between the States was two years away. When peace returned, in 1865, he began his schooling. A cultured home environment speeded his progress toward an education. His alert mentality was evident immediately, and he received his education at Cane Hill College, Arkansas, and Emory and Henry University in Virginia, where he received a degree of Bachelor of Arts. At the later institution, upon graduation, he was the valedictorian, and he won the senior's debating medal displaying the traits which were to lead him to the study of law. He explored the classics, and became an outstanding Greek and Latin scholar, later to torment some of his adversaries in court unfamiliar with such references. After graduation in 1883, Rutherford entered the office of Duvall and Cravens in Forth Smith and plunged into the study of law.

Even while he readied himself for the practice of law, older men recognized his qualities for leadership and an appointment as undersheriff brought him in contact with the frontier problem which was to vex the area for years. Arkansas was then considered the borderland of the untamed west, and its outer boundary, significant only because it appeared on maps, separated it from the Indian Territory which, though its real tribal people were of high moral fibre, was infested with train robbers, bandits and livestock thieves. United

¹ For reference to Sally Butler, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Dr. William Butler and George Butler, Cherokee Agents," in this number of *The Chronicles*, fn. 11. Also, for reference to Gov. P. M. Butler, see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Pierce Mason Butler," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952) pp. 6-28.—Ed.



SAMUEL MORTON RUTHERFORD

States Marshals seemed to wage a futile battle against this lawlessness.

In 1893, Rutherford was appointed United States Commissioner at Atoka in the Indian Territory. After two years at Atoka, he was recommended for appointment as United States Marshal and was interviewed by Attorney General Olney in Washington. A newspaper of the time reported that the examination consisted only of one question and that concerned the suppression of train robbers. It states, " . . . Mr. Rutherford is a slender man with a red mustache and a pair of eyes which fascinate. He told the Attorney General that if he were marshal of the Northern District, it would not harbor any robbers; and he said it in such a way that Mr. Olney was convinced he had found the right man." Within six months after Rutherford's appointment as Marshal, sixty-five bandits had been placed in the Federal Court at Fort Smith to meet what fate the famous "Hanging Judge", Isaac Parker, dealt them, and within two years, a dozen gangs had been put out of business in the Territory. Included were some of the most notorious outlaws ever to operate in this country, such as Bill West, the Green Gang, Crowel Gang, Verdigris Kid's Gang, and the Buck Gang. Train robberies were rare and had virtually ceased when he left the Marshal's office.

Rutherford was never one to boast of his experiences as a peace officer. He seldom could be induced to reminisce on adventures, as for instance, his experiences with the Buck Gang. This notorious gang roved generally about Creek and Okmulgee Counties. When the brutal Bucks had been finally lodged in the Federal jail at Muskogee August 11, 1895, a lynching mob gathered outside and demanded the prisoners. The atmosphere was tense and every man appeared to be armed. U. S. Marshal Rutherford, holding a six-shooter in each hand, mounted the stockade and attempted to argue with the crowd. When persuasion failed, Rutherford waved his weapons and, in words whose meaning could not be mistaken, threatened to shoot the first man to defy him. He then gave his promise that the prisoners would face "the law" at Fort Smith, where the Federal Court was located. The crowd dispersed, and later, true to his word, the five Bucks were duly tried and hanged.

His daring and forceful method of dealing with such crises became part of his legend. Long after the marshalship had been left behind, a Muskogee policeman was killed and a Negro arrested as the slayer. The public was incensed and hundreds of citizens stormed the county jail. On the roofs of nearby buildings, armed Negroes watched for a move to turn the prisoner over to the white mob. Rutherford, but a private citizen, but known for his courage at such times, was summoned from his home with an urgent call to "Come quick—it looks like a lynching." While angry men brought up an iron rail to batter the jail doors, Rutherford climbed on a car, raised his arm in a demand for silence, and called on the crowd to

disperse. He argued for the law to take its course and guaranteed that no harm should come to the prisoner. Almost instantly the crowd began to melt, and a lynching was averted. For days thereafter, such comments as "No one but Rutherford could have stopped that mob", was street talk. It was a tribute, too, from the Negroes who held Morton Rutherford in the highest regard. He had often come to their rescue when one of courage and honor was needed to help or protect them.

His early marshalship served a dual purpose. It stamped the name of Morton Rutherford on hundreds of memories and proved to be a valuable training school for a young lawyer about to enter active practice. With Judge C. B. Stuart, James H. Gordon and Yancey Lewis, both Stuart and Lewis being former Federal judges for the Central District of Indian Territory, a partnership in law was formed in the spring of 1898. Rutherford remained in Muskogee as resident partner; the others, in McAlester.

Meanwhile, another new chapter in the life of the young lawyer had been written at Fort Smith. There, on April 16, 1890, he was married to Sarah (Sallie) Rebecca Dillard, which union, throughout their lives was to be "my strong right arm, my balance wheel", to use his own expression. Theirs was a union of Southern nobility, courtliness and courage. Mrs. Rutherford's forebears had made the journey from Virginia to Arkansas by water where they landed at the mouth of the Arkansas River, and by pony and pack horse, reached a place called Moore's Rock, later settling at Fort Smith. Her grandmother, Lucy Penn Dillard was a descendant of William Penn. Her father, John J. Dillard, served as a captain in the war with Mexico, and later as a major in the Army of the Confederacy. Mrs. Rutherford was a charter member of the Muskogee chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, founded in 1905, of which she served as its president for two terms. She was an ardent worker in charities and in church work, where she aided in the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Muskogee.

In Muskogee, after two years of legal practice, Rutherford became associated with his uncle, W. M. Cravens, under whom he had read law in Fort Smith. By this time, Muskogee was a growing city, oil was threatening", and new citizens were flocking into the Territory. Railroads were building and towns were springing up like mushrooms. The opening of lands for settlement in Oklahoma Territory was bringing to a head the agitation for admission to the Union, to be presented later as a movement for joint statehood. The field open to Rutherford was expanding and his influence extended.

Not long after he came to Muskogee in 1902, George Sparks, president of the First National Bank and Cliff Spears, president of Spears Hardware Company of Fort Smith, Arkansas, had control



S.M. Ruthenford, Mayor
Motorman
C.N. Haskell
Conductor
Tams Bizby ①
Irving Reeves ②

Tams Bizby ①
Irving Reeves ②

First Street-car Run in Muskogee, 1905.
(Motorman's cap plate shown in lower corner)

of the townsite privileges along the proposed Fort Smith and Western Railway then being built. They had known Mr. Rutherford in Arkansas and associated him with them in the promotion of townsites because of his unusual knowledge of the conditions and people. Rutherford in turn associated his friend, J. H. Hill of Tulsa, later General Counsel of The Texas Company, with him in this undertaking.

Where the town of Dustin now stands, the town of "Spokogee" was established. Rival bands of outlaws lived in this neighborhood and were resentful of this form of civilization, in that their illegal ventures would be menaced, though the townsite seemed remote from its name which someone said meant "Near to God." It became a battleground for the rival outlaws. Threats to clear out were met with a Rutherford "No", which meant just that. On a rainy day, two rival bands of outlaws met in the middle of the town and opened fire upon each other. Rutherford stepped into the open and demanded that they halt, which they refused to do. Rutherford was prepared as usual. The odds against him were three to one, but after the smoke cleared, there were three dead, one wounded and three prisoners. The prisoners and weapons were taken to Eufaula by Rutherford and Hill and delivered into the hands of the United States Marshal.

In 1903, Rutherford was elected Mayor of Muskogee, and it was during his administration that the first steps in meeting the demand for an adequate water supply were taken. Paving was another improvement which received its start during his incumbency. The city's growth further warranted the building of a street railway system during this time, and the project was promoted by Ira L. Reeves and Charles N. Haskell, the latter to become the first governor of Oklahoma. Early in the spring of 1905, Mayor Rutherford, wearing the cap of "Motorman No. 1", and Haskell, with the cap of "Conductor No. 1", posed at their posts with Car No. 16 in front of the old Turner Hotel while pictures were snapped before the electric street car began its first regular trip. The *Muskogee Phoenix* said of that incident: "President Reeves is to be congratulated upon his selection and the Phoenix guarantees him that the car will be returned to the barn in the evening with no reported accident from the motorman and that the conductor will show every nickel registered. . . . The 'crew' were instructed by the president 'not to run the car at a speed greater than 65 miles per hour, slow down for men over 75 years of age, and full speed ahead for lawyers, real estate agents, and newspaper men'."

In August, 1905, Rutherford was elected as a delegate to the Sequoyah convention held in Muskogee for the purpose of drafting a constitution for the proposed State of Sequoyah, which was to consist of the then Indian Territory. He played a prominent part in the convention and, at an election, later, throughout the Indian Territory, the constitution was adopted; however, Washington

frowned upon the proposal as the Federal administration favored a single state embracing all of what is now Oklahoma.

One of his memorable legal triumphs was gained in the trial of the so-called "Town-Lot" suits in the Federal Court at McAlester in 1910. The defendants in this government action were some of the best known, most reputable, pioneers in the Territory, and the litigation was popularly believed to be a grudge action on the part of President Theodore Roosevelt. Half a dozen of Muskogee's leading citizens, including Governor Haskell, were on trial, and the case commanded nationwide publicity. The defendants were acquitted and the reception at Muskogee was an enthusiastic demonstration. This led the Fort Smith *Southwest American* to report: "Thousands of the best citizens of Muskogee, headed by Blake's Band and banners that fairly shrieked a welcome home, were at the Katy Depot when the Flyer pulled in—The five defendants, who for two years had been made to suffer from the greatest political prosecution of modern times, were soon lost in the crowd, but S. M. Rutherford, one of the leading attorneys for the defense, was seized by a group of admirers and hauled up the station platform to a baggage truck to speak, where, in his opening words, he declared, 'The attempt of political conspirators has failed.' With his opening sentence, a great deafening shout arose and, as the band struck up "Dixie", banners waved. . . ."

While Rutherford's reputation was established mainly as a defense counsel, his services were sought in many outstanding cases as special prosecutor in behalf of the State. In March of 1911, a Creek negro child who owned an allotment in the rich Glen Pool oil field was killed in a dynamite explosion of her home. As a result of this William Irvine was indicted with others for the murder of the deceased child, and it was proven that Irvine had entered into a conspiracy to defraud the dead child of her allotment. The case attracted wide attention, and the Indian Department became especially interested in the prosecution and employed Rutherford as special prosecutor for the State. Fred S. Cook, now with the Legal Department of the Sinclair Oil Company, was at that time a special agent for the Department of the Interior and was called in to investigate and assemble evidence. He apprehended Irvine in Mexico City where he was hiding and returned him to Muskogee. There were seventeen lawyers in the case, thirteen for the defense. The trial lasted for six weeks and much acrimony developed between opposing counsel. One of the counsel for the defense, at one point in the trial, attempted to make an apologetic statement that he was not a finished criminal attorney. With his biting sarcasm, Rutherford immediately observed, "That is self-evident and apparently you are willing to obtain money under false pretenses." The trial resulted in a conviction of the defendant for murder who was sentenced to life imprisonment, and the circumstances of this case lead

to the enactment of the Oklahoma Law prohibiting persons convicted with the death or disablement of a person from inheriting from the victim's estate.

The following two decades were to bring into play the full force of Morton Rutherford's genius. As counsel for defendants in criminal cases, he was almost uniformly successful. His large acquaintance and his capacity for cementing friendship with people with whom he was associated brought him business and gave him an advantage in the selection of juries over almost all his competitors at the bar. His knowledge of human nature, his ready comprehension of facts and ability to marshal them to the best advantage, his readiness to meet evidence unknown before it was presented and above all his courage and gentlemanly assertiveness in the courtroom made him an unusual man and a character and a personality which is difficult to depict or accurately picture. The mere mention of his name in connection with a court trial, a political gathering or a civic event meant a spectators' full house. "Court room fireworks" could be expected in the trial of a civil suit even as in a criminal trial. For many years, the Davises and Starrs of the Porum neighborhood almost monopolized the courts and their counsel, Morton Rutherford. A Muskogee newspaper editor once called Morton Rutherford "The answer to a reporter's prayer", despite the fact that the counselor never "played up" to newspaper men.

One of his last cases, a few years before his death, and one of the most sensational, was that of a cowboy from Cherokee county who had fought in the first World War, and had returned and killed the man he had accused of despoiling his home. Rutherford was his counsel. Opposing him was another of the best known and more successful criminal lawyers in Oklahoma. The trial was held in Tahlequah. Each day huge bouquets of flowers appeared at Morton Rutherford's place at the counsel table. Applause always greeted him as he entered the court room. He and opposing counsel, outwardly at least on friendly terms, exchanged no words while the trial was in progress. Neither would the defendant's counsel have a word to say to the reporters, many of whom were his good friends outside of court. The cowboy was acquitted only to be killed later by the wife for whom he had faced the charge of murder.

As adequate a word picture of Morton Rutherford as has ever been written was printed in the Muskogee papers shortly after his death: "He was always sensitive about his age, and it is doubtful few properly estimated his age. As straight and erect as a stripling and with no sign except his graying hair, the 'Colonel', as he was affectionately and widely known, could stand the night and day grind of an important trial better than many of his younger associates. He was always immaculate in his dress, and there was an air of the southern gentleman about him which is hard to define, but

easily recognizable." Where he acquired the title "Colonel" he never knew. One of his early day acquaintances said: "It came just as naturally as his red moustache, and it belonged to his character and bearing." After his efforts in suppressing the near lynching of the Negroes referred to herein, Governor Robert L. Williams wrote him, "You deserve to be a colonel, and I have added you to my staff." He was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions from the Indian Territory and the State of Oklahoma in 1900, 1904, 1916. At the beginning of statehood, he ran for the United States Senate against his fellow townsman, Sen. Robert L. Owen who was elected. He never made another race for public office until he was elected to the State Senate in 1921. He was one of the first presidential electors of Oklahoma, in 1908, and was chairman of the delegation. He served through but one session only in the State Senate but in that session he was immediately recognized as an outstanding member and played a conspicuous part in its affairs and it was anticipated that he would become more conspicuous in the session which convened shortly after his untimely death. At the time of his election to the State Senate, *Harlow's Weekly* commented that he would probably be a candidate for the U. S. Senate. He was successful in business affairs as in law, and served for many years as a director of the First National Bank and Trust Company in Muskogee, in which he was a large stockholder, and was so serving at the time of his death.

On the 16th day of December, 1922, he returned from St. Louis where he had appeared before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. He visited briefly with his family before leaving to attend a banquet of the Muskogee Bar Association in honor of Fred P. Branson, recently elected to the Supreme Court. As always on occasions of this sort, he was in the best of spirits and entered heartily into the spirit of camaraderie which his presence automatically touched off. When called upon to speak, he brought to play the gift of good natured satire and tossed out barbs of sarcasm of the sort that had delighted juries and given opposing counsel uncomfortable moments in the courtroom. "He never shone more brightly than on that night" a friend said later. He walked out of the banquet "and into the night" to return to his home, and family, and ironically, it was an automobile driven by one of his colleagues at the bar who had taken his leave of the banquet at the same time, which struck him as he started across the street, and killed him instantly. The pioneer who had defied death times without number had become the victim of the only agent of death he had ever feared. The final chapter in the saga of Morton Rutherford was written on the following Tuesday by the *Muskogee Phoenix* in which it said in part:

"'Just as I am, I come to thee.' The voice of the old hymn echoed through the dim arches of Grace Episcopal Church as the body of Samuel Morton Rutherford was consigned to mother earth. The last note of the song died away and all was silent, save for a muffled sob here and there

among the throng that packed the church. Lines of grief lay like scars upon the faces of his old time friends; outward marks that told of pain. The old timers, men who had fought side by side with him through the wild lawless years when the territory was young, stood with bowed heads while tears ran unheeded down their withered cheeks."

Four years lacking a month after her husband's tragic death, Mrs. Rutherford was laid in her grave beside Morton Rutherford whose "strong right arm" she had been for more than thirty-five years. Never was there a stronger bond of affection, domestic satisfaction, co-operation and family pride. Family and friends were quick to note the slow but steady decline in her health following the shock of her husband's death. The community mourned the loss of her commanding presence, charitable work, and those social qualities that had been so outstanding since Muskogee's emergency from the pioneer era. Those in distress, the poor and needy, always and instinctively turned to her and found her ever ready to give aid, succor and comfort.

January 1, 1912, Colonel Rutherford became associated in the practice of law with James W. Cosgrove, which association continued until his death. This association by Cosgrove with Colonel Rutherford and his family has lasted for over forty years. At the present time, he and Rutherford's son, Morton Rutherford, are associated in the practice of law at Tulsa. Colonel Rutherford's name lives on in his two sons, Morton and John Dillard Rutherford, both lawyers of Tulsa, and his grandson, Morton Rutherford III, a lawyer, as well as City Attorney of Carlsbad, New Mexico. His son, Morton Rutherford, has served as Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Tulsa County, 1927-1931, and represented the Tulsa District in the State Senate, 1931-1934, being the first son of an Oklahoma State Senator to be elected to that office, and also as State Counsel of Oklahoma for the Home Owners' Loan Association, 1934-1938. Two daughters, Mrs. Helen R. Loomis, of Berkeley and Mrs. Jane R. Gallaher of San Francisco, are his other children; and his other grandchildren are Ross R. Loomis of Fort Worth, Texas, and Sally Rutherford, of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

As death closed Morton Rutherford's career tributes to his character, accomplishment and personality came from press and public in tremendous volume, and the esteem in which Colonel Rutherford was held is mirrored in the following excerpts of editorial tributes:

Okmulgee Daily Times:

"The State has lost a leader at a time when he was most needed. . . . Here was a citizen who placed his highest valuation upon the privileges of citizenship. His death means that the State has lost a balance wheel; that his passing from the stage of human activities is a tragedy to Oklahoma in whose destinities he was elected to play a pilot's part, in helping to direct the affairs of the State during the next four years. . . . Morton Rutherford was a good politician, but he was a better citizen, whose judg-

ment and intelligence were of such a high order that no definitions were required to determine his mind as between what was sound and what was unsound in political programs with their economic and social adventures. . . . Now that he is gone, it is no wonder that thoughtful men ask, "Who will take his place?" Oklahoma has no other Morton Rutherfords."

Muskogee Daily Phoenix:

" A fearless, courageous life had brought him fame that extended beyond those who knew him. He was among the few Muskogeeans named in Who's Who as among the State's truly great. Nor had he reached the zenith of his career; despite his years much of his future lay before. . . ."

Tulsa Daily World:

"The news of Morton Rutherford's death shocked the state. . . . Oklahoma will never be quite the same. . . . for Rutherford was of that nature which tinges public affairs with a personality. . . . He ran true to form only in his complete independence in thought and act. To have him for you was a thing to be desired. To have him against you was a handicap difficult to overcome. . . . His memory will remain green for years to come in that state which became his by adoption and to the aid of which he devoted a mental capacity far beyond the average.

Stigler Beacon:

" Oklahoma has lost one of her most stalwart characters, and one that the State could at this time ill afford to lose. . . . In the fires of public service Morton Rutherford has been tested and his character found to be pure gold, with none of the alloy of selfishness or cowardice. . . ."

Shawnee News:

"The sudden death of Hon. S. Morton Rutherford removes one of the men who has been active in the affairs of the east side since . . . long before statehood. . . . he was one of the outstanding members of the Senate majority."

Henryetta Daily Free-Lance:

"Morton Rutherford represented that fine old type now growing fewer—a typical, old fashioned Southern gentleman."

Marlow Review:

" The state has lost a great man. . . . The people of the whole state will miss him in their fight for good government."

Holdenville Democrat:

" Morton Rutherford was one Oklahoman who baffled all comparison. He was unlike all his compeers and made in the mould of no other man. . . . Oklahoma in a large measure is in itself his monument.

. . . . Men of iron nerve were required to make this last conquest of civilization, and among the number devoid of fear who wrested the last lair from the bandit outlaws, none performed a greater service for the future than the striking figure who last Saturday evening relinquished his hold on life.

Oklahoma City News:

"Rutherford's life in Oklahoma has been spent in action. In earlier years, he fought as marshal and as jurist—it made little difference what weapons were desired. . . . His is a picturesque figure lost to Oklahoma politics."

Daily Ardmoreite:

"The death at Muskogee of Morton Rutherford. . . . brings a distinct loss to the State. . . . Senator Rutherford was one of the most widely known lawyers in the State. . . . Immaculate in his dress, he was one of the most distinguished men to be seen around the State House."

Let no one who reads this sketch think of it as highly colored. In this man, fact was always finer than fiction. His courage, his honor and his chivalry was rooted in the "old South" when manhood was in flower. Oklahomans who knew him will find here that which will bring smiles of proud memory. The young will wonder, and in this day with its strange Flotsam and Jetsam, may wonder again and forget.

DR. WILLIAM BUTLER AND GEORGE BUTLER, CHEROKEE AGENTS

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Colonel James McKissick, a native of Tennessee who had resided in Benton County, Arkansas for a number of years, was appointed by President Polk to succeed Governor Pierce M. Butler as Cherokee agent.¹ Colonel McKissick died at the Cherokee Agency January 13, 1848, surrounded by his family, and his remains were interred in Fayetteville, Arkansas beside those of Governor Archibald Yell.

The Cherokee Advocate suggested Marcellus Du Val, at that time Seminole sub-agent, and former clerk to Governor Butler, as Cherokee agent. On January 24, 1848, the newspaper stated that a petition signed by as many as had the opportunity had been sent to Washington asking for the appointment of Du Val. Colonel Gustavus Loomis, stationed at Fort Gibson, was acting Cherokee agent after the death of McKissick.²

The president appointed Richard C. S. Brown from near Fort Smith as the agent. He took the position in March, 1848, and served until the following year when he was removed. On June 6, robbers broke into the Agent's house to get possession of \$18,000 which was due to be paid to the Indians. The bandits struck the Agent with an axe, but his neighbors heard the disturbance, went to his rescue, and frightened the robbers away.³

In the first Arkansas constitutional convention January 4 to 13, 1836, Crawford County was represented by R. S. C. (*Sic*) Brown and in the First State Legislature Crawford was represented by Brown in the Senate.⁴

"Judge Brown was a remarkable man in many respects, while his education was limited he had a great deal of common sense. His eccentricities were many and novel. He was regarded as an honorable and upright man holding the confidence and esteem of the people. . . . In 1840 he was elected judge of the Seventh Circuit' in which position he served the people for six years with little knowledge of law as a science but a great honesty of purpose. While Judge he always called himself 'My Honor' either on or off the bench; . . . In 1847 President Polk appointed him agent to the Cherokees which duties he honestly and conscientiously performed. He was removed in 1849 and was succeeded by William Butler of South Carolina. . . . No record of his death has been found."

¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Pierce Mason Butler," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), pp. 6-28.

² *Cherokee Advocate*, January 17, 1848, 2, col. 2; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 391, 396.

³ *Ibid.*, 402.

⁴ Clara B. Eno, *History of Crawford County, Arkansas* (Van Buren, (n.d.)), pp. 197-98.

Copies of Executive Nominations for the Department of the Interior indicate that William Butler was nominated as agent to the Cherokees on August 29, 1850. Y. O. Ose, in a letter of March 8, 1849 to President Taylor, stated that William Butler was a brother of Senator A. P. Butler and of "the gallant Pierce Butler who fell so gloriously at Chirubusco (*sic*) and a member of a family distinguished for valor and patriotism since the first days of the Revolution."

Dr. William Butler was also recommended by Hon. Waddy Thompson, Representative in Congress from South Carolina; J. L. Pettigrew of Charleston, and General W. G. Belknap, Commandant of Fort Gibson.⁵

Dr. William Butler

Dr. William Butler, third son of General William Butler, was born February 1, 1790. After graduating from South Carolina College, he served as a surgeon in the United States Navy and was on duty during the battle of New Orleans. He resigned from the Navy to practice his profession in South Carolina, his native state.

Dr. Butler served in the Twenty-seventh Congress of the United States as a Whig, from March 31, 1841, to March 3, 1843. He was appointed Cherokee agent on May 30, 1849. With his large family, he arrived at the agency December 7, 1849, after a journey of two months overland, the rivers being too low for boats to navigate.⁶

During the period Brown was Cherokee agent a census was taken, but only four men were employed to take the census though the Treaty of 1846 specified that five should do the work. When William Butler superseded Brown he declared the census was irregular and ordered another taken. He issued a call for a council of Old Settlers to be held August 5, at the mouth of Illinois River. At that time the census taker was selected and the census was made on the following basis: "All those Cherokees west of the Mississippi, who emigrated prior to the Treaty of 1835, and who were alive at the ratification of the treaty the 17th of August, 1846, will be entitled to per capita money, and the money will be paid directly to the persons entitled to it, if alive, if dead, to their legal representatives."⁷

The committee met August 26, but adjourned the next day, having decided that it would be impossible to account for all persons who had died since 1846 and, at the same time, account for children born to Old Settlers since that period. It was decided to await instructions from Washington.⁸

⁵ National Archives, January 4, 1952.

⁶ Theodore D. Jervy, "The Butlers of South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Charleston, Vol. IV, No. 4, (October, 1903), 300, 301.

⁷ *Cherokee Advocate*, July 23, 1850.

⁸ Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman, 1938), pp. 79-80.

Dr. Butler died at the Cherokee Agency September 21, 1850, after an illness of five weeks, leaving his widow, Jane Tweedy Perry (a sister of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry) whom he had married December 22, 1819, and his numerous children.⁹ Brigadier General W. G. Belknap filled the position of Cherokee agent until George Butler, a son of Dr. Butler, was appointed on October 31, 1850.

On September 24, 1850, Surgeon J. B. Wells wrote from Fort Gibson to Hon. James A. Pearce, U. S. Senator, Washington, D. C., telling of the death of Dr. William Butler, Cherokee Agent:¹⁰

It gives me pain to address you in relation to the demise of one who during his intercourse with me repeatedly made mention of your name, in terms of true friendship. I allude to Doctor William Butler late U. S. Agent for the Cherokees. For many years of feeble health & subject of violent attacks of intestinal spasms, he about five weeks ago was attacked with congestion of the liver & the enfeebled bowels soon sympathetic with this collatitious viscera & ending in *ulceration*, terminated his earthly existence this afternoon at 4.35 o'clock,

You knew him well, therefore no eulogy is here given, other than to say: that he was a pure & honest man. But my Dear Sir, allow me to say something of his bereaved family. He leaves a widow & eleven children¹¹ now here in a state of helplessness & it is in behalf of his family I write.

His eldest son *George* Butler came with his father to this country. he is a young gentleman of moral worth & good understanding & if it is possible for him, to succeed his father it will gratify us all, (red man & White) I am requested by his disconsolate widow (who is a sister of Commodore Perry) to say to you that the Honbl. J. J. Crittenden¹² was a personal friend of her husband, also the Honbl. Mr. Berrien¹³ with whom she wishes you to confer. I have addressed a letter to his brother Honbl. A. P. Butler,¹⁴ but the shock of his brother's death induced me to forbear mentioning the subject of his nephew's appointment to the vacant agency.

⁹ Jervey, *op. cit.*, 300, 301; Foreman, *op. cit.*, 391.

¹⁰ National Archives, Records of the Secretary of the Interior. Appointment Division, 1849-78, Indian Agencies: Cherokees.

¹¹ The first two children were born dead. Those surviving were: George, born Oct. 24, 1823; died about 1875. The fourth child was born dead. The fifth, a daughter, was Behethland F. Butler, born May 2, 1827. Christopher R. P. Butler born August 26, 1829; died Nov. 1, 1853. William Butler, born April 15, 1831—time of death unknown. James L. Butler, born Sept. 28, 1832; died Feby. 20, 1866. Pickens P. Butler, born March 24, 1834—time of death not recorded. Matthew C. Butler, born March 8, 1836. Sally W. Butler, born 1837. Emmala F. Butler, born Dec. 11, 1838. Thomas O. L. Butler, born April 29, 1841; died July 2, 1863. Elise W. L. Butler, born July 28, 1842. Oliver N. Butler, born Sept. 4, 1844. (Jervey, *op. cit.*, 301).

¹² John J. Crittenden, born in Woodford County, Kentucky, September 10, 1787, served as United States senator four terms, twice as attorney general of the United States, governor of Kentucky, and member of the House of Representatives as a Unionist. He died at Frankfort, Kentucky July 26, 1863.

¹³ John Macpherson Berrien, a native of New Jersey, who served three terms as United States Senator from Georgia and Attorney General under President Jackson.

¹⁴ Andrew Pickens Butler, United States Senator from South Carolina from 1846 until his death May 25, 1857.

Aside from politics, but even on this ground the claim is strengthened, for the son inherits alike the personal & political virtues of his Father, merit & worth, a family dependent altogether on the salary, then being here in position, are all suggestions in their favor. I have nothing more to add, other than the request, that you will please give this subject your immediate & earnest attention.

I am sir, Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.

J. B. Wells
Surgeon U. S. Army

Dr. William Butler and his wife, Jane Tweedy Perry Butler, had fifteen children of whom James Leontine Butler was the eighth. This son born September 28, 1832, married Frances Taylor, a Cherokee, on December 29, 1851. She was a daughter of Richard and Susan Taylor. By her he had two children, Eloise and George Butler. James L. Butler recruited a company, mostly of Cherokees, at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, and served as a captain under General Sterling Price in the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate States during a large part of the conflict. Towards the end of the war he was a scout in the Carolinas and Virginia. He died at Mt. Pleasant, Titus County, Texas, February 20, 1866.¹⁵

Eloise and George Butler were direct descendants of two noted men in the Army and Navy of the United States—General William Butler and Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. They were also nephew and niece of Senator Matthew Calbraith Butler, of South Carolina. Eloise was the second wife of Dennis W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief of the Cherokees (1879 to 1887).

Mrs. Bushyhead was educated in the Cherokee public schools and finished her education in Philadelphia. It was said of her: "She is a lady of great personal beauty and possessed of many accomplishments. . . ."¹⁶

Chief and Mrs. Bushyhead were the parents of Frances and Butler Bushyhead. Frances became the wife of James K. Gibson of Tennessee and Oklahoma. When she passed away in Kansas City in 1929 she left one son, James K. Gibson, Jr. Butler married Nenna Walker of Pleasant Green, Missouri, and they had three sons: Henry, Butler, and Jack, all of whom received university educations. Henry Bushyhead was killed in World War II.

¹⁵ Jervey, *op. cit.*, 301, 302.

¹⁶ H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* (Saint Louis, 1892), pp. 119-20.

Mrs. Eloise Bushyhead died in St. Louis in 1938 and she and her daughter, Mrs. Gibson, were buried in Tahlequah, Oklahoma.¹⁷

GEORGE BUTLER

With the support of distinguished statesmen it was not surprising that George Butler received the appointment of agent as successor to his father. He was the third child of Dr. William Butler and he was born October 24, 1823. He settled in Missouri at an early date and married Nanny Thurston.

According to a statement of Senator A. P. Butler on October 18, 1850, George Butler was about twenty-eight years of age. In his recommendation of young Butler, dated October 19, 1850, Hon. W. Thompson of South Carolina stated that "no appointment could be as gratifying to the people of this state."

In the *Official Register of the United States*, George Butler is listed as Cherokee agent as of September 30, 1851. His salary, like that of his father, was \$1500 per annum. Andrew Taylor, a Cherokee, in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated March 21, 1853, related that Agent "Butler had faithfully discharged his duty, and that during Taylor's 'forty years with the Indians' they had never had an agent more acceptable to them."

Butler again received appointment as Cherokee Agent on September 30, 1853: "An executive commission signed February 29, 1856, reveals that he was appointed by President Franklin Pierce to be agent for the Cherokee Indians for a term of four years from February 27, 1856." He was again listed in that position on September 30, 1859. By September 30, 1861, John Crawford of Arkansas had become the incumbent. He had received his temporary appointment from the incoming Lincoln administration on April 5, 1861.¹⁸

George Butler's report to Superintendent of Indian Affairs John Drennen at Van Buren, Arkansas, September 14, 1851, gave a full description of "the Cherokees, in their half-civilized condition." He considered that they presented "some interesting peculiarities; their long intercourse with the whites has produced great mixture of blood and had great influence upon their language. Most of the mixed bloods speak the English very well, and in many cases the English is the only language they use, and cannot even understand their own. There are eight hundred boys and girls who are taught

¹⁷ Authority of Mrs. James W. McSpadden, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, first cousin of Mrs. Gibson and Butler Bushyhead.

For an interesting account of the Butler Family see *Genealogy of the Mays Family* to 1929, by Samuel Edward Mays, Plant City, Florida, 1929, pages 113, 114, 116, 118-19, 121. The writer is greatly indebted for the privilege of making notes from the above genealogy to Miss Ella M. Covell, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Miss Covell belongs to one of the early families of the Cherokee capital and she is well versed in the history of her people.

¹⁸ National Archives, January 4, 1952.

at the [twenty-two] public schools. . . .” and only one in which the Cherokee language was used.

Butler considered that the Cherokees were unsuited to the government they had established:

“In their present condition they are not prepared to receive and enjoy the benefits and blessings of such a government. They have not, nor can establish, any system of taxation by which the government can be supported. They have no income from any source except the annuity they receive from the United States, a tax of twenty-five dollars on lawyers, and a small tax on ferries.

“The nation is about two hundred thousand dollars in debt; and their debt has been increasing, because the income does not pay the annual expense of the nation. The national council of last year reduced the salaries of officers, and it is now to be tried whether that reduction will not enable the nation to pay some of her debts. . . . The expense of one trial of murder, since I have been in the nation, cost . . . two thousand dollars. . . .”

Agent Butler favored the United States government extending territorial government over the Cherokee country, and allowing the nation a delegate in Congress. Agriculture was the principal pursuit and yet the Indians had no surplus produce for sale; their meat, flour, etc., was furnished from Arkansas and Missouri. He wrote that “their country is well adapted to fruit, such as apples, peaches, plums, &c., yet they have few orchards.” That showed good judgment on the part of the Agent as the Cherokee Nation, one hundred years later, has become noted for the fine fruit raised there, and many families are making a good living off their land.

“That part of the nation called the neutral land, containing eight hundred thousand acres, has immense mines of stone coal near the surface of the ground, which could be easily got to market, as the Grand or Neosho river runs through the nation, and is navigable for flat boats a great part of the year. . . .

“There is a weekly newspaper printed at Tah-le-quah, the seat of government. . . . edited by Mr. David Carter. . . . and I believe has quite an extensive circulation. . . .”¹⁹

In 1837 Governor Montfort Stokes had purchased buildings six or seven miles east of Fort Gibson for the Cherokee Agency and it remained there until 1851 when Agent Butler sold the houses and removed to a place three miles from Tahlequah.²⁰ Agent Butler reported on July 5, 1851 that he had received \$250 for the agency buildings and had located the new agency three miles northwest of Tahlequah in a high and healthful country.²¹

Superintendent John Drennen had been authorized to make the per capita payment to the Old Settler Cherokees at Fort Gibson in

¹⁹ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, pp. 379-81.

²⁰ Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930), p. 269, note 55.

²¹ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 391.

1852, so he was closely concerned with affairs of the nation. Agent George Butler made a complaint to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Luke Lea that Drennen was monopolizing the entire business of the Cherokees, and he wished the jurisdiction of each defined.²²

The annual report, dated September 30, 1852, which Butler made to Colonel Drennen was in a much more optimistic strain than his previous one. The Cherokees had received a large amount of money from the United States government and this caused an increase in trade; the crops produced were greater than any in ten or fifteen years, and the Indians displayed more industry. Small pox had been disastrous during the winter while the unusually wet spring and summer had caused various diseases, some of them fatal. A body of influential men in the capital had organized a section of the Sons of Temperance and this had a most happy effect on the Cherokee citizens. During a celebration of this organization in Tahlequah a body of women presented a handsomely bound Bible to the group. This was a fortunate movement as liquors were still being introduced into the nation although the native sheriffs were zealous in checking the trade. A Cherokee delegation had been instructed to treat with the United States for the disposal of the neutral land.²³ The nation was still greatly in need of money to liquidate debts and to build a jail.

Butler disclosed the friendly intercourse existing between the Cherokees, the frontier states, and the various other tribes of Indians by whom they were surrounded:

"It is very galling to their pride to have a military force among them for the alleged purpose of preserving order, such not being the case with some of the adjoining tribes; and I think the garrison at Fort Gibson a very useless and unnecessary expense to the United States government; for, in case of emergency, (which I hardly think will ever happen,) aid could easily be obtained from the headquarters of the department at Fort Smith. . . . The military reserve at Fort Gibson embraces the most valuable portion of the Cherokee country, being at the head of navigation of the Arkansas river, and the only good steamboat landing on Grand river; and hence of the greatest possible advantage to the Cherokees. . . ."

This report was followed by statements from five or six mission stations in the nation. Pneumonia, chills and fever had seriously afflicted the Cherokees according to Agent Butler's report of September 13, 1853:

²² Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman, 1938), p. 81.

²³ A strip forty-five miles wide between Oklahoma and the Osage tribe was retained as a buffer between them and the white settlements, and it became known as the neutral lands; in 1835 the area was called the Cherokee neutral land. It lay north of the thirty-seventh parallel, but the Cherokees never occupied it. —Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, (Berkeley, 1919), pp. 5, 16; and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 2.

"Many of the full-blood Cherokees yet have a great aversion to the medicine of the regular faculty, and prefer the roots and herbs of their own native doctors. The more enlightened portion are fast losing their prejudice, and always call in a regular physician when one can be had; and it afforded me much pleasure to be able to state that they have among them several physicians of high reputation in their profession, both whites and natives."

There had been an abundant yield of crops and the people were making advances in agriculture.

"The more enlightened and intelligent portion who have means to live much in the same style of the southern gentleman of easy circumstances. Many of the dwellings of that class are large, comfortable, and handsome buildings; their fields, too, are well enclosed with good rail fences, and their yards and gardens are handsomely paved in, and the grounds tastefully laid off and ornamented with rare and beautiful shrubbery.

"The moral influence which is being brought to bear upon the youth of the country, through the indefatigable efforts of the principal chief [John Ross], and other intelligent and leading men of the nation, in the great cause of education, must tell powerfully upon the rising generation."

Butler wrote of the neat and industrious women among the Cherokees, many of whom had acquired some of the finer accomplishments of the whites. A full suit of dressed buckskin, exhibited at the Crystal Palace in New York, was the skillful work of the women of the family of J. M. Payne. The art of weaving was carried on in many families where all of the garments worn were from the looms of Cherokees. Mrs. W. A. Adair excelled in weaving and Butler stated that her work would have made competition for prizes in any agriculture fair in the country.²⁴

The Cherokees acquired many white citizens through marriage and the men, after being admitted legally, were entitled to all of the privileges of the nation, and were eligible for all offices, except that of chief. White men who failed to furnish satisfactory evidence of good character were refused citizenship by the national council.

The Indians failed to understand the justice of permitting liquor to be sold by white men to whomever he pleased within the borders of the state, when the identical laws would severely punish the Indians, "not only for selling but for giving a dram to his brother within the limits of the nation."

Prominent men of the nation were privately advocating taxation in order to liquidate the national debt, but the editor of the *Cherokee Advocate* favored it openly in his columns, while a majority of the citizens preferred releasing the neutral lands to the government of the United States:

"Much dissatisfaction exists here with those Cherokees who still reside in North Carolina, in consequence of their claiming an equal per capita

²⁴ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Cherokee Weaving and Basketry* (Muskogee, 1948), p. 6.

interest in the Neutral land. If those remaining in Carolina would remove west and become citizens of this nation, they would be received and welcomed as friends and brothers, and at once admitted to equal rights with these now here; but while they remain citizens of a different government and not amenable to the laws of this nation, I think the authorities here have good cause to protest against their right to any interest in this soil. . . ."

Butler described the grand council held in June at a point high up on North Fork of the Canadian River where delegates of thirteen tribes assembled to attempt to establish friendly relations between the border Indians and their less enlightened brothers who spent their lives roaming over the vast prairies of the West. Chief Ross appointed several of their most intelligent men to inform the Comanches and other wild tribes that it was the wish of his people to establish a lasting friendship with them and to assist in improving their condition. He instructed the Cherokee delegates to explain to the western tribes the relation in which they stood to the United States; "that the United States, since the war with Mexico, had bound herself to protect the Mexicans from the depredations of the Indians; and if they continued to rob the Mexicans, and makes slaves and prisoners of their people, that the United States would certainly punish them for such outrages. . . ." ²⁵

According to the Agent in his report of September 27, 1854 the government of his charges was still in a bad financial state. A bill was introduced in the last meeting of the council to assess taxes but it failed principally because of opposition among "the lower classes of Indians."

The farmers had been unusually industrious but a severe drought prevailed and Butler feared there would be suffering among the poor. "This privation will be more keenly felt at this time from the fact of their having enjoyed an abundance since the payment of their 'per capita' money, but which the most of them have spent with Indian-like improvidence, without having derived any permanent benefit."

In spite of the conditions the Cherokees continued to improve in many respects. Their laws were rigidly enforced and there had been little crime during the past year. "And if the system of education now being carried on continues to meet with the encouragement it does at present, the Cherokees in a few years will have fully as many advantages in this respect as their more advanced neighbors in the States."

As a whole Butler approved of the efforts of the missionaries, but there were a few who were making themselves obnoxious to the Cherokees through their interference in the slavery question. Butler

²⁵ *Report*, George Butler, Cherokee agent to Gov. Thomas S. Drew, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Van Buren, Arkansas, 381-84.

again referred to the subject of removing Fort Gibson from the most desirable area in the nation, not because of any dereliction of the officers, but because of its location at the head of navigation "the only eligible point on the river from which commercial advantages can be derived."²⁶

When Butler made his report August 11, 1855, he recounted that the health of the Indians had been good and that agriculture was in a flourishing state. "The neat condition of their farms gives the best evidence of their industry, and they have been abundantly rewarded by the heavy yield of the corn, wheat, and oats crops. . . ."

The cause of religion and education were advancing hand in hand to the great benefit of the red people. The failure of the delegation to dispose of the neutral land caused much dissatisfaction as the government was burdened with debt and there appeared no way to settle their affairs and free themselves from the obligation.

The anti-slavery question was causing great discontent and Butler warned the new superintendent of Indian affairs, Dr. Charles W. Dean at Fort Smith, that "the intelligent portion of the community, . . . denounce in strong terms the movements of the abolitionists in the country, and if the excitement is not put down, it will lead to disastrous consequences."

The Agent called attention to the 500 white men and women who had intermarried with the Cherokees, but who claimed immunity to their laws, according to the construction placed upon the intercourse law by the district court for the western district of Arkansas. The Cherokees had their own laws which bound all persons who had connected themselves with the Cherokees. According to Butler these whites displayed no interest in the affairs of the nation as they would do if they were full citizens.

An account is given of the injustices committed upon the Cherokees by carrying them across into Arkansas for trial when they had their own laws which covered the controversial subjects. ". . . . There is no one thing that produces as much disturbance. . . among the Cherokee people, or does as much to discourage and retard their advancement, as the present oppressive construction placed upon the intercourse law by the District court at Van Buren. . . ."

The Cherokees gave a party of Mormon elders a warm welcome but before they had been long in Tahlequah the missionaries complained that the Mormons were interfering with their work. Agent George Butler issued an order early in May, 1856, to Jefferson Hicks

²⁶ Report Commissioner Indian affairs, 1854, 114, 115. Butler to Gov. Thomas S. Drew, superintendent Indian Affairs, Fort Smith, Arkansas. Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, Norman*, 1938, 119-20. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, Norman, 1934, 412-13.

to arrest Elder Henry W. Miller, take him to Fort Gibson and deliver him to the commandant. The sheriff refused to serve the writ after he had talked to Dr. Ross, one of the counselors of the nation, and Butler promised that Elder Miller would be notified by letter if it became necessary for him to leave the nation, and that he would not issue another writ.²⁷

An interesting subject in Butler's report of September 10, 1856 was on the subject of physicians. Although the country was fairly supplied with good doctors, a number of young Cherokees were preparing for the medical profession, by studying under "our best read physicians, and completing their studies at some of the medical colleges of the States. . . ."

While the educational and agricultural interests were in an advanced state the mechanical arts were far in the rear and an effort was needed to speed the advancement of the Indians. The school surplus was exhausted and there was not enough money to support the common schools and the two seminaries so some provision had to be made or the high schools would have to be closed.

The question of the disposal of the neutral land was still being debated and various ways of using the money suggested, but no satisfactory conclusion had been reached. Butler stated that the morals of his charges were improving, and many were connecting themselves with the various churches. Butler's report was accompanied by a most intelligent address from W. A. Duncan, superintendent of Cherokee Public Schools.²⁸

On September 8, 1857, Agent Butler notified Major Elias Rector at Fort Smith that nothing of interest had taken place at the Cherokee Agency. Good health had prevailed until the last months of the summer when there had been many deaths among the children from fevers. The weather had been unusually wet and many streams had overflowed.

The Cherokees were turning their energies to stock raising and by importing animals from Missouri and other western states their live stock was being improved. Several thousand head of cattle and ponies were driven from the nation during the summer and a large part of the cattle went to California.

The two high schools [seminaries] were closed for lack of means but it was still hoped to dispose of the neutral lands to the United

²⁷ Grant Foreman, "Missionaries of Latter Day Saints," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June, 1935), pp. 205-206. Butler advised Elder Miller not to preach in the settlement any more for the present.

²⁸ *Report*, Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1856, pp. 140-43.

States government so as to replenish their school fund and place the means of education within the reach of every family.

The elections had been held for members of the council, and other officers, and they had passed off quietly. Butler thought that since Fort Gibson had been abandoned by the government and reverted to the Cherokees that the capital of the nation would be removed there. At that time the Cherokees numbered about twenty-two thousand.²⁹

George Butler reported on September 10, 1858 that the majority of the Cherokees were strongly national, or democratic, in their sentiments: "I regret to say, however, that there are a few Black Republicans, who are the particular fondlings of the abolition missionaries that have been, and still are making themselves very officious upon the subject of slavery. . . ."

The natives were deeply interested in education and the system was under the management of "a talented and public spirited superintendent, H. D. Reese, esq., a man of education and indomitable energy. . . ."³⁰

The farmers were curing great quantities of prairie grass which was unusually fine. Several attempts at cultivating Chinese sugar cane resulted in complete success and Messrs. M. M. Schrimsher and D. M. Gunter, had given the agent samples of molasses extracted from that plant, grown on their farms. He stated that it was equal, if not superior, to the celebrated golden syrup. The general health had not been good owing to diseases of a malarious character and many prominent citizens had died although the nation was well supplied with physicians. "There are several natives who are graduates of the most celebrated medical institutions in the United States, besides a great many other followers of Esculapius who have married here and become citizens of the nation."

The site of Fort Gibson had been laid off into town lots and sold exclusively to Cherokee citizens for twenty thousand dollars. The council had passed an act to give the place the name of "Cattoo-wah" and the capital was to be removed there, but it was thought the bill would be vetoed which would require a majority of two-thirds to make it a law.

Butler made a wise suggestion when he advised that the United States District Court be removed from Van Buren, Arkansas, into

²⁹ *Report, Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1857, pp. 499-500.*

³⁰ Henry Dobson Reese served his nation in several important capacities. He was solicitor for Tahlequah District in 1845, 1846, and 1875. He was appointed Judge that same year to succeed James R. Hendricks who was suspended. He was a delegate to Washington in 1867, 1868. He appears to have been most successful in his administration as superintendent of education which position he held in 1855, 1857 (Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* [Oklahoma City, 1921], pp. 229, 285, 289, 300).

the different nations within its jurisdiction. This would materially lessen the expense, and be a grateful change to the Cherokees.³¹

Butler remarked that he could see a decided change for the better in agriculture among his charges, principally through the use of machinery in farming, such as reapers, mowers, threshers, etc. More comfortable homes were built and old buildings repaired and enlarged. Spring houses were being built for the preservation of milk, butter, and cheese.

The raising of cattle was becoming the leading occupation of some of the farmers and many animals had been sold at high prices. "I am clearly of the opinion that the rapid advancement of the Cherokees is owing in part to the fact of their being slaveholders, which has operated as an incentive to all industrial pursuits. . . . " The greatest trouble facing the Indians was in getting their products to market. If that could be remedied vast quantities of produce could be sent from the nation. "This fact compels the Cherokees to imitate the example of their neighbors in the State of Arkansas, that of allowing their cows and calves to run together in the winter, during which time 'con-na-ha-ney', or hominy, is extensively used as a substitute for milk, which is very palatable and nutritious. . . . " ³²

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs shortly before the Civil War no later reports of the Cherokee Nation from Agent Butler are to be found in the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian affairs.

Butler became a captain under General Sterling Price at the commencement of the war. Upon his wife's death he returned to South Carolina where he married Fannie Townes of Greenville, by whom he had a daughter, Jane Tweedy Butler. After the passing of his second wife he took a third wife and made his home near Augusta, on the Savannah River, "where he was killed in a collision with a neighbor." He died about 1875.³³

³¹ Report, Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1858, pp. 140-42.

³² Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1859, 540-41. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 418-19.

³³ Theodore D. Jervy, "The Butlers of South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (Charleston), Vol. IV, No. 4, (October, 1903), p. 301. Arkansas was well represented in President Buchanan's administration and Cherokee Agent George Butler was among the prominent citizens of that state (Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 111).

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JEFF THOMPSON PARKS: PIONEER, EDUCATOR, JURIST.

By T. L. Ballenger

The material for this biographical account has been obtained largely through conversational reminiscence. The writer has known J. T. Parks intimately for more than a third of a century, has had numerous fireside chats with him, has accompanied him on many cross-country drives, and has spent considerable time in his home. This first-hand acquaintance has also extended to several other members of the family from whom much information has been gleaned. The subject of this sketch has always been methodical and systematic in keeping records; hence his private letters, diaries, clippings, photographs, and business accounts have proven to be fertile sources of information. The writer has attended several reunions of the Parks family, where olden times and family traditions have been talked over freely. The Cherokee national records and newspaper files have been useful in tracing his public career. All in all, the writer's close association with the subject himself has been the best source of information and the greatest inspiration for this record.

Biography is one of the most interesting and instructive forms of human history. If a man has led a wholesome, active, and influential life, and, more especially, if he has served his country in a public capacity, the true story of his career should portray, to a certain extent at least, the history of that period of society through which he lived.

The subject of this sketch was sufficiently prominent in Cherokee public affairs from the Civil War to the present time that the story of his life should bring before the reader vivid glimpses of a considerable part of Cherokee national history. It is through the lives of men of sturdy honor, optimistic views, high ideals, and undaunted determination that a nation becomes great. It is through the indomitable courage and dauntless spirit of such men that the Cherokee Nation was forged into a political entity unsurpassed by any Indian nation on the globe, and at its termination was able to be merged into the great commonwealth of Oklahoma so imperceptibly as to allow its leadership to take first rank among the leaders of the new commonwealth. Although the Cherokee Nation as a political organization has ceased to be, the noble spirit of the Cherokee people will live on in the state of Oklahoma and in the United States for generations yet to come.

The Parks family has been closely identified with practically everything of sterling worth in Cherokee development for well over

a hundred years. They have commonly stood four-square on all questions of moral principle and have assumed an unselfish and constructive attitude toward problems of public concern. The motives directing their actions have generally been altruistic rather than selfish. They have had their enemies, it is true, but who that has ever done anything worthwhile in this world has not incurred the ill will of certain selfish interests. The subject of this sketch may well rest his claim to honor and fame upon the honorable life he lived and the worthy objects that he has promoted.

Sam Parks, a white man, married Susan Taylor, who was about three-fourths Cherokee. The Taylors are said to be of English ancestry, of the Fox family. Susan Taylor was named Fox but was commonly called Fox-Taylor. Her mother was Jenny Taylor. Through his grandmother, Susan Taylor, the lineage of J. T. Parks goes back to Chi-ga-u, which is the Cherokee name for the famous "Granny" Ward of the wolf clan. Sam Parks, the grandfather of J. T. Parks, was offered a contract by John Ross to conduct a detachment of Cherokees to the Indian Territory in 1838 but he refused to come—being a white man he could stay in Tennessee if he wished. His son, Thomas Jefferson Parks, the father of J. T. Parks, conducted the party. His group of Cherokees stopped on Beatties Prairie.

Two of J. T. Parks' uncles served in the Civil War. George Washington Parks served under General Joseph E. Johnson. He was later Associate Justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court from 1880 until his death in 1883. Robert Calvin Parks was Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army under Stand Watie and met his death under mysterious circumstances down near the Red river in the midst of the war. Thomas Jefferson Parks, the father of J. T., was Captain of a Cherokee company under Stand Watie. He participated in the capture of the Federal wagon train at Big Cabin and in various other battles along the Neosho.

The maternal grandfather of the subject of this sketch was James Allen Thompson. He was a white man who came from Georgia at the time of the removal, bringing with him his negro slaves and his gold. He is reported to have had a sack of gold so large that it took two negro men to lift it from the wagon and put it in the house under the bed. Charged with being a missionary among the Cherokees, James Allen Thompson had been arrested in Georgia at the same time that John Howard Payne was arrested. He was kept in jail at Milledgeville one night, then released. He settled in the Cherokee Nation about three miles southwest of Maysville, where Turner Edmondson now lives. His wife was Martha Lynch.

Thomas Jefferson Parks, son of Sam Parks and father of J. T., was born in East Tennessee near Ducktown in 1821. He married Ann Thompson, the daughter of James Allen Thompson, and a quarter



JEFF THOMPSON PARKS

blood Cherokee woman. They were married on Beatties Prairie, Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, in 1845. Ann Thompson was born near Ringgold, Georgia. She was the great-granddaughter, on her mother's side, of General Martin of Revolutionary fame. Thomas Jefferson Parks and his wife established their home in Delaware District about eight miles east of present Grove, Oklahoma and about six miles from Southwest City, Missouri. There they built a one-story log house near a good spring and settled down to a life of farming and cattle raising. They had a store at home and a store and ranch at Coodys Bluff but both were plundered and destroyed by the Federal troops during the Civil War. They had four Negro slaves, two of whom Parks inherited from his father's estate in Tennessee and two of whom they bought after their marriage. The Parks offspring consisted of three boys and six girls. The sixth child in the list was Jeff Thompson, whose life story is given here.

The young Jeff Thompson Parks was born at the above mentioned farm home on January 13, 1862, just after the Civil War was well under way. He was named after Jeff Thompson, the first president of the University of Mississippi. To escape the dangers and horrors of war his mother and her father took the children, in 1863, down to Red river, near Bonham, Texas, in what was then the Choctaw Nation but what is now Bryan county, Oklahoma. They stopped near Colbert's ferry. Here they rented land and farmed until the war was over. Johnson Thompson, J. T.'s uncle, took a load of goods along and engaged in the mercantile business. The old Reverend David B. Cummings, a Methodist missionary from Tennessee (formerly from Pennsylvania), sometimes styled the "father of the Indian Mission Conference", accompanied the Parks refugees and their associates. Beside the little log cabin in which the Parks family lived he sprinkled the young J. T. and consecrated him to the service of God and to Methodism. A certain old walnut cabinet, which was hauled south by the family, kept there during the war, and brought back when peace was restored, still occupies a conspicuous place among the cherished family heirlooms.

Mrs. Parks took her loom with her to Red river and they picked the seed out of the cotton by hand, carded the lint, spun it, and wove it into cloth. She made Captain Parks a Prince Albert coat out of this homemade cloth. As they came back home after the war they traded cloth and clothes to the Creek Indians for cows.

As captain in Stand Watie's regiment, J. T.'s father fought back and forth through southwest Missouri, northwestern Arkansas, and eastern Indian Territory. He took part in the battles of Pea Ridge and Neosho, in the skirmish at Cane Hill, Arkansas, in the capture of the Union wagon train at Big Cabin in 1864, and in the engagements around Springfield, Missouri.

At Big Cabin Stand Watie and his Confederate troops captured a wagon train transporting supplies from St. Louis to the Federal troops at Ft. Gibson. The supplies consisted of food, feed, clothing, munitions, and other military necessities. It was valued at approximately \$1,500,000, and its loss was a serious blow to the Union forces. Similarly, too, it served to boost the Confederate morale.

Captain Parks' part of the Big Cabin booty consisted of two Government wagons and two teams of mules. They used them on the farm down on Red river during the rest of the war and then, at the close of the war, used one of the wagons and old "Rock" and "Jude" in moving back to Ft. Gibson where they rented land and made a crop. The wagons were of the conestoga or schooner type, easily recognizable as Government wagons, hence, to conceal their identity, they cut the bodies down to the ordinary rectangular frame. They applied strong lye soap to the shoulders of the mules to remove the "U. S." This took all of the hair off and left the mules with bare shoulders the rest of their lives but otherwise did no injury. This was all useless of course for the Government never tried to retake the property.

As is well known to every student of history, the Civil War was hard on the Indian Territory. In 1862, when Scott's Mill was burned, the Union men came to the Parks home. The group consisted of two white men and several hundred Osage Indians. The Indians had on war paint and were "riding horses with bells all over them." It was a surprise attack. The mother and children were very much frightened. After the Osages had looted the store and gathered up all of the chickens, the officers ordered them to move on, at the urgent request of Mrs. Parks.

Most of the slaves were very devoted to the family. One Negro man took all of the horses and saddles and hid them in the woods when they heard that there was to be a raid. These horses later saved the lives of all the family, for they were the only means of getting food from a mill several miles away.

The Osages and Pins, under white leadership, came and plundered the Parks' home several times. Friends would notify them of their approach, then they would pack their bedding on horses and hide out in the woods until the soldiers had passed on. Once the oldest sister, Susan, and another girl were on an errand on horseback and, when four miles from home, were surprised by five Federal soldiers. The men took their horses but the girls prevailed on them to let them keep their saddles. They walked home and carried their saddles.

In July or August, 1862, when Jeff was only a few months old, a rumor spread around that men from the Federal troops were going from home to home killing the male babies. So, all the women in the

community took the children up into the Spavinaw hills and stayed in an old cabin for a few months before going to Texas. Captain Parks came from the army with about thirty soldiers and some wagons and mules and took the family and relatives south, as stated above. They went from Sulphur to Fayetteville where they took the military road to Dallas. They camped one night with the Confederate soldiers at Skullyville and ate with them.

After the war closed they started home but, being afraid of the Pins and other Union Indians, they stayed near Ft. Gibson one year. When they did get back to the old place there was not a thing left of their home but the front steps. Everything they had built and all of their life savings were gone. But they moved into an old cabin on the place and gradually built themselves another home. Wolves were thick all around. They seemed to be afflicted that winter with an epidemic of the mange, or something of the kind, and it was not unusual to find two or three of them dead in the chimney corner most any morning.

During the war the Cherokee Council, meeting at Ft. Gibson, had passed an act confiscating the property of all Cherokees who fought on the Confederate side. Under this act the Parks' place near Elk creek had been sold at auction and purchased by a widow by the name of Connor. In the Treaty of 1866, the Federal Government required the Cherokee Council to rescind this law of confiscation and allow the Southern Cherokees to return to their homes if they so desired. The Parks family camped at the old place about a month after they returned waiting for Mrs. Connor to move out. Then they began to rebuild the old place and to recoup their fortune as best they could during the bitter days of reconstruction.¹

Young Jeff lived the life of an ordinary farm boy of that time. He helped with the work, did chores, learned to ride, and helped his father drive cattle to market. In his later days he frequently teased his grandchildren by telling them that the path to the old spring was simply littered with toe-nails that he had knocked off on the rocks in carrying water. He told of riding horse-back to Maysville, a distance of eight miles, with baskets of eggs and selling them for five cents a dozen. He remembered how the people sought justice during the reconstruction days by taking the law in their own hands. A party of men came to their house in search of a negro horse thief. They finally overtook the negro in Missouri, brought him back into the Indian Territory, and shot him

¹ Much of the above information concerning the activities of the Parks family during the war came from Mrs. Emma Samuels, an older sister of J. T's, now of Santa Ana, California; and from Susie, the oldest sister, who passed away May 6, 1943 at the ripe old age of ninety-five. She was quite intelligent and unusually active until the last. She was married during the Civil War, down on Red River, to the son of a prominent Methodist missionary.

near the Parks home. Some boys went the next day and dug a hole and buried him.

The first school Jeff attended was at Elk Mills, Missouri, about a mile from his home. The school was conducted in one room of the Scott house, and was taught by Mrs. Dodson. The old blue-back speller was used almost exclusively, for both spelling and reading. When the pupils learned the alphabet from A to Z the teacher would have them learn the letters backwards from Z to A. His second school was nearer home, and was taught by Mrs. Hamilton. Since they had no books, she taught them geography by singing the names of the states, capitals, principal towns, and rivers. When they were late at school she would have them stand in the middle of the room and, with her help, sing:

O, where have you been Billy boy, Billy boy?

O, where have you been all the morning?

Other schools were at Greenwood and in the old Langley house on Elk river in Missouri. He attended a Cherokee school at Cave Springs, about three miles from his home across Cowskin prairie, a part of two terms. This was the extent of his schooling until he entered the Male Seminary in 1876.

Southwest City was the nearest town to the Parks home and it was there that they traded and got their corn and wheat ground on the old water mill. Whiskey was sold there at that time. Parks tells of an early raid which he witnessed there in his boyhood days. To relate the incident in his own words:

On one occasion when I was about twelve years of age my father had borrowed a hack from a friend at Southwest City to make a trip to Tahlequah. When he got back home he sent me to town to return the borrowed hack. I had an old muzzle-loading rifle at home that required a cap for igniting the powder, and when I had finished my mission, I hitched the horses and went into Mr. Dustin's store to buy me a box of caps.

Just as I asked the merchant for some caps he grabbed his gun and darted behind a large goods box, at the same time saying: "I can't wait on you now, son, there is a raid on in the town." He had no more than finished his sentence when a man appeared at the front door on horseback and began shooting inside. The merchant and his clerk returned the fire immediately and, as the rider went on, they rushed out into the street still firing at him. I went out at the front door just as they did, ran to my horses at the back of the store, and, mounting one and leading the other, rode north across Honey creek and up the hill as fast as I could. The rifles were cracking all around me. As I crossed Honey creek the bullets were striking in the water thick and fast and some of them skimming on the surface of the stream. I saw one of the bandits shot from his horse.

I learned later that it was the Tittle gang from near Maysville, Arkansas, who were simply "shooting up the town." Some two or three men were killed in this raid.

In his boyhood days J. T. visited the tobacco factory built on Wet Prairie in the Indian Territory, about four miles south of Maysville, by Stand Watie and Elias Cornelius Boudinot. He saw them making plugs of tobacco here. They also had a deer park. Boudinot and Watie put up this factory with the intention of selling their product without having to pay the regular United States revenue, but the Federal Courts construed the law otherwise and they found it a losing proposition and were soon forced to close the factory. However, the old building remained there for a number of years.

Parks' mother brought the first sewing machine into Southwest Missouri. It was quite a curiosity at that time. In making garments now women try as far as possible to hide the machine sewing and display the handwork, but then the women in the vicinity of Southwest City would do the necessary handwork on their bonnets and then bring them to the machine to be finished so as to show the machine work most conspicuously.

Among his boyhood associates were Missouri "hill billies" and the Seneca Indians. The south line of the Seneca Nation was just a mile north of the Parks' place on Cowskin prairie. Jeff attended their green corn dance and their dog dance every year. In the dog dance, they always had a white dog as a kind of mascot for the occasion. After dancing all night and a part of the next day, they would go out a mile or so to the race tracks and run horse races all afternoon. Jeff frequently raced with them.

The Cherokees were kicked around by the Government so much that they almost had an inferiority complex and were constantly on the defensive. When some unfavorable law was introduced in Congress the Cherokee Nation would send a delegation of leading citizens to Washington to lobby against the measure and to hedge against any United States government interference with Cherokee rights. In fact the Nation kept a delegation at Washington a good part of the time. Membership on one of these delegations came to be a kind of desirable, political plum.

Once when Parks was in his early teens he was hauling poles to cut up into firewood. There being a shortage of boys in the family, some of the sisters had to help him unload the poles each time. On this particular occasion it fell to the lot of his older sister to help. As they were throwing off the poles, on that bitter cold morning, sister Emma said: "Jeff, you ought to go to school and get an education so you can go as a delegate to Washington." Parks said that such a thing had not occurred to him before but that her suggestion was one of the inducements that led him to enter the Male Seminary at Tahlequah.

In the early seventies J. T.'s. father obtained a contract to furnish meat to the Orphan Asylum, then located in the Male Semi-

nary building near Tahlequah, and it was in connection with this work that the young Jeff made his first acquaintance with this famous institution of learning. At that time corn was scarce and sometimes the hogs were not any too fat. He relates that upon one occasion when they delivered a wagon load of bacon to the Orphan Asylum and the Cherokee boys came out to help them unload it some of them would hold a thin middling of meat up between them and the sun and jokingly remark that it would make a good veil.

Jeff enrolled as a student in the Male Seminary in 1876 and continued on through the session of 1879. In 1880 he taught his first school. It was located in Delaware district, at Newtown on Spavinaw creek, near the home of Oo-che-la-ta (Chief Charles Thompson). Later he taught the Butler school on Honey Creek about eight miles southeast of Grove, and another at Olympus on Cowskin prairie. His own account of his first school experience follows.

I was seventeen years of age when I began teaching. Hooley Bell was then a member of the Board of Education. He gave me an examination and issued me a third grade certificate. When I applied to him for a school he asked me if I wanted a school where they expected something of the teacher or one where little was expected. Apparently he assigned me to one that did not expect much, for it was in a rather backwoods fullblood district. In a few days after the examination I received an assignment to the Newtown school in the southwestern corner of Delaware District.

I had never heard of the place and my father did not know where it was. But I saddled my pony and started out to hunt for it. My mother packed my necessary clothing in my father's saddlebags and with these across my saddle I started out. My father thought that Judge Robert Fletcher Wyly would know where it was, hence I rode to his house. He did not know exactly but was sure that Uncle George Parris, who lived on the Tahlequah-Maysville road just in the edge of Long's prairie, would be able to direct me to the schoolhouse. I staid all night with Judge Wyly, then set out bright and early to see George Parris.

Uncle George sent me up a branch road with instructions to take the first path leading to the right and that path would lead me directly to the Newtown schoolhouse. I followed the path to an Indian house but nobody was at home; then on to another but nobody was there either. Continuing this path I finally found the little log schoolhouse on top of a hill far out in the woods. Everybody was at the schoolhouse for they were having a school meeting there that day. I went in but nobody could talk English and I could'nt talk Cherokee. They were wondering if they were to have a teacher and who it would be. I finally made them understand that I had been sent to teach their school.

Big Robin, grandfather of the present George Robin of Tahlequah, and chairman of the school board, went with me down to the residence of Youngbird Snell. His wife could talk English, and here Big Robin found out who I was, my age, where I lived, and something of my qualifications. They then directed me to E-nah-lee Blackfox's where I found a boarding place and where I lived for the next ten months.

I kept my horse with me and bought fodder to feed him through the winter at a cent a bundle. Blackfox had a long muzzle-loading rifle with which he kept the table well supplied with wild game of all sorts: deer,

turkey, squirrel, quail, rabbit, duck, and prairie chicken. Homemade hominy and canutchy were frequently served. Bread was made of corn pounded with mortar and pestle. Biscuits were served on Sunday. The charge for room, board, and laundry was one dollar per week.

Some of the fullblood boys came to school with their pockets full of parched locusts upon which they would munch at recess, much as boys of today munch peanuts or popcorn. Parched when young and juicy and sprinkled with salt, locusts were considered quite a delicacy. I got my mail at Tahlequah, about forty miles away, or at Maysville, Arkansas, twenty-five miles distant. Later a postoffice was established at Oaks, which was ten or twelve miles from where I taught. George Miller was postmaster. He lived six miles from Oaks and would come down each Saturday and receive and hand out the mail.

Richard Timberlake visited my school. He had succeeded Hooley Bell as a member of the schoolboard. Each member had a certain number of schools under his supervision and must visit each one of them at least once a year, otherwise five dollars per school would be deducted from his salary.

After two years of teaching Parks returned to the Male Seminary. According to the *Cherokee Advocate* of September 29, 1882, Jeff T. Parks was president of the Cherokee Debating Society at the Male Seminary and Percy Wyly was secretary.² Part of the time while attending the Seminary he made his board by keeping books for Superintendent Bluford W. Alberty and making out for him the reports that had to be rendered at stated intervals to the Cherokee government.

Sometimes the boys played pranks at the school. Parks' apple stealing reminiscence is illustrative of such incidents.

One time while I was a student at the Male Seminary the steward bought a wagon load of apples. They always fed us very well and usually furnished a good variety of food. He stored the apples in a basement room and of course locked them up. Percy Wyly and I were rooming together, and that night Percy suggested that we steal us some apples. The suggestion finding favorable lodging with me, late in the night after "all was quiet on Seminary ridge," we took a couple of pillow slips and stole our way quietly to the apple room. The transum offered the only means of entrance and Percy, being a little smaller and more agile than I, took a slip and crawled through while I stood guard. When he had filled one slip he handed it out and then filled the other.

We took them to our room and hid them among the springs under our mattress to keep the school authorities and the other boys from finding them.

Bluford W. Alberty was Superintendent of the Seminary at that time, and his wife, Aunt Eliza, served as matron and housekeeper. One afternoon, a few days after the apple theft, as Percy and I were walking by the Superintendent's rooms, Aunt Eliza invited us in and set before us a

² The entire official roster was: Jeff T. Parks, President; Percy Wyly, Secretary; John Gibson, Vice President; Thomas Carlile, Corresponding Secretary; Henry Brewer, Treasurer; John E. Butler, Critic. The members were: T. J. Adair, W. O. Bruton, James Crittenden, W. Eaton, W. R. Harris, J. R. Hastings, Watie Jackson, Wm. Kelley, N. C. Langley, L. T. Mayes, Allen Monroe, W. L. Parris, George Ross, Lewis Ross, and A. J. Thompson.

big bowl of apples. We each sheepishly took one but she asked us to take another, in fact she insisted that we fill our pockets. As we walked on with our pockets stuffed full of apples Percy remarked: "Well Jeff, I'll never steal another apple as long as Aunt Eliza is here. I'll bet she knows we stole those apples."

Parks finished at the Male Seminary in 1884, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science, along with the late William W. Hastings and William P. Thompson.³ Robert L. Owen was then Secretary of the Board of Education. These three degrees were the only ones ever granted by the Seminary. Certificates of graduation were issued but no other diplomas.

Parks started teaching at the Male Seminary in the Fall of 1884, and continued until 1890. He taught a mixture of subjects, from primary at first to Latin and mathematics later on. He also had charge of the military drill. During the latter years of service at the Seminary, he received a monthly salary of fifty-five dollars and fifty-five cents. Professor W. I. Davis was principal of the Seminary at this time. The late Sam Parks of Vinita and the late O. H. P. Brewer of Muskogee were students under Parks' tutelage.

In 1890, the Methodists conceived the idea of establishing in Tahlequah a denominational school for the higher education of Methodist boys. Reverend J. J. Lovett was pastor of the Methodist church at that time and was the main promoter of the project. For this purpose, the Methodists leased the old Masonic building, which then stood just across the alley from the present Telephone building, and employed J. T. Parks to conduct the school for them. He taught there one year but, for lack of funds and because of the competition of the Seminary, the experiment proved to be such an up-hill problem that the school was not reopened the second year. J. W. McSpadden, the late Rufus Ross, and several other prominent citizens of Tahlequah attended school here that year.

While this was the last teaching that Parks did, he was always deeply interested in education in all of its phases. He spent a lot of money for books, and collected in his home a private library of considerable proportions. In the Summer of 1889, he and Mrs. Parks attended the annual session of the National Education Association at Nashville, Tennessee. This was during the governorship of the famous humorist, Bob Taylor, who fiddled himself into Tennessee's gubernatorial chair. Taylor was a kind of O'Daniel type, of "pass the biscuits pappy" fame. While in Tennessee, Mr. and Mrs. Parks went on a steamboat up the Cumberland river to visit the Hermitage. From the boat landing, they had to drive a mile or two in a mule-

³ W. W. Hastings represented the Second District of Oklahoma in the United States House of Representatives from 1916 to 1936 (except two years when Miss Alice Robertson of Muskogee filled the position). He died April 8, 1938. William P. Thompson practiced law in Tahlequah, Vinita, and finally in Oklahoma City until his death in the autumn of 1940.

drawn cart to reach their destination. At this meeting of the Association Parks was elected to the Board of Directors to represent the Indian Territory for the year 1889-1890. He also served as president of the Cherokee Board of Education 1898-1899. His annual report to the Cherokee Nation upon the entire school system of the Nation is quite elaborate and informative. It reveals that the nation at that time employed 142 teachers, 114 of whom were native Cherokees. Other members of the board at this time were James F. McCullough and Harvey W. C. Shelton.

Shortly before this time, while Robert L. Owen was a member of the Board of Education, the board was charged with selling school positions. (Not much improvement has been made in this respect, it seems, in the past fifty years). Isaac Mode was a school teacher who lived on Honey creek. He was a white man but had married a Cherokee woman. He was somewhat radical, talkative, contentious, and outspoken in his views—a kind of bolshevist—though a well informed and intelligent man. In Cherokee politics, he was a member of the National Party. He had a large family of children.

Mode accused the Cherokee Board of Education of selling school positions. They had a go-between, so Mode charged, whose duty it was to notify appointees for the Board and collect the fee. Mode claimed to have a letter from a certain employee of the Board notifying him that his appointment to a certain teaching position was ready when he paid the fee of five dollars.

Mode's publicly charging the Cherokee National School Board with selling positions so irked them that Robert L. Owen went to see Mode about it. At this particular time of Owen's visit, Mode was out in the woods clearing some land. According to his story, he saw Owen coming on horseback with a winchester and a revolver strapped to his saddle and another revolver buckled around him. Mode put his axe on his shoulder and advanced to meet Owen, determined not to let him get the drop on him. In the conversation which followed, Mode told him of having this letter from the Board's employee but refused to show it to Owen, probably fearing that Owen might take it away from him. Upon Owen's return he said that he failed to get much satisfaction from Mode about the charges that he had made. (Of course it could have been possible that this employee alone was responsible for the charge in an effort to get a rake-off for himself, without the Board's having anything to do with it or even knowing about it.)

From 1904 to 1905 Parks was superintendent of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum,⁴ located four miles south of Tahlequah where the Sequoyah Indian Training School now is.

⁴ The Cherokee Orphanage was established at the Male Seminary in 1872. In 1874 the Cherokee National Council purchased the three story brick residence of

J. T. Parks was married in 1889 to Miss Etta Duncan whose home was on Lees creek, east of Sallisaw, near the Arkansas line. Her father was a farmer and operated a large steam cotton gin. She is of Cherokee and Scotch descent, being the daughter of John Duncan and Elizabeth Saunders. The Duncan family was quite numerous and has always played a conspicuous part in Cherokee and Oklahoma affairs.

Etta Duncan was born February 22, 1871 in a log house near Bunch, Cherokee Nation. In her childhood she attended the district schools of that vicinity. She lived in Ft. Smith with her older sister for a while and went to school there. She was later sent to the Female Seminary at Park Hill and was in school there when the building was burned, on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1887. It was there that the friendship was formed between Mr. Parks and Miss Duncan that ripened into a lifetime devotion. They were married near Park Hill at the home of her uncle, the Reverend Walter Adair Duncan, July 9, 1889. The *Telephone* of that date carried the following announcement of the wedding:

MARRIED

Parks-Duncan—Yesterday Miss Etta Duncan and Prof. J. T. Parks were quietly married by Reverend W. A. Duncan at his residence at Park Hill. Everything had the appearance of simplicity, there being no cards nor joyous sound of wedding bells to apprise anyone of the coming event. All was in readiness and the happy couple started on a bridal tour to Nashville, Tennessee. . . . They will attend the National Teachers' Association and visit other points of interest along the route.

The *Telephone* congratulates them and wishes them not only a safe return but that their bright anticipations may be realized in the form of prosperity and conjugal happiness.

The newly married couple made their home in Tahlequah and began housekeeping in a cottage at the corner of Delaware and Water streets, where the stone armory now stands. Mrs. Parks was always a meticulous housekeeper. The family lived at several different places in and around Tahlequah. They built a home on west Delaware street and lived there a short time, then moved to the farm, a mile west of town, where the city reservoir now stands. This place was then known as Ayres View. They lived here several years. Every morning Mr. Parks and the children would drive to town in the surrey or buggy, where the children went to school at the Presbyterian Mission while Mr. Parks attended to his legal duties or to

Lewis Ross at Salina and moved the Orphanage there. W. A. Duncan was superintendent of the school for the first twelve years, then the Reverend Joseph F. Thompson directed it for a number of years. November 17, 1903, the building at Salina was destroyed by fire and the orphanage was then returned to Tahlequah. After statehood the property was taken over by the Federal Government. In recent years the plant has been greatly enlarged and equipped with every modern convenience. The Sequoyah Indian Training School, the successor of the old Cherokee Orphanage, stands today as one of the foremost schools of its kind in the United States.

his mercantile business. In 1910, he bought the French place at the corner of College and Keetoowah streets in Tahlequah. This place was originally built by Johnson Thompson in 1890 as a wedding present for his daughter Janana when she married Bob French. At that time it was considered to be one of the finest residences in the Cherokee Nation. The stone for the building was dressed by hand by Pete Killaneta, a fullblood Indian. It took him about a year to complete the job. The Parks family lived happily for thirty years in this comfortable home, often entertaining their numerous friends and many prominent people from all over this section of the state. After Mr. and Mrs. Parks had grown older and the children had all married and established homes of their own, this place proved to be unnecessarily large and burdensome to keep up, hence they sold it and built a smaller and less pretentious house in north Tahlequah near the home of one of the daughters.

Mr. Parks always liked his sleep, and, especially in later life, he commonly retired early. The writer and his wife would frequently go over and visit with the family for a while after supper. When the Judge began to get sleepy he would yawn and say: "Well, Etta, I guess we'd better go to bed so our company can go home."

Parks was always happy, joyous, and contagiously optimistic in his home life. It was his custom, before going home from the office, to conceal in his pockets a package of gum, a stick of candy, or some other insignificant nicknack and observe the children's delight at finding it as they ran to meet him and eagerly searched him for the hidden treasure. Back in the days when the children were growing up he would arouse all of them in the morning and announce the advent of a new day by coming out into the hall and shouting the call to arise and prepare for breakfast in rhyme or in the Indian tongue. One of his expressions of early morning greeting was:

Get up! Day's a breakin
Peas in the pot, and hoeecake's a bakin.

Or sometimes the more elaborate one:

The lark is up to meet the sun
The bee is on the wing
The ant its labor has begun
The woods with music ring.

Or he frequently made the call with a combination of the three Indian words—Cherokee, Creek, and Seneca—each meaning "come and eat":

Ah-sti-nóo-gah (Cherokee)
Um-buc-chá (Creek)
Say-day-có-ney (Seneca)

Mr. and Mrs. Parks had six children, only two of whom are now living, Mrs. T. L. Ballenger of Tahlequah and Mrs. Manly Clark of Tulsa.

Parks attended the second inauguration of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States, on March 4, 1893. In a letter to his son, Junior, in 1935, he had this to say about the incident:

Forty-two years ago today I was in Washington, D. C. Saw Grover Cleveland sworn in as President and heard him deliver his message. It was a cold day, rainy and snowing, slushy streets. I went with some Ft. Smith democrats. We lived in the car, and rode in street cars drawn by mules. When the mule would balk, all the passengers would get out and push the car for aways till the old mule got to going again. I visited Mt. Vernon, went down the river on a boat.

During his last year of teaching Parks began the study of law. He said that he read the law dictionary, Greenleaf, Blackstone's Commentaries, and a few other books, "staid around in William P. Boudinot's office a while",⁵ and then went to Joab Scales, Clerk of the Cherokee Supreme Court, and got a license to practice. The fee was ten dollars. In 1896 he was also licensed by Federal Judge William M. Springer to practice in all territorial, state, or United States courts. At that time Federal court was held in the old Opera House where the Masonic building now stands. After statehood, his license to practice law was confirmed by the State Supreme Court, on January 4, 1909.

While going through the "starvation period" of his legal career he engaged in several other professions and businesses to help fill the family larder. In the early 'nineties he was city clerk for two years. He also served one term as clerk of Tahlequah district. For several years he sold general merchandise on the corner where the Liberty State Bank now stands. The *Cherokee Advocate* for March 23, 1892, carried this item: "J. T. Parks can suit you in teas, fôr he has B. F. Japan, Canyon, Young Hyson, Gun Powder, and Imperial. No teas opened from time they leave Japan till they reach Tahlequah." He was evidently still interested in education at this time for this issue of the *Advocate* also listed him on the program of the Teachers Institute to discuss "Natural Science in the Public Schools," along with W. A. Thompson, Reverend J. F. Thompson, H. W. C. Shelton, S. S. Stephens, H. C. Covell, and others. The Prison Files⁶ show that J. T. Parks rendered a statement November 1, 1895, to the National Jail for goods sold them to the amount of \$143.70. This was while George Roach was High Sheriff.

In 1894 the "Strip" payment was made to the Cherokees. This money was obtained from the sale of the Cherokee Outlet to the

⁵ William P. Boudinot was the brother of Elias Cornelius Boudinot and Frank Boudinot. They were the sons of the Elias Boudinot who was assassinated near Park Hill in 1839.

⁶ These original Prison Files are to be found in the State Historical Society at Oklahoma City.

Federal Government and amounted to some six and a half million dollars. Each Cherokee got \$265.70. A considerable part of this payment was dispensed at Tahlequah. The national treasurer, E. E. Starr, with a few Indian guards, would go to St. Louis, where they would get from a half million to a million dollars at a time, in bills of all denominations and in silver, bring it back on the train to Gibson station, and then haul it over to Tahlequah in wagons. During all this year while the payment was in progress many merchants and traders who had sold goods to the Indians on credit were busy in Tahlequah collecting their debts. Parks was in business at that time and kept in his store a little iron safe in which many of these out of town merchants and traders would deposit their money at night. Frequently he would have several thousand dollars in this little safe at one time. The depositors would come for their money in the morning and carry it around in their pockets during the day. No losses nor shortages were ever reported.

In 1898 and 1899 Parks edited the Tahlequah *Daily Sentinel*, and also the *Weekly Sentinel* for a while. The *Sentinel* at that time was the official Downing organ. Upon the occasion of his retiring from the management of this paper the *Cherokee Advocate* made this comment: "Mr. Story of Wagoner a practical newspaper man has superseded Mr. J. T. Parks of the *Sentinel* taking full control of it mechanically and the paper hereafter will be independent in politics. Welcome to our town Bro. Story—give us as good a paper as did our energetic Mr. Parks."

J. T., along with his brothers and sisters, inherited the old home place of four hundred acres on Cowskin prairie. J. T. bought out the other heirs in 1887 and then, in 1891, resold the farm to J. C. Parks.⁷ At different times before statehood he managed several different farms, and raised and shipped a considerable number of cattle. In 1887, when he grew stock on Cowskin Prairie, his cattle brand was a combination of JTP. His registered mark was a "split in left ear and over half-crop in right."⁸ Ten years later he had changed his brand to JEF on left hip or side but his mark remained the same.⁹ At statehood Mr. and Mrs. Parks and some of the children received their allotments in a body, located a mile west of Tahlequah, comprising almost a section. Here the family lived for some time and grew farm products, such as fruit, hay, and livestock. In common with most people of this period who dealt in livestock, Parks was a paid-up member of the Anti-Horse Thief Association.

Parks was Executive Secretary of the Cherokee Nation, under Chief Tom M. Buffington. In the race for the office of Principal Chief in 1899, Buffington was the Downing Party candidate against

⁷ Record of Improvement, Delaware District, C. N., (O.H.S.), #85, p. 226.

⁸ Record of Marks and Brands, C. N. (O. H. S.), #86, p. 11.

⁹ Record of Marks and Brands, Tahlequah District, C. N., (O. H. S.), p. 12.

Wolf Coon, the National Party candidate. The election was really not close; Buffington's majority was considerable. However, at the conclusion of the election, the National Party presented to the Cherokee Senate a petition bearing exactly one hundred names (the minimum number specified by law for such a purpose) protesting Buffington's election and demanding a recount. The senate appointed a committee to investigate the case. This committee made an investigation and reported back to the senate: that many of the names on the petition had been placed there by the captains of the various election districts, admittedly, without the knowledge of the person whose name was signed and without his having seen the petition; and that, after deducting Buffington's vote in the precincts where a recount was demanded, he would still have a clear majority. Consequently, the committee recommended that the protest be ignored. The senate adopted the committee's report and declared Buffington duly elected.¹⁰

In the capacity of Executive Secretary Parks not only conducted most of Buffington's correspondence, but, for the most part, wrote his annual messages and assisted extensively in the formulation of his policies, particularly those pertaining to education. The following is a letter written by him in reply to an enquiry from the British Consulate at Chicago regarding regulations in the Cherokee Nation "defining the genuineness of butter":¹¹

Sir:

Yours of the fourth inst. received requesting information regarding regulations defining the genuineness of butter. There are no government laboratories in this nation, nor has there ever been any scientific enquiry bearing on this matter, made by or under the direction of this office. This Territory is in reality under the control of Congress and the Indian Department of the United States. It is governed similar to the D. C. and Alaska, consequently, what local government there is here, has nothing to do with the subject matter of your Honor's enquiry.

Very respectfully

J. T. Parks, Executive Secy.

Tahlequah, Indian Territory

September 24, 1901.

To Honorable British Vice Consul.

Cars and roads suitable for cars evidently were not in vogue in this region during the first decade of the twentieth century, for Parks' expense account of this period shows a bill of \$10.50 to the Phoenix Livery, then operated by John F. Wilson, for "Buggy and Team 3½ days." The young and popular Waddie Hudson was the dashing "Beau Brummel" who brought the first car to Tahlequah. In the latter part of the first decade of this century he drove around over Tahlequah's chuggy, gravel streets back and forth to

¹⁰ Tahlequah *Daily Sentinel*, November 15, 1899.

¹¹ Original Letters, Phillips Collection, Oklahoma University. The envelope containing the Consul's enquiry had a black border around it, like a funeral announcement.

the depot, to church, and such places, in one of those little high stepping, open-air Fords, bordered by a shining brass band, giving a few of the elite populace the thrill of their lives with an occasional free ride, while the rabble watched the horseless contraption flit by in astonished wonderment.

Some of the sporting fraternity of early Tahlequah gave considerable attention to horseracing. The race track extended from the old Ben Davis property back toward the hills, and here the local racing celebrities ran their horses. John Boston was one of the most aristocratic racers. When one of his horses was in the race he would walk about half way down the track and, as his horse came by, would fire his revolver several times in rapid succession. This was the way he trained his horses, he said, and they understood this signal to mean for them to do their best. Parks relates that one time Sieb Cordray brought in a young filly from the country with burrs still in her mane and tail, and she beat everything on the track.

As Parks' legal business increased and brought him in contact with people in all parts of the Cherokee Nation the political bee began to "buzz in his bonnet", as so often happens among men of ambition and ability under similar circumstances. At statehood he was elected county judge of Cherokee county and served from 1908 to 1913.

Upon the occasion of his election the *Tahlequah Arrow*, of March 27, 1908, had this to say:

In electing Hon. J. T. Parks to the important post of county judge of Cherokee county the voters honored one of the Cherokee nation's most useful and distinguished members. . . . He has rendered splendid services to his people in past years and was an influential and prominent adviser in tribal legislation. . . .

Perhaps no one man in the new county could have been selected for the office of county judge who brought more desirable and necessary qualities to the bench. He is absolutely familiar with every phase of the perplexing questions arising under the new order of things. He has had long experience in large positions of trust. He knows the people intimately, being one of them, and is thus peculiarly fitted to protect the interests of the people. There will be very little chance for the county interests to suffer as long as he is judge.

As county judge he tried, and disposed of, 249 civil cases, 1,319 criminal cases, and 1,749 probate cases. He enforced the liquor laws so rigidly that one of the newspapers of the time predicted that "if Tahlequah should organize a brass band and the boys go on a 'Toot' they'd have to tell the judge where they got it."

Politics in Cherokee County after statehood had the reputation of being so corrupt that the election of an honest man to public office spoke especially well for the successful contestant. A few years

earlier than this the *Vinita Eagle* thus vented its spleen upon Cherokee politics:¹²

Somebody said, "Let us purify politics." We should love to do so, but no process has yet been discovered by which a rotten egg may be purified. Politics in the Cherokee Nation is beyond purification. Its condition is irremediable. It is beyond all hopes of recovery. Bury the dirty, decomposed thing out of sight so deep that a hyena would never scent it again.

One of Parks' opponents in one of his political races is said to have served liquor in certain voting precincts, telling the voters who drank it that the treats were on him, but to those who opposed it he reported that Parks sent it out. Upon a later occasion when one of his daughters was canvassing for him in Tahlequah she was informed by more than one fullblood voter that he would vote for her father for three dollars. From his first election as judge he was henceforth commonly known as "Judge Parks". After retiring from the county judgeship he served as mayor of Tahlequah for two years.

In the political campaign of 1923, Judge Parks supported Jack Walton for Governor and was successful in carrying Cherokee County for him and in influencing a large vote for him in some of the adjoining counties. Soon after Walton's inauguration he appointed District Judge J. E. Jarman to the State Supreme Court Commission, and then filled Jarman's place by the appointment of Parks as District Judge of the First Judicial District. After filling this position for three years, Parks was then elected by the people to fill the succeeding four year term.

Some of Judge Parks' characteristic political philosophy is expressed in a set of slogans which he used in his race for the office of district judge:

The law is made to protect the innocent by punishing the guilty.

If judges would make their decisions just, they should behold neither plaintiff, defendant, nor pleader, but only the cause itself.

The law should always be in conformity to justice. An honest man nearly always thinks justly.

Justice is the constant desire and effort to render to every man his due.

Justice delayed is justice denied.

Kindness is the golden chain by which society is bound together.

Justice is the off-spring of God and is perfect, law is the creature of man and bears his weaknesses.

One thing certain you can count on when you go to law, is the expense.

The secret of success is hard work.

Hard workers are usually honest.

¹² Quoted in the *Tahlequah Arrow*, July 13, 1901.

Back in territorial days from as early as 1885 to the end of the century, Parks was appointed administrator of some of the Parks' estates, the Thompson estates, and others. In these cases the official records show that he reported back to the courts the disposition of the estates in proper form,¹³ giving to the minor heirs the legitimate returns from their property rather than diverting them to his personal profit, as did so many unscrupulous administrators of that time. Many well-to-do people can be pointed out in this section of the state today who laid the basis of their fortunes by swindling some ignorant Indian out of his property through collusion with a corrupt judge. When Parks was elected county judge, Cherokee county had a wide area of Indian-owned land, and the task of fixing, correcting, and keeping Indian titles and Indian guardianships was enormous. Yet he rendered a full and complete account of his stewardship with an untarnished record, turning over to the county \$17,453.05 net revenue. Parks was also appointed by Chief Samuel H. Mayes, in 1897, to represent the Cherokee Nation in the prosecution of several important legal cases in Illinois, Flint, and Tahlequah districts.¹⁴

During his seven years of service as District Judge, Parks heard many important cases, both civil and criminal. He sentenced many criminals to the penitentiary who realized the justice of their sentences and remained his loyal friends ever after. Men whom he had forgotten would frequently come to him in later years and remind him that he sentenced them to a term in the penitentiary and would express their loyal friendship to him. He rendered one famous decision (*Henson et al. v. Johnson et al.*)¹⁵ based upon an earlier decision of the Cherokee Supreme Court in the Teehee case. The gist of the decision was that Cherokee law and custom from the earliest times did not recognize common law marriages; that a marriage, to be legal, must be performed by a recognized minister of the Gospel or by a judge of one of the courts. The claimant heirs who were suing in this case appealed the case to the State Supreme Court where it was thoroughly reviewed, and the decision rendered by Judge Parks was upheld. The major basis of his decisions seemed to be justice and equity rather than rigid legality, though few decisions that he rendered were ever reversed by a higher court.

When Parks became district judge he established the precedent of holding court sessions at night, as well as in the daytime. The district was short of funds and the court dockets were becoming cluttered up with cases. This in turn caused delay in the ad-

¹³ Reports of Administrators, Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, #92, pp. 81-82, 89; Reports of Administrators, Cooweescoowee District, C. N., #55, (O. H. S.), p. 207.

¹⁴ S. H. Mayes Correspondence, Book K, p. 238, F. P. C., University of Oklahoma.

¹⁵ *Oklahoma Reports*, vol. 117, pp. 87-92 .

ministration of justice and tended to bring the courts into disrepute. By holding night sessions the dockets were cleared, respect for the court was restored, and the taxpayers were saved thousands of dollars. For personal reasons some of the attorneys opposed the innovation but the people of the district generally approved it.

Perhaps the Judge's honesty sometimes caused him to overconfide in other people. In the early part of his first term as district judge he established a system of paroles for first offenders, especially if they were young men. Under this plan he had as many as thirty-seven on parole at one time, and he claims that, in his entire judicial career, only three parolees ever violated his confidence. Upon one occasion, after his retirement from office, he recommended to the Governor of the state a parole from the penitentiary of a certain Cherokee offender who lived down in the Cookson hills. He assured the Governor that when any Cherokee promised upon his word of honor to return to prison at a certain time he would never violate his pledge. With this assurance the parole was granted. But when the time came for his return the Cherokee culprit decided that he preferred to stay at home, hence, the duty devolved upon Judge Parks to have him arrested and returned to prison.

Some peculiar legal freaks occurred in the Cherokee Nation in connection with the passage of the Curtis Act, in 1898. This act, as is well known, abolished tribal courts in the Indian Territory and transferred all legal business to the Federal courts. Just before the act was passed a certain Cherokee citizen of Illinois district had been tried by the Cherokee court for murder, had been convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. Almost immediately after his sentence the culprit escaped to Arkansas. Before his apprehension the Curtis Act became operative in the Indian Territory. The Cherokee court had finished the case and instructed the sheriff to administer the sentence. While the man was in hiding the Curtis Act had abolished the office of sheriff, consequently there was nothing further of record concerning the case.

After a time the Cherokee murderer became homesick for his native haunts and sent word to the sheriff of Illinois District to come and get him. The sheriff informed him that all Cherokee courts had been abolished, that he was no longer sheriff, that there was no officer nor court having any further jurisdiction over his case, and that, as far as he was concerned, he could come on back to Illinois district. Upon this advice the Indian did return to his former home and lived there unmolested the rest of his life.

Since Judge Parks had been an active participant in local and state politics for so many years it was next to impossible for him to leave the profession alone, even after he had himself retired from public office. He was like the old cavalry horse or the proverbial

fire horse. When the guns fired or the bells rang they automatically rushed back into the harness. He could not refrain from taking a hand in politics as long as he had the energy to do so and the opportunity presented itself. He had had so much experience in politics and knew so many methods of approach that candidates were usually anxious to avail themselves of his assistance. Opposition never bluffed nor discouraged him, it only spurred him on to greater effort.

The Cherokee people as a whole have lived a fighting life, but they realized two centuries ago that their chief opponent was the aggrandizing white man, consequently they laid aside the scalping knife and their dueling pistols and learned to fight the white man with his own weapon—politics. They learned its use well and they know how to use it in combatting each other as well as they do in opposing the white man.

The Honorable Robert L. Owen, in his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1886, said:¹⁶

"The Cherokees in their local self government are the most ardent politicians on the face of the earth, without exception. Each party has a thorough and complete organization, each with its own platform, its three district lodge captains, its district managers, its three head managers, its manipulators. Each gives barbecues, has speakers to talk for them, and they villify the opposing party with as much vigor and in as ingenious a manner as could possibly be desired or hoped for in the most enlightened community. They resort to all the schemes known to mortal man to secure voters for their respective parties. They get the voter's bearing from every point of the compass; they know his church, his neighbors, his kin, his old party difficulties, his boon companions; they measure up his personal pride, his present need, his ambition, etc., and bring all this influence to bear. These things are educating the Cherokees, making them think. They now look to and demand the record, and, as a people, are well posted in the affairs of their nation."

The last political campaign in which Judge Parks took an active part was the state senatorial race in 1936 from this district, although he was not a candidate.

T. J. Parks, the father of Jeff T. Parks, was a charter member of Cherokee Lodge No. 10, the oldest Masonic Lodge in Oklahoma. The son later joined the same lodge at Tahlequah and, for a number of years prior to his death, wore a fifty-year membership badge. He was a 32nd degree Mason. He was also a life long member of the Methodist church.

Living, as Parks did, through the main period of Cherokee national achievement and being located in the capital of the Cherokee Nation, right in the heart and center of public affairs, and then living on well into a half century of Oklahoma's development and actively participating in the establishment of the new state, he naturally accumulated a great store of anecdotes and reminiscences

¹⁶ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1886, p. 150.

of prominent people, and a remembrance of many happenings. He of course never knew John Ross for this famous chief died when Parks was only four years of age; but he was intimately acquainted with every other chief from William P. Ross to William C. Rogers. Besides the chiefs, he had an acquaintance with many other men prominent in public affairs: statesmen, crooks, politicians, etc. He knew the Boudinots, the Bells, the Waties, the Adairs, the Cunningshams, the Thompsons, the Rogers, the McSpaddens, and all of them. Upon a listener's demanding proof of a certain occurrence to which the Judge alluded on one occasion, he replied: "Huh, I don't have to prove it, I was there."

It seems that Parks' father was instrumental in getting Oo-che-la-ta (Charles Thompson) nominated for the office of chief. Many of the fullbloods had a strong dislike for William P. Ross. When it was known that Ross would run for the office of chief in 1871 the question among them was: Whom can we put up to beat him? Parks' father suggested that Oo-che-la-ta could do it, hence he was nominated and elected. Oo-che-la-ta was an intelligent Indian but was considerably under the influence of a white man by the name of W. L. G. Miller, who was his executive secretary. He usually followed Miller's advice.¹⁷ Oo-che-la-ta was somewhat peculiar in his dress. It was the fashion in those days for men of prominence to wear long linen "dusters" but they were usually worn only in the summer time. However, it was not at all unusual to see Chief Oo-che-la-ta trudging across the capital square, through the snow, wearing a straw hat and a linen duster.

Upon the death of Chief John Ross, in 1866, his nephew, William P. Ross filled out his unexpired term, then the council elected him to serve another term. He lived a long time after this and held other positions of honor and trust in the nation. Bill Gott, an early resident of the nation, was of German descent. He and William P. Ross were not very good friends. Upon one occasion, when Gott was applying for reappointment as steward at the Male Seminary and Ross was in the senate, Ross, in a speech on the question, told the story of a wounded wolf that was near death from bleeding. His companion would scare the flies away, but the dying animal admonished him to let them alone, that they were already satiated with his blood. "If you drive them away," he said, "new and unfilled ones will come and suck my blood faster. Leave the old ones there." "Consequently," concluded Mr. Ross, "I am going to vote for Mr. Gott's reappointment to this position."

¹⁷ Dr. Miller practiced law. If a judge rendered a decision against him, he would seek revenge by bringing impeachment charges against the offending judge. The charges would usually fail, of course, but this proved to be such a flagrant evil that the Cherokee National Council passed a law forbidding anyone to practice law while holding the office of executive secretary.

In his young manhood Mr .Parks was deeply impressed with the personality of William Penn Adair.¹⁸ He is responsible for the following reminiscence of him:

"I remember distinctly the first time I ever saw William Penn Adair. It was in the early seventies. I had come down to Tahlequah to enter the Male Seminary. William Penn Adair came into the room where I was, with his broad brimmed hat, his long hair, and his fine boots—all of which was so characteristic of him—looking to me like a million dollars. He was a fine looking man. He spoke to me, asked me who I was, where I lived, and what I was doing in Tahlequah. Upon being told that I was here to go to school he said: 'Name the presidents of the United States.' At that time I barely knew that George Washington was one of them."

When William Penn Adair ran for second chief in 1878, Huckleberry Downing was running for chief against Dennis W. Bushyhead. Speaking to a crowd in which were a number of Negroes he told them that they should all vote for Huckleberry Downing who had fought and voted for their freedom from slavery, instead of for him and Bushyhead. But Adair was elected and Downing was defeated.

Upon another occasion when political antagonisms were quite strong William Penn Adair remarked: "Well, it doesn't make much difference for whom you vote; when we are elected we all meet at the capital, shake hands, and immediately vote all of the money out of the treasury."

Parks tells of a trial which he attended when he was a young man:

"I attended court once in Delaware district when Joel Mayes was judge and George Parris' daughter was being tried for stealing a hog. The trial was held in a little log court house a short distance west of the present town of Jay. There were a few split-log seats in one end of the house for the jury, lawyers, and witnesses, and the rest of the little room was without seats. The spectators either stood in this open space or sat on the floor around the walls.

"George Parris was sitting flat on the floor in the rear of the room leaning back against the wall. One witness took the stand and swore that the hog which the girl was accused of stealing weighed about two hundred pounds. George Parris shouted right out in open court: 'That's a lie, it was nothing but a little shoat; she just throwed it over her

¹⁸ William Penn Adair, born in 1830, was the son of George Washington Adair. He fought in the Confederate army under General Stand Watie and attained the rank of Colonel, commanding the First Indian Brigade. His command was the last of the Trans-Mississippi Department to surrender. He was a member of the Cherokee peace commission that negotiated the treaty of 1866 with the Federal Government. He also represented the Cherokee Nation on later missions to Washington, in fact he was on one of these missions when he died. He served as second chief under Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead. He died in Washington, D. C., October 23, 1880, but was brought back to Tahlequah for burial. On November 17, 1880, the Cherokee National Council appropriated \$1,661.33 to pay for his funeral expenses. (For a biographical sketch, see Cherrie Adair Moore, "William Penn Adair," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1951), pp. 32-41.)

shoulder with one hand and brought it home on her back.' At the conclusion of the trial the girl was pronounced 'not guilty' on the grounds that there was too much discrepancy between the hog described in the indictment and the one that the girl had stolen."

Oklahoma politicians have not added many tricks to their political repertoire since Cherokee days. Timothy Walker was a prominent leader among the Cherokees. He was a very large man, weighing about three hundred pounds. At one time he was elected district judge of Illinois District. Later he was made superintendent of the Female Seminary at Park Hill, which position he held at the time the seminary was burned on April 10, 1887.

There were some three hundred Creek voters in Illinois district, who, for some reason, were close friends of Tim Walker and looked to him for advice, particularly at voting time. Walker was a Nationalist, as were all of his sons except one. Dick belonged to the Downing party. The Cherokees in Illinois District were about equally divided between the two political parties, hence the three hundred Creeks, under Walker's leadership, always held the balance of power in elections.

One time two of Walker's sons, Jack and Dick, both entered the race for district judge, the one on the National ticket and the other on the Downing. As the time for the election drew near the Creeks sent a delegation to their friend Walker for instructions as to how they should vote. Walker told them that since he had two sons in the same race he could not advise them but that they could use their own judgment and vote for whichever one they pleased.

The day before election Dick sat down and wrote a letter to the Creeks, signed his father's name to it, and got a friend to deliver it to their leader. This is what he wrote:

Dear Friends:

Since I have two sons in the race for district judge I am not at liberty to take sides in the election. However, if you want to cast your vote for Dick you will make no mistake.

Your friend,
Tim Walker.

Upon receipt of the letter the Creeks were called together and the letter was read to them. The next day they went to the polls and voted for Dick. He was the first Downing man to be elected in Illinois District for many years.

Cornelius Boudinot at one time had a contract to furnish meat to the Male Seminary. W. B. Alberty was the steward at the seminary at that time and Aunt Eliza Alberty supervised the culinary department. They heard in some way that Boudinot was sending them bull meat. So, when his Negro workman, Nelson Lowrey, drove up with the next load of beef, Aunt Eliza went out and announced to him: "You can just drive on, Nelse, and you tell Cornelius

Boudinot that we don't want any more of his old bull meat." Parks rode back to town with Nelse on that occasion. As they drove up under the old postoak at the edge of the square, Cornelius came over to where they were and asked Nelse why he had not delivered the meat. Nelse told him what Aunt Eliza had said. Cornelius remarked with a chuckle: "Huh, it's fat."

One Saturday morning a man came into the Judge's office and told him that a certain fullblood acquaintance of his wanted to see him. Judge Parks remarked that he would be through in a few minutes and that he could then come in. "No," said his informant, "he is in the city jail and wants you to come down there." Parks went down shortly and found that his friend had been in jail several days and that he wanted Parks to go on his bond and get him out. The Cherokee reminded him that the next day was Sunday, that he had a Sunday School class, and that he was anxious to get out of jail so he could teach his Sunday School class the next day. Parks refused to sign his bond but persuaded the chief of police to release him upon his promise to return Monday.

Johnson Quinton was a fullblood Cherokee who lived at Barber. There were three or four of the Quinton boys, some of them fairly well-to-do and prominent citizens in their different communities. They attended the Male Seminary in former years. In the Fall of 1936, Johnson was a candidate for constable on the Republican ticket in the Barber township, and, in a conversation with Parks at Tahlequah one day, told him of his candidacy. Judge Parks said to him: "Well, Johnson, if you should be elected constable and I should come down there and get drunk, what would you do?" Johnson replied with a smile, "I would get drunk with you."

In the middle 'nineties, there was a hostelry on Fourteen Mile creek on the main road between Tahlequah and Wagoner, commonly known as the Effie Crittenden Station. At this old log house, about midway between the two towns, many people, both reputable and otherwise, were accustomed to stop for a night's lodging and a good meal or two.

Jim Cook, the leader of the so-called Cook gang of Cherokee bad men, frequently stopped here on his travels through the country, finding friendly accommodations here without coming into too close contact with the law. These boys are said to have sent Mrs. Crittenden to Tahlequah in 1894 with a requisition for their part of the Strip payment that was issued in that year. In some way the officers "got wind" of their being at Mrs. Crittenden's place and tried to capture them. An early morning battle took place here on this historic little creek between the gang and the officers but the bandits were too shrewd for the officers and finally escaped. Mr. Crittenden, the husband of Effie, was killed in this fight. The Cook boys had a feeling that he was responsible for the tip to the officers

of their whereabouts. Some time after this fight Jim Cook was shot and killed by a Negro upon whose premises he was trespassing.

In 1925 when Judge Parks was holding District Court at Sallisaw, an Indian was convicted of murder. When the time came for sentencing him the judge asked him if he had anything to say. He expressed no desire to speak. The judge then pronounced sentence, which was: "Ten years in the penitentiary at McAlester at hard labor". After a few moments of serious thought, the Indian then asked if he might speak. The request being granted, he rose and said: "Judge, couldn't you leave off that 'hard labor', I just don't believe I can stand that".

Judge Parks liked to tell this story illustrating difference of opinion about him. A certain wealthy doctor of Tulsa put up a hardwood mill in Adair county. He failed to make a success with the mill and decided to raise livestock on the place. He employed Jack Robbins to look after the place. Jack was to get a salary and a certain part of the livestock. One day when Jack was away the doctor sent down and got all of the stock. Robbins brought suit in Parks' court for his share of the stock. After some weeks of delay they compromised and settled the case out of court. The doctor later met Parks and told him that, although he did not get as good a settlement as he thought he should have had, he compromised because he was afraid Parks would favor the poor man. Soon afterwards Parks also met Robbins and said to him: "Well, Jack, I see you compromised your case with the doctor." "Yes," he said, "I got a very good settlement though not what I should have had. I compromised, however, because I was afraid you would favor the rich man."

Throughout most of his life Judge Parks enjoyed excellent health, but, at the age of seventy-two, he became afflicted with arthritis to such an extent that his activities were greatly hampered. For several months he remained under the care of a physician. At the beginning of his attack he was told that with careful attention to his health he might possibly live two or three years longer. But at the expiration of three years he was on his feet again and able to resume his office duties, to a limited extent. He was never strong again, however, his ailment having left his upper limbs slightly paralyzed.

He died as the result of a fall which occurred in Wichita, Kansas, May 25, 1951, in the eighty-ninth year of his life. As there was no eye-witness, it is not known just exactly how the accident occurred. He had been driven there from Tahlequah by his daughter to visit another daughter who was ill. Immediately upon his arrival at his daughter's home in Wichita he fell down the basement stairs, passing away within about an hour and without regaining consciousness. Although he had grown somewhat feeble

in his later days he always walked without assistance, going up and down stairs regularly. He even walked to his office, the distance of about a mile, on his eighty-ninth birthday.

His attachment to the legal business induced him to continue light office work long after he was unable to plead cases or to fulfill the more arduous legal duties. He looked after cases involving land titles, divorce, and the drawing up of legal papers right up to the time of his death. He regularly perused a considerable list of newspapers and magazines for the current happenings of the world, and particularly kept up with the latest decisions of the state and Federal courts. In his later years he enjoyed talking over old times, recalling early acquaintances, and relating stories and jokes about people with whom his public career had brought him in contact. He rarely voiced a note of pessimism but always maintained an optimistic outlook on life.

While the machine politicians sometimes berated him for "getting off the reservation", no one who knew him—not even his enemies—ever questioned his uprightness of character or the fundamental ideals of honesty and good citizenship for which he always stood. He seemed to have learned early in life that little is to be gained by lamenting over the inevitable or by nursing hatreds that are impossible of vindication. To understand his outlook on life and the happy spirit with which he faced and subdued the problems that confronted him is to have some insight into the sturdy worth of the typical Cherokee.

Of course, Jeff Thompson Parks had his faults and shortcomings. Who of us can cast the first stone? But the good qualities that constitute the sum total of his inspiring personality so far exceeded the bad qualities that the latter pale into insignificance in comparison. If there were more men with his firm conviction of right and justice and with his determination to practice these principles in dealing with his fellowmen the average standard of citizenship would be much higher.

WICHITA DEATH CUSTOMS¹

By Karl Schmitt

INTRODUCTION

A purpose of archaeology is to reconstruct in so far as possible the culture or way of life of extinct groups of people. Ethnology has an aim of understanding the life of living groups of people, or of groups in the ethnological present. Ethnologists can arrive at their goal through actual observation of people in action, through conversing with and questioning informants, through reading descriptions of past observers, or through combinations of these techniques. Archaeologists, of necessity, base much of their reconstruction on the analysis of material remains. But, since both archaeologists and ethnologists are concerned with culture, there is an overlapping of interests. Particularly in the realm of death and burial practices is this so. Archaeologists place great emphasis on burial practices in determining relationships, and ethnologists often find the rites and behavior at this time of crisis most illuminating in understanding the total patterning of a given culture. A presentation of the data concerning Wichita death customs may be of help in identification of archaeological sites of possible Wichita provenience and aid in the interpretation of material from known Wichita sites.

Present Wichitas are the consolidated and intermarried remnants of several groups which formerly were politically independent and of much greater population. The Wichita proper, the Waco, and the Tawakoni were culturally and linguistically similar, while the Kichai, although similar in general culture, were divergent linguistically. The Wichita proper were visited in central Kansas in 1541 by Coronado. The Waco and Tawakoni, if they were separate groups at this time, presumably ranged south in what is now present Oklahoma. The Kichai at the same period appear to have been much further to the south and associated with Caddo-speaking groups. After this time there was a southward movement of the Wichita-speaking groups and by 1760 they were established in villages along

¹ This paper was presented at the 1951 meetings of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society at San Angelo. Data were gathered from modern Wichitas in the vicinity of Anadarko, Oklahoma during the years of 1947-51 when the author was conducting ethnological investigations under the auspices of the Faculty Research Committee, the Institute of Human Studies, and the Department of Anthropology, all of the University of Oklahoma. Although a number of informants were used, one individual, Mrs. Cora West, was the principal source of information and gave the most complete data. This is partially because she is one of two Wichitas who lived in the last concentrated Wichita village and thus actually participated in the old culture. She was born near present Wichita, Kansas during the Civil War, when the Wichita and related groups sought refuge there, and is the oldest member of her tribe.

or south of the Red River. With later declines in population there was a general northward movement which finally culminated with the consolidation of the Wichita-speaking groups and the Kichai in the Indian Territory in 1859. The descendants of these groups form the present Wichita tribe. Although Caddo groups and one band of the Delaware were also placed on the Wichita Reservation at the same time, they preserved their cultural identity and in particular still have different burial customs.

Thus, the Wichita and other related groups have lived within the boundaries of the present states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas during the last three centuries, and presumably have left a number of archaeological sites which have not been historically identified. The data presented herein refer specifically to the period of the 19th century but may furnish links to help in the identification of older sites.

DESCRIPTIVE DATA

People who were seriously ill were moved to a tipi set up in the family's housing area, and treated there by medicine men or "doctors." My oldest informant became very emotional when the possibility of a death occurring in a grass house was posed, and said, "Nobody die in grass house!" Close association with menstruating women, women near parturition, and sick people could be detrimental to the health of others, particularly men; such people were often separated from the rest of the household. When death appeared imminent word was sent for all the relatives to assemble and even distant cousins (who were "brothers" and "sisters" in Wichita terminology) were expected to come. After death occurred there was no set period of time before burial took place; instead it was considered desirable to have the interment as soon as possible. However, all the relatives had to gather first. At this time a hair cutting ceremony took place:

CW was present at such a ceremony when she was a little girl. Her aunt and step-mother took her to a tipi where a relative had died. On her arrival, she noticed a deceased girl covered up on the ground south of the central fire and a pile of hair and a butcher knife between the corpse and the fire. There were a lot of people present—"just family and friends." Everybody had to cut off part of their hair "to show respect." CW's aunt cut her own hair with the knife and then CW's. All hair was placed on the pile near the fire. A grandmother or an aunt sat at the feet of the deceased and "had charge of hair cutting business." Women cut their hair straight around while men cut theirs on one side only.² Afterwards some of the women took the hair and scattered it into the water of a nearby creek.

Soon after the relatives had shown their respect, the actual interment occurred. Non-relatives dug the grave and were rewarded

² Men wore their hair loose and shoulder length. A few early photographs of prominent Wichita individuals have been examined. Several had hair longer on one side than the other. CW said this was due to their having been in mourning.

with presents of blankets or robes. The family would ask some old person, usually a woman, to dig the grave and she in turn would ask someone else to help her. Graves were in a cemetery area adjacent to the village and preferably on a hillside, although occasionally there were burials in bottom land. The cemetery of the last consolidated village³ of the Wichitas occupied during the 1870's was on a hillside to the north and slightly east of the village. In shape the grave was an approximate rectangle and oriented east and west.

The body was washed in warm water and dressed in the deceased's best clothes, and the face was painted. If a man had been a warrior, his "warrior's outfit" consisting of bow and arrows, rawhide shield, warbonnet, and medicine bundle might be placed in the grave also. However, the deceased might have expressed a desire that a nephew⁴ or a son have his paraphernalia and then it would not be included in the grave. CW said it seemed that men gave such material to a nephew rather than to a son. Even if the uncle had not specifically made a verbal will, the nephew could take such paraphernalia for his own. Similarly a man's friend, who was also a special war partner, could claim the man's possessions. Deceased persons who had been doctors might be accompanied by their medicine objects, and CW mentioned in particular a type of whistle made from a "deer-shank" or metapodial bone which was part of the paraphernalia of "deer doctors." Women might have implements placed in the grave.

The body was wrapped in blankets and rawhides. After 1880-90, canvas and cotton sheets were used. First rawhides were placed in the grave, and the encased body was laid on them. Then more rawhides were placed over the body. The rawhide wrappings were often perforated and laced. The body was extended on the back with the head to the east.⁵ This position seems to symbolize a separation of the living and dead; present-day Wichitas remember how disturbed grandparents and other relatives got when they as children started to sleep with their heads to the east instead of in the approved position of having the head to the west. Dirt would be thrown into the grave by the non-relatives who had done the digging.

During the burial the women present would wail, particularly if the deceased had been a young person or in the prime of life. A young warrior's death occasioned the greatest display. Death of a very old person did not need to be mourned much, if at all, since

³ Karl Schmitt, "Wichita-Kiowa Relations and the 1874 Outbreak," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), p. 155.

⁴ Only a man's sister's son was a nephew in the older Wichita kinship system. In later times a brother's son also was considered a nephew and could share in the inheritance.

⁵ At the present time "white" undertakers have charge of burials and their custom of placing the head to the west causes middle-aged and older Wichitas some concern. Tombstones erected by Wichitas are on the east end of the grave plot.

the individual had had a long life and death was to be expected, and he would really be better off in the afterworld. I have the impression, though cannot prove it, that old people sometimes were suspected of having long lives through the practice of witchcraft and as such were not deserving of mourning. Persons actually executed as witches were not mourned, even by close relatives, since grieving would be a tantamount to admitting that the mourner was himself a witch. The name of the deceased ideally was never mentioned again unless he was thought to be a witch and not worthy of such respect.

At the site of the grave an aged man might be asked by the family to talk and offer prayers, particularly if the deceased had been prominent or a young warrior. The mother or some close female relative often cut up tipi poles and erected a structure over the grave. This consisted of two crossed pieces at each end of the grave, a bar connecting the two, and pieces leaned against the bar from both sides—in final result, a tent-shaped structure. No dinner honoring the dead person was held and food was not offered at the grave.

Following the burial, the tipi was smoked with cedar and aired out and could be used again by the family. If the death had occurred on a war expedition, and the body not brought back, there was no symbolic burial, but the grass house in which the deceased had lived was smoked with cedar and the family continued to inhabit it.

Following the funeral, members of the family were still in mourning. If they were one of the leading families in the village, or a family of means, then non-relatives came to mourn with them. CW described this as follows: .

When son or daughter of a first-class, well-to-do, principal family die, the whole village go to the home of the deceased and wail, cry, and mourn with the family. People just keep coming in. Each group stay about ten minutes. The mother or sister (of the deceased) go around to every visitor and take hand and wipe tears off their faces and say, "Let's quit crying—we've cried long enough." Take dishpan and wash visitors faces—give visitors shawls, blankets, and other presents. Then other people come in. By time mourning (is) over, family hardly got anything left—give away everything they have. They stay in mourning for a month or more. Kinfolks bring things they really need, 'til they establish their own home again.

The close relatives of the deceased were in possible danger of death since the spirit could return and try to entice them to joining it in the afterworld. To counter this, one or two ceremonies were held. CW described them as follows:

Family has lost close relative, a brother, a mother. After burial, in next four days, they get medicine man to bathe them in medicated water, then smoke them in cedar leaves. After that they are clear of association with dead ones. If they didn't give the bath and smoke, every night she see him (dead relative). Then she sort of pine, gets sickly.

Then people say she ought to get her bath. After that is done they seem to straighten out.

When anybody dies in family, after burying is over—a few days after, they call some old man, a doctor, to come to that family to make smoke for them. He has a long pipe. He goes in house. All family is together. Whenever doctoring anybody, do it on south side of tipi. Doctor gets coal for pipe from south side of fire, takes four puffs. (He) blow up in air. Just puff straight up and not to the directions. Throws head up. He makes talk, just like praying to God—God is up. He says, "this family, this death would turn them loose from any more death." Then the doctor starts pipe—first father, then mother, then goes clean around as many as are in) family and back to doctor (clockwise). Then he makes smooth place south of fire and empties bowl on ground. He mixes ashes up with dirt and rubs in hands. Doctor goes clean around whole family, rubs hands down them starting at head—that frees them. (The "power" from above, the smoke, and the earth is in his hands.) Folks give doctor blanket of own free will.

Most informants agree that the medicated bath formerly was given in a nearby creek and not in the house, but in the present-day situation such baths are given in the houses. Curtis mentions that baths were taken in the creek on each of four days after death of a relative.⁶

The death of any person was observed with a four day mourning period by the entire village. During this time no dancing, games, or gambling were indulged in. At the end of the four days a representative of the family would have it announced by the town crier that the people had mourned long enough and that it was now all right for them to go ahead and beat the drum and enjoy themselves. Then the village returned to its normal activities. As late as 1949, a group of Wichitas conservative to the older religion delayed a scheduled dance for four days after the death of a young man.

A surviving spouse and the close relatives of the deceased observed a much longer mourning period, which was ended in a ritual described by CW as follows:

When a man dies his people take over looking after his wife. She's supposed to give away everything she had—wasn't allowed to put on any gay clothes or paint, or look good. His people would set a time that they would turn her loose. Husband's family, the women folk, gather up everything a woman wears and pick a certain day. They go to her house and present her with new things—things to eat, pans, dishes. They take her, put on new clothes, comb and braid hair, paint her face, put on beads and bracelets—full dress. Always have some old woman in bunch—the dead man's grandmother. She talk to her (the wife) and advise her how to live—how good it was to live right, think of her people, never leave them. Then have a feast. Dead boy's mother goes wailing and crying—gives daughter-in-law a talk, too. She say, "Now you are loose, go ahead and live as you want to." They (the man's family) didn't have no more to

⁶ Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, Vol. 19, 1930, p. 42.

to looking after her. She can marry anytime she wants to. They warn her to take her time, pick out a good man.⁷

When a man loses his woman they aren't so strict. He's supposed to guard himself—not go to doings. They don't hold a man as long as they did a woman. When they turn him loose they take presents to him—man's clothes. The girl's people take the presents. (The presents are taken to the man since at the death of his wife he goes home to his mother's or sister's place.)

After death the spirit left the body and was thought to go to one of a number of villages up in the sky. There it and other spirits lived a life like that lived on earth. It was said that the dead in the villages above knew what was happening in the villages of living people below. Sometimes people would say after a death, "His people must be glad to see him." Not all spirits went to the after-world; those of murderers, suicides, and inveterate gamblers could not be with the rest. It was not reported specifically what happened to those of murderers and suicides: however, since Wichitas did and do believe strongly in ghosts that remain around burial areas and even old haunts of the living, it would appear that they remained on earth. Spirits of individuals who had gambled to excess lined the road or pathway which went to the afterworld. Young people who were inclined to gamble were told, "When you die, you don't want to be a castaway!" The spirits of gamblers are lined "on the pathway—they just sit there gambling."

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

1. It should be emphasized that, with few exceptions, the data herein reported are in ideal patterns. Furthermore, these patterns would be ones to which "leading families," or ones prominent in village affairs, would try to adhere. Only important families would go through with complete and ornate hair-cutting, burial, give-away, bathing-smoking, and spouse-freeing ceremonies. In Wichita thinking, lower-class families, poor families, and small families (in the extended sense) seem synonymous. Thus, one hears sayings such as, "He is poor, he doesn't have any relatives." Less fortunate families would make the best approach possible to the ideal, but ceremonies—particularly the give-away and spouse-freeing—would suffer because of the small number of relatives involved, because of the lack of property, and because of no need for "putting up a front."

2. Obviously a great majority of the traits associated with Wichita death customs would not be preserved in archaeological sites. However, Wichita burials of the 19th century, and perhaps the latter half of the 18th, would be expected to occur in cemetery areas and to exhibit rectangular or long oval burial pits, east-west

⁷ Often, particularly if there were children, a young woman would marry a brother of her husband; or a man would marry a sister of his wife. This practice of levirate and sororate does not seem to have been absolutely obligatory, but to have had strong positive sanctions.

orientation, and an extended position of body with the head placed in an easterly direction. Artifacts accompanying burials should vary widely, with few or none being found in many interments. Graves of poorer individuals would not be expected to have very many artifacts. But also, due to extensive "give-aways" and the rights of nephews and friends, graves of well-to-do people could be relatively barren of materials. Grave goods to be expected occasionally would be: stone and metal arrowheads, knives, whetstones, flint strike-a-lights, and guns with male burials; very occasionally pottery or metal containers and various bone or metal gardening and skin-working tools with female burials; bone or glass beads and metal trade ornaments remaining from costumes with burials of both sexes; and deer- or eagle-bone whistles, bone or horn sucking tubes, and a wide range of miscellaneous objects remaining from medicine bundles accompanying both male and female "doctors." Generally speaking grave goods would be expected to be scarce.⁸

Since the Wichita occupation of Kansas-Oklahoma-Texas was late in time and since portions of these states have relatively small amounts of annual precipitation, ordinarily perishable materials should occasionally be found with burials. This would be particularly so if the body was well laced in rawhides with other hides above and below.

3. A comparison of the data presented here and those reported by Dorsey is of interest.⁹ Although I had read Dorsey previous to doing field work, his data did not influence the gathering of mine. In collecting data, I had my informants "volunteer" statements on general topics, such as death and burial. Also, although some of my informants were aware that a man named Dorsey had once written something about the Wichita, they appeared to have been uninfluenced by that source. Dorsey's and my material are in agreement in major outline and in most details. This is of interest because it is indicative of the fact that two ethnological observers can duplicate or verify each other's work, and perhaps of greater interest since Dorsey did his field work in 1901-3 and I almost fifty years later.

⁸ After the delivery of the paper, Mr. Ed Jelks of the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys commented on the two burials excavated at the Stansbury site on the Brazos River above Waco, Texas. This site is thought to be that of one of the two Tawakoni villages visited by de Mezieres in 1772. The two burials were near each other in long, oval pits, extended on the back and with heads to the east. One had no accompanying artifacts, while the other had only a few glass beads.

⁹ George A. Dorsey, *Wichita Mythology*, 1904.

W. C. AUSTIN IRRIGATION PROJECT

*By Monroe Billington**

The W. C. Austin Irrigation Project—commonly known as the Lugert-Altus project—is the first and only irrigation project in Oklahoma to be sponsored by the Bureau of Reclamation of the United States. Lying farther east than any other project sponsored by the bureau, it is possible that this project may provide a pattern for other semi-arid areas now seeking irrigation development. Dreamed, conceived, and finally brought to realization by southwestern Oklahoma citizens who sold the idea to Uncle Sam, this irrigation program is destined to bring untold benefits to many people far beyond the borders of Altus.

The need for irrigation in Southwestern Oklahoma was apparent in the early 1900's as the first settlers turned from cattle grazing and began breaking the sod for wheat and the production of feed for livestock. In 1902 a party of government engineers arrived in the valley between the Salt Fork of the Red River and the North Fork of the Red River to determine irrigation possibilities. When the investigations were flooded by torrential rains and one of the survey crewmen was almost drowned, the engineers salvaged their supplies, abandoned the investigation, and returned to Washington. Along with the remainder of their official report they wrote, "The area needs flood control, not irrigation."¹ Because of this report the government dropped any plans for irrigation which it had laid.

In 1927 the city of Altus erected a dam near Lugert, Oklahoma, for a municipal water supply. Three years later a number of farmers made agreements with the city of Altus to take water from the city's main pipe line for supplemental irrigation purposes. The success of these men encouraged attempts to form an irrigation district in the area but the depression of the early 1930's interrupted them.²

It was during the dust bowl era of the 1930's that the idea for irrigation began rolling again, and this time it did not stop until a project was completed. In the hot, dry summer of 1935 four prominent men in the Altus area—W. B. Gover, H. T. Kimbell, Elmer Garnett, and Harrington Wimberly—met in the lobby of the National Bank of Commerce in Altus to discuss irrigation pros-

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¹ Joe Zinn, "The W. C. Austin Plan—Part 4," *The Reclamation Era*, XXXVI (August, 1950), 156-57. (Hereafter cited as Zinn, "Part 4.")

² *Altus Times-Democrat*, August 31, 1947, sec. 4, p. 1.

pects.³ W. C. Austin, outstanding lawyer of that city, was asked by these men to accept the responsibility of sponsoring and organizing support for a project. He agreed to do all that he could in behalf of the irrigation dream.

The first surveys were performed by Professor N. E. Wolfard and Don McBride early in 1936,⁴ and in July the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works viewed the situation and made preliminary sketches. A few months later a formal request was made for funds to be allotted for a survey of a proposed combination flood control, water supply, and irrigation project on the North Fork of the Red River. Senator Elmer Thomas spent much of his time in Washington trying to get the project acted upon at the earliest possible date.⁵ At Thomas' suggestion Judge Austin went to Washington in February 1937, to help get action on the survey.⁶ On February 25, President Roosevelt directed that thirty thousand dollars be made available by the Bureau of Reclamation for the survey.

After months of work by Senator Thomas and his Oklahoma colleagues in Congress, the Rivers and Harbors Act approved June 28, 1938, authorized the construction of the Lugert-Altus project as a multiple purpose program including flood control, irrigation, and resettlement.⁷

On March 29, 1940, the land owners of the area who had irrigable land and who had agreed to enter into the irrigation project approved the formation of an irrigation district which had the legal power to make contracts with the Bureau of Reclamation. On the same date Joe Zinn was elected president of the district. The other officials elected were Bruce Braddock, treasurer, and John R. Stout, assessor.

R. S. Lieurance, construction engineer for the Bureau of Reclamation, arrived in Altus on May 31, 1940, and began immediate organization.⁸ By October there were approximately three hundred men working on the project.⁹

The small dam on the North Fork of the Red River which held the municipal water supply of Altus was to be superseded by the Lugert-Altus dam. The city of Altus and the United States signed a contract allowing Altus a water supply when the larger

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ H. E. Robbins to Don McBride, January 16, 1946, W. C. Austin Collection (Hereafter cited as A. C.), *Irrigation, Airport and Water Supply Problem.*

⁵ *Altus Times-Democrat*, February 7, 1937.

⁶ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1937.

⁷ C. L. Albertson, "Reclamation of Subhumid Area in Southwestern Oklahoma, Altus Project," *The Reclamation Era*, XXXI (June, 1941), p. 166.

⁸ *Altus Times-Democrat*, August 31, 1947, sec. 3, p. 5.

⁹ W. C. Austin to Elmer Thomas, October 14, 1940, A. C., *Irrigation*, 1939-40.

dam was completed. This contract was negotiated May 2, 1941. The contract obligates the city of Altus to pay the government of the United States \$1,080,000 over a period of forty years for use of water from the reservoir.¹⁰ The government allowed the city of Altus \$40,000 credit for the old dam structure and surrounding land upon which the new one was to be built.

A contract between the United States and the Lugert-Altus Irrigation District providing for the construction of the project was drawn in its final form on January 12, 1942. This contract, negotiated under the reclamation laws of the United States, was executed on behalf of the United States by John J. Dempsey, under-secretary of the Department of the Interior, on March 11, 1942.¹¹ This signature concluded the formalities incidental to the contract, and the instrument officially went into effect.

Established by an act of Congress, the reimbursable costs of the project to be paid by the district totaled \$3,080,000 including the obligation of the city of Altus.¹² The reimbursable cost to the irrigation district was thus established at \$2,000,000 to be paid in \$25,000 installments every six months for a period of forty years. The balance of the project cost was paid from the flood control funds of the Department of the Army. The labor and materials were contributed by the Works Progress Administration.¹³ Ordinarily an irrigation district must pay approximately one half of the construction costs. Through the efforts of Judge Austin the Lugert-Altus district must pay much less than one half of thirteen million dollars, the total sum required to build the project. In 1941 the surveys, tests, and preliminary work culminated in the tangible beginning of construction. For about a year work went as scheduled, and the proponents of the project were pleased with the progress of the construction program. Due to the critical world situation in May 1942, the War Department issued a stop construction order on the project. The Department of the Interior immediately halted work on the construction of the dam but continued with non-construction preparations in the district.¹⁴ In the following month all plans to proceed with construction of the irrigation features of the project were postponed for the duration of the war.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Contract Between the United States and the City of Altus for a Municipal Water Supply*, 8, A. C., *Irrigation*, 1941-42.

¹¹ R. S. Lieurance to Austin, March 19, 1942, *ibid.*

¹² Altus Real Estate Board (Compiler), *Irrigation Questions & Answers Applicable to the W. C. Austin Irrigation Project*, 5. (Hereafter cited as *Irrigation Questions*.)

¹³ Mattye Wilson Williams, "Visit the W. C. Austin Project," *The Reclamation Era*, XXXIV (November, 1948), p. 210.

¹⁴ *Altus Times-Democrat*, August 31, 1947, sec. 3, p. 6.

¹⁵ Austin to Thomas, March 4, 1943, A. C., *Irrigation*, Airport and Water Supply Problem.

On December 12, 1942, the War Production Board issued an official "Stop Construction Order" limiting construction of the dam to that necessary to provide a water supply to the city of Altus and the air school located north of that city.¹⁶ The men interested in the project did not want to see construction stopped. The dam and dikes were about 50 per cent complete when the order went into effect. All of the earth dikes had been finished; the relocation of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, and State Highway 44 had been accomplished; the concrete batching plant was constructed; and concrete was being poured into the dam site.¹⁷ Since so much work had been completed, the district appealed to the War Production Board to rescind the order. Their reasoning for this appeal was two-fold: closing down and starting up construction plus cost of the temporary top for the dam would be more than completion costs; moreover, the war was causing a serious food shortage and the food produced by this irrigation project would be vital to the war effort. The request that construction be rushed to completion was denied in July 1943, on the ground that the project was not of sufficient importance to justify use of materials and labor at that time.¹⁸

It was hoped that the War Food Administration could persuade the War Production Board to reinitiate construction of the project. H. W. Bashore, H. E. Robbins,¹⁹ Don McBride, Judge Austin and others met in Washington with representatives from the War Production Board but their efforts were to no avail. On January 5, 1944, after many weeks of deliberation, the War Production Board disapproved the application to reinitiate construction.²⁰

These men were not deterred. They submitted another application as soon as it could be prepared. On April 5, 1944, the War Production Board revoked the decision which it had issued in December 1942.²¹

The situation became acutely critical in September 1944, when shortages of material hampered the work. Progress was delayed because of late delivery of canal outlet materials, metal work, and reinforcement steel. Construction continued on a limited basis throughout 1945, however, and January 30, 1946, was one of the biggest days in the history of the project. The construction of the entire project was far enough along to warrant a "preview of Oklahoma's first irrigation project." Governor Robert S. Kerr

¹⁶ H. W. Bashore to War Production Board, July 31, 1943, *ibid.*

¹⁷ McBride to Thomas, May 31, 1943, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Bashore to Thomas, July 3, 1943, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Robbins had succeeded Lieurance as construction engineer at Altus in the spring of 1941. Lieurance had gone into the armed forces.

²⁰ Frank W. Herring to Maury Maverick, January 5, 1944, A. C., *Irrigation, Airport and Water Supply Problem.*

²¹ Robbins to T. H. Brooks, April 11, 1944, *ibid.*

sent out scores of invitations to interested people. A tour of the irrigation project was conducted for the group of several hundred people by H. E. Robbins. Judge Austin presided at the formal program following the educational tour of the dam, dikes, and methods of irrigation.

The first section of canals reaching into the project area was completed on April 30, 1946, and on May 27 public notices were sent to the farmers telling them of the water charges, methods of distribution, and other necessary information. On June 19 the first water was delivered irrigating about five hundred acres²² in the northernmost divisions of the district that year.²³ On August 9, 1946, the project was considered 95 per cent complete. Essential work remaining to be done consisted of the raising of one state highway bridge above the rising waters of the reservoir and the installation of steel gates on the spillway of the Altus dam.

Judge W. C. Austin, provisional superintendent of the Lugert-Altus project, died on October 5, 1946. Without any monetary remuneration whatever, Judge Austin had spent fully one third of the last ten years of his life trying to get this project completed. Appreciative of the work which Austin had done, the board of directors of the Lugert-Altus Irrigation District passed a resolution on November 12, 1946, to petition Oklahoma senators and representatives to seek the enactment of legislation to change the name of the Lugert-Altus irrigation project to the W. C. Austin project. Senator Thomas and Congressman Preston Peden introduced legislation to change the name of the project as indicated by the resolution.²⁴ The Eightieth Congress passed Public Law 69 and President Harry S. Truman signed it on May 16, 1947, which named the project in honor of Judge Austin.

The name "Lugert-Altus" is still attached to the irrigation district which is the operational end of the project while the name "W. C. Austin" has come to be attached to the construction end of the project.

The formal dedication of the project was on September 5, 1947. Governor Roy J. Turner, former governor Robert S. Kerr, and Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug were only a few of the outstanding guests and speakers who were present for this dedication. On that day a large bronze plaque which was set in natural granite and permanently affixed to the east end of the dam was unveiled.

²² The irrigated acreage increased to 3,373 in 1947, and to 17,483 in 1948. Water was available to all project lands for the first time in 1949, and 35,841 acres were irrigated. In 1950 practically all of the 48,000 irrigable acres of the project were supplied with water.

²³ Drue Dunn, "The W. C. Austin Plan—Part 2," *The Reclamation Era*, XXXVI (June, 1950), p. 117.

²⁴ Chamber of Commerce (Publisher), *Altus, The Irrigation Pioneer of Oklahoma* (September, 1947), p. 10.

The plaque contains an image of Judge Austin's face in bas-relief. Below it are these words written by his good friend, H. E. Robbins:

W. C. Austin

whose life was completely dedicated to the service of his God, his Country, his community and his fellow man. Who never turned away from a call for his helping hand. Who asked as his reward for accomplishment only another chance to serve. Loved and respected by all who had the privilege of knowing him, the citizens of Oklahoma unite in dedicating to him this monument and the irrigation works comprising the project which now so rightfully bears his name.

Presented by friends of
Southwestern Oklahoma,
September 5, 1947

The W. C. Austin Irrigation Project is located in Jackson, Greer, and Kiowa counties in Southwestern Oklahoma. Most of the irrigable lands in the project are within a 15-mile radius of Altus, Oklahoma. Lake Altus is approximately 18 miles north of the city of Altus. It covers 6,800 acres and impounds fifty billion gallons of water. The outside walls of the Altus dam are built from native granite of excellent quality excavated from quarries only a few miles from the dam site; the inside of the dam is of cement. It is 100 feet high and 500 feet long; there are about 500 feet of earth-fill embankments extending on the ends of the rock construction making the total length of the dam 1,160 feet.

To prevent water from spreading over too much acreage, four dikes—North, South, East, and Lugert—totaling seven miles were built to an average height of forty feet on portions of the outer edges of the reservoir.

Approximately 270 miles of canals and laterals serve the irrigable lands of the project²⁵ which extend from about 13 miles north to 8 miles south of Altus. The main canal is 4½ miles long. Since the general slope of the land to the south is about 8 feet per mile, all the water is carried to the land by gravity flow.

There are three main feeder canals—Altus, West, and Ozark canals. The Altus Canal runs south for about seven miles and the longest of the three, the Ozark, carries water to a large area south of Altus. On the 220 miles of laterals there are 2,500 minor hydraulic structures which aid in delivery of water to farm lands. Measuring devices have been installed in order that the water going to each farm can be measured at or near the point of delivery. A valuable asset in this project is that the laterals and main canals can be used for drainage if rain is too plentiful or if a flash flood occurs. This prevents crops from being drowned by the presence of an over-supply of water.

²⁵ *Irrigation Questions*, p. 1.

Because of the erratic rainfall in the area, the Lugert-Altus irrigation project was designed as a supplemental water supply; it spreads water over the project during the irrigation season to fill in the gaps left by inadequate rainfall.²⁶ In thirteen of the years between 1907 and 1936, crop yields were decreased 50 per cent or more because of drouths. This supplemental water supply is designed to aid crop growth during similar drouth periods. The project is unique in reclamation history since other irrigation projects in the United States are designed as year-round water supplies.

The offices of the Bureau of Reclamation for the project are located one mile north of Altus. Since 1947 J. A. Callan has filled the position of project engineer.

The district has taxing power.²⁷ The landowners in the district must make repayment of construction charges plus operation and maintenance costs. In 1950 the district made a minimum charge of \$2.75 per irrigable acre—whether water was used or not—which entitled the owner to one half acre foot²⁸ of irrigation water per irrigable acre. Additional water was furnished at \$3.50 per acre foot.²⁹ It is from these assessment charges that the district pays the costs of operation and maintenance. An additional \$1.25 per irrigable acre is charged yearly for the retirement of the \$2,000,000 which must be paid back to the federal government at the rate of \$50,000 per year for 40 years. Thus, the 1951 assessments were levied at \$4.00 per irrigable acre.³⁰ In the future the bureau plans to charge \$4.00 per acre foot for water bought over and above the usual one half acre foot received for the assessment. The question naturally arises: are six inches of water enough to take care of the farmers' needs, or must they ordinarily buy additional water. The average irrigation water delivery per acre for the entire district for a 5-year period (1946-50) was 6.55 inches with a low of 4.56 inches in 1950 and a high of 10.56 inches in 1948. All data available indicate that the one acre foot of irrigation water used as an average requirement in planning the project should be sufficient except in extremely dry years.³¹ Thus, \$6.00 per acre seems to be the average cost of irrigation water for one growing season. There is no limit on the amount of water a farmer may buy over and above the first 6 inches. The land assessment for those 6 inches must be paid although no water at all may be used in a year when the rainfall happens to come at the time when water is most needed.

²⁶ Preston George, "The W. C. Austin Plan—Part 3," *The Reclamation Era*, XXXVI (July, 1950), p. 136.

²⁷ *Irrigation Questions*, p. 3.

²⁸ An "acre foot" of water is the amount of water required to cover an acre of land to an average depth of one foot.

²⁹ H. E. Robbins (Regional Director), *Increased Production with Irrigation, An Analysis of W. C. Austin Project Records, 1946 through 1949* (February, 1950), 4. (Hereafter cited as *Project Records, 1946-49*.)

³⁰ Personal interview with Merle Wilkerson, January 25, 1951.

³¹ *Project Records, 1946-49*, p. 23.

There are 48,000 acres of land under irrigation. About 488 farms are being served and the average size of the farms is 132 acres.³² Small farms, intensively cultivated, are encouraged by the district.

Through the efforts of Judge Austin and the co-operation of Dr. Louis E. Hawkins, the Altus Irrigation Experiment Station south of the town of Blair, Oklahoma, was created for the specific purpose of a scientific study of the problems related to the production of field and vegetable crops under irrigation in this particular area. This experiment farm tries many varieties of crops under various conditions and reports its results for the benefit of the neighboring farmers. In about 1944 the experiment station took over the demonstration farm of the Bureau of Reclamation. This farm, one mile below the dam, is also being used for experimental irrigation purposes.

The transition from dry land farming to irrigation farming has been relatively easy compared to the desert type of irrigation development.³³ A gradual conversion to irrigated crops has probably proved wise. Rather than immediately abandoning their past crop varieties and cultivation methods, the farmers have been cautious. With their inexperience and inadequate land preparation it could not be expected that their progress would be phenomenal during the first few years of irrigation methods. However, the progress reports prepared by the Bureau of Reclamation for the first five years show distinct success with irrigation.

Cotton has been the principal irrigated crop during the first five years of the project's existence. About 60 per cent of the irrigable crop land was in cotton in 1949. This crop responded well to irrigation during the first three years by producing double the yield of non-irrigated land. The maximum yields of 1.4 bales per acre in 1949 and 1.9 bales in 1948 indicate the possibilities of this crop. On the whole cotton is averaging half a bale of cotton more per acre under irrigation.

Alfalfa for hay and seed has shown considerable response to irrigation. New crops which have been tried during the first five years of project operation include popcorn, watermelons for seed, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, onions, black-eyed peas, spinach, castor beans, and permanent pastures.

Grain sorghum has not responded as was first expected and does not appear to profit from irrigation. Wheat for gain alone has not responded sufficiently to irrigation to justify its use; therefore, the trend is away from wheat in irrigation farming.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Is irrigation profitable from a financial point of view to the individual farmer? Water costs money, new equipment is expensive, and new methods much different from dry land farming must be employed. Is it worth the change? In 1946 while dry land farms in the area were producing an average of \$22.09 per acre, the irrigated lands of the W. C. Austin project produced \$130.72 per acre.³⁴ In certain key tracts the irrigated crop production created an average gross value of over \$100 per acre in 1949, and the gross crop value per irrigated acre in the same year was \$85.16 for the entire project.

The value of the increased crop production created by irrigation is only one measure of the benefits. It is recognized that there is an increase in farm expenses over and above the cost of the irrigation water. To determine the net benefits from irrigation would require a farm management and cost of production study. From 1946 to 1950 the production and value of crops from non-irrigated land were above average. In 1949 the non-irrigated production was one of the highest on record. From comparative records for that year it must therefore be concluded that irrigation has provided a substantial increase in farm income. Needless to say, the value of the land in and around the district has increased enormously. The land value before irrigation came into the area was \$40 to \$80 per acre and is now worth \$250 to \$275 per acre. Some of it has been sold for over \$330 per acre. Unquestionably irrigation has improved the wealth of the community of Altus and Southwestern Oklahoma in general.

This great experiment in irrigating semi-arid country might well be the beginning of a new era in irrigation farming. Joe Zinn expressed the silent opinion of many when he wrote:³⁵

"We look upon ourselves as modern pioneers, for we are trying new methods, making new discoveries, and blazing a trail for our children. . . . We are mighty thankful for the change from the old days—days of prairie fires, drought, and flood—days when we met at the community church to pray for rain, or perhaps, to pray for it to cease raining. No longer do we fear. . . ."

³⁴ Robert S. Kerr, "Plow, Plant, and Pray," *The Reclamation Era*, XXXIV (May, 1948), p. 85.

³⁵ Zinn, "Part 4," pp. 156-57.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT THE MORRIS SITE, CHEROKEE COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

By Robert E. Bell and Richard H. Fraser

The Morris site is located on the east bank of the Illinois River not far from Barber, Cherokee County, Oklahoma. It has been known for some time that archaeological remains are present at this place, but unfortunately no excavations have been undertaken in the past. Since the locality will eventually be flooded by the Tenkiller Reservoir, now under construction, an effort was made in the spring and summer of 1951 to salvage as much information and artifact material as possible. This article covers these initial explorations. While it is of necessity a preliminary report, it is hoped that a more extensive investigation can be completed before the final flooding. Plans have been made to continue the work during the coming summer.

The Morris site is but one of some forty-three localities within the limits of the reservoir area that present evidence of aboriginal occupation. A survey of the known sites had produced a great variety of materials. The composition of the collections suggests that various Indian groups have inhabited the valley for a considerable span of time, probably two thousand years and possibly even longer.

In all, five sites within the Tenkiller area, including the Morris site, were excavated during 1951. This work was accomplished through the cooperative efforts of the following groups: the University of Oklahoma, the United States Army Engineers, the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution. In the spring, Donald J. Lehmer of the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Survey supervised excavations at three sites and tested the Morris site. During June and July, Robert E. Bell, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma, supervised work at the Vanderpool site and resumed exploratory digging at the Morris site. Several other sites of apparent importance have not been examined, nor is it likely that they will be with the limited amount of time and funds presently available.

The earliest known report on the Morris site is a survey record dated March 12, 1940. At that time a series of test pits were dug and a small amount of surface material was collected. In the digging three house sites were found on the western edge of the occupational area, but their exact locations were not recorded. The report also notes that the area had been partly disturbed by "treasure hunters."

In his work at the site in May, Mr. Lehmer made a rather extensive surface collection. The site had been recently plowed and washed by heavy rains so that observations of the area afforded a

more extensive picture than that obtained earlier. Surface debris included some fragments of human and animal bone, pottery sherds, grinding stones, projectile points, flint axes, stone hoes, and other miscellaneous items. In the light of this additional data, Lehmer excavated a test trench, 5 ft. wide and 50 ft. long, across one portion of the occupied area. This trench revealed six human burials, a variety of artifacts, and the fact that village debris occurred abundantly throughout a dark colored soil to an average depth of about 2 ft. Because of limited time and the exploratory nature of this initial test, Lehmer removed only two burials, recorded the locations of the other four, and reluctantly refilled his trench.

Dr. Bell's work in June and July included the reopening of Lehmer's original trench and the removal of the four remaining burials. He then widened the trench by removing a 10 ft. strip of earth parallel to its south edge. Thus completed, the excavation was 15 ft. wide and 50 ft. long. Within this section additional burials, some village features and various artifacts were discovered. The following report presents information gained as a result of these exploratory excavations.

EXCAVATIONS

The site is situated along the second terrace of the Illinois River and apparently has not been subjected to flooding. Occupational debris such as flint chips, broken stones, occasional bones, fragments of mussel shell and artifacts are to be found on the surface for a distance of several hundred feet parallel to the river. While this littered area extends back perpendicular to the river for some two hundred yards, the debris is most abundant close to the stream, especially on the terrace slope where some erosion has exposed the underlying materials. Its general distribution, however, indicates that the site is an extensive one of several acres. The excavated area lies near the central part of the site where the second terrace begins a gentle slope, dropping off onto the first terrace and flood plain of the river.

A horizontal grid system of 5 ft. squares was superimposed upon the site, and the area excavated was carefully marked by wooden stakes placed at each 5 ft. interval. Each 5 ft. square was then numbered with reference to its position from two zero coordinates. For vertical control and measurement of depth, a point of reference or datum was established about 80 ft. south of the area to be excavated.

Each grid block was excavated by arbitrary 6 in. levels measured from the ground surface. Long handled shovels and small handpicks or trowels were used in the work, and all of the dirt was screened to avoid loss of any unnoticed specimens. The materials recovered were placed in paper bags, which were then marked with the square and level in which the materials had been found. The locations of the artifacts within the site were later made a permanent record when

they were numbered and catalogued. As the excavation progressed, the walls and floors of each level were carefully troweled and examined for any disturbances or features that might appear. Whenever a burial or some feature such as a refuse pit was found, the excavation procedure was altered to deal with the situation at hand.

Excavation revealed that artifacts and occupational debris was limited to the dark brown colored soil which had an average depth of 2 ft. Underlying this dark soil was a yellow-tan sub-soil. The latter contained no artifacts except in areas where intrusive pits had been dug into the sterile earth. No evidence of occupational surfaces was observed within the village deposit. Because of the dark color of the upper soil layer, the actual outlines of grave pits or similar features were not visible in most cases except where they penetrated into the underlying yellow clays. No apparent differences in color, texture or soil composition were noted in excavating the artifact bearing stratum. Artifacts were found in all levels although they appeared most frequently in the first level, presumably a result of continued plowing and surface erosion. The occupational stratum contained considerable debris such as charcoal, flint chips, broken animal bones, occasional pieces of shell, cracked rocks and various types of artifacts, either whole or broken.

VILLAGE FEATURES

A total of ten post holes was found in the excavations. All of these were clearly marked by dark colored circular areas which extended into the yellow sub-soil. Most of the post holes contained pieces of charcoal suggesting that the original posts had been burned. No obvious house pattern is apparent from the position of the post holes, although seven of them are concentrated in an area 10 ft. square. Although a house structure may be partly represented, the absence of an occupational surface, prepared house floor, or baked clay wattle suggests that such was not the case. Scattered post holes, such as those at this site, are common at many prehistoric village sites, and their purpose is not known at the present time.

The post holes ranged from 4 to 13½ in. in diameter, most of them averaging around 7 to 8 in. In cases where the charcoal could be identified, oak had been used.

A large circular pit and what may represent portions of one or two others were found in squares S3-L4 and S3-L5. Only one of these pits was excavated; the others, which lay largely outside the trench area, were not disturbed. This single pit, which was clearly outlined at the plane of contact between the village midden and the underlying yellow sub-soil, 28 in. from the surface, could not be observed above that point. It extended to a total depth of 46 in. from the surface and measured approximately 5 ft. by 5½ ft. in outline. The walls of the pit were vertical and the bottom was quite flat and level. Although

the pit was presumably used as a cache or as a refuse pit it contained little debris or artifact material. An incomplete burial, Burial 15, was found within the limits of the pit area at a depth of 28 in. Although the pit extended underneath the burial, it could not be determined whether the partially filled pit had been used as a convenient burial place or whether the burial had been intruded into the abandoned pit at a later time.

While the pit contained various fragments of animal bones, flint chips, and charcoal, artifacts were few. Specimens recovered include one bone awl, a short antler tip, a worked penis bone of the racoon, three projectile points, two crude scrapers and two flint cores.

A total of fifteen human burials was found during the excavations. Some of these were shallow and had been disturbed by plowing. Several others, though deeper, were incomplete or displaced and perhaps had been disturbed by some other agency. Since the site has been subjected to random pot hunting by treasure seekers in the past, this probably accounts for some of the apparent disturbances. In general, the bones of the skeletons were in a good state of preservation. The burials were apparently placed in circular or oval pits dug from the ground surfaces.

BURIAL 1

Burial 1 is represented by an incomplete infant skeleton which was largely destroyed when Burial 2 was interred. No grave associations were found.

BURIAL 2

This burial is represented by an adult female placed in a semi-flexed position on the left side with the head toward the southeast. The skeleton is in good condition although some of the smaller bones were not preserved. Two shell tempered pottery sherds, a crude oval shaped flint knife and fifteen shell beads were found in the grave area. The shell beads are small discs and are in a poor state of preservation.

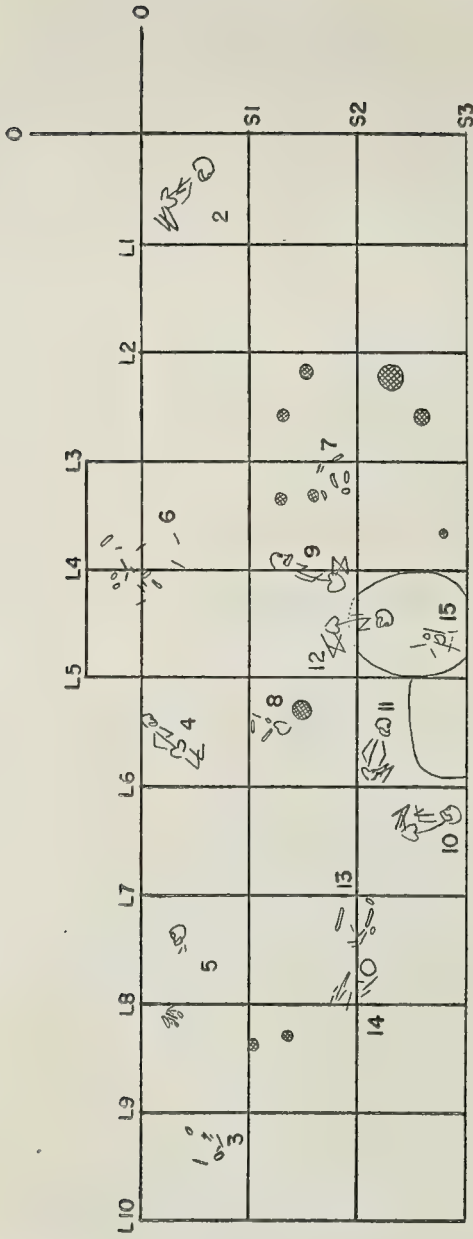
BURIAL 3

This burial was found in square S1-L9 at the shallow depth of 6 in. Cultivation had broken and destroyed many of the bones so that only a few fragments were recovered. These fragments suggest that a single adult individual had been interred in a flexed position. No artifacts were found associated with Burial 3.

BURIAL 4

Burial 4 was found in square S1-L5 at a varying depth of from 4 to 9 in. The skull had been crushed and badly disturbed by plowing. The skeleton was semi-flexed with the legs flexed at the knees and

FIGURE 1



Grid map of excavations at the Morris site illustrating the locations of burials, postholes and refuse pits.

folded back underneath the body. The main axis of the body lay in a northeast-southwest position with the skull toward the northeast. One small projectile point and four pieces of larger projectile points were found in the burial area. It could not be determined whether these objects were intentional offerings or were merely accidental inclusions in the surrounding grave dirt.

BURIAL 5

Burial 5 was found in squares S1-L7 and S1-L8 quite close to the surface. The grave appeared to have been disturbed since most of the bones except the skull were damaged and disarticulated, and the skull itself lay about 4 ft. east of the main bone group. Apparently the skull remained in its original position, while the bones had been removed but then had been replaced in a heap at one end of the grave opposite the skull. A shell tempered pottery sherd, a section of deer antler, two broken projectile points and three crude flint objects were found in the burial area. Because of the general disturbances, the orientation and position of the skeleton are questionable.

BURIAL 6

Burial 6 was represented by scattered fragments of human bone found in the general vicinity of stake O-L4. The bones were strewn over a circular area about four feet across at an average depth of 8 in. from the surface. A burial was undoubtedly represented but the disturbed condition renders it almost worthless. Several artifacts found in the burial area were presumably associated with the original grave. These include a small circular shell pendant, two shell tempered pottery sherds, two broken projectile points, one oval scraper, one broken knife tip and one broken piece of worked flint. One sherd is a rim section which apparently came from a plain surfaced, deep bowl.¹

BURIAL 7

An incomplete infant burial was found in square S2-L3 at a depth of 15 in. The burial was represented by fragmentary bones of the skull and of the long bones which were in poor condition. No artifacts were found in association.

BURIAL 8

Burial 8 is also represented by an incomplete infant skeleton. Judging from the position of the bones present, the body must have been placed in a flexed position with the head to the north. There were no artifacts found in association with the burial.

BURIAL 9

An adult skeleton in a semi-flexed position is represented by burial 9. The body, which lay at a depth of about 20 in., had

¹ See *Appendix A* for Burial Data from the Morris Site, CK-39.

been placed in a north-south position with the head toward the north. Although the skull was crushed and some bones were missing, those present suggest a male. No artifacts were found in the grave.

BURIAL 10

Burial 10 was the deepest interment found, and the grave was clearly outlined where it penetrated into the underlying yellow subsoil. It contained the remains of two individuals, an adult male and an infant. The adult skeleton, which was in fairly good condition, lay in a flexed position on the right side with the head toward the south. The infant, represented by only a few bones, had apparently been placed upon the chest of the adult. A small turtle shell, one small pottery vessel, and three flint objects were also found in the grave. The turtle shell had been placed near the adult skull in the vicinity of the right shoulder. The pottery vessel was located about 1 ft. west of the skull in an upright position. Tempered with shell, it is a deep bowl or jar with two opposing loop handles. The three flint objects consist of one complete projectile point and two fragments of projectile points. Although these were found in the proximity of the skull, they may not represent intentional offerings for they lay within the earth used in refilling the grave.

BURIAL 11

Burial 11, a male adult, had been placed in a flexed position upon his stomach. The body was oriented along an east-west axis with the head toward the east. A shell tempered pottery vessel was found immediately in front of the skull on the south side of the grave. The vessel is a medium sized globular jar with a short flaring rim and two opposing strap handles. The rim bears four small tabs or projections arranged so that there is one on each side of each handle. A large granular clay tempered pottery sherd and one contracting stem projectile point were also found in the grave area.

BURIAL 12

Burial 12 is represented by an adult male placed on the left side in a semi-flexed position. The head faced the south and several burial offerings had been placed near the body in front of the face and the chest. These artifacts include one pottery bowl, three flint knives, one stone celt, one small bone hoe, one perforated shell hoe, one large unworked shell, one turtle shell, two projectile points, three pieces of antler, one worked deer cannon bone, two pottery sherds, one broken flint object and one core scraper.

BURIAL 13

Burial 13 was incomplete and was badly disturbed by plowing. The bones that remained were poorly preserved, disarticulated, and were scattered over a small area. There were no artifacts found in the burial area.

BURIAL 14

This burial consisted of an incomplete, tightly flexed, adult skeleton. The bones lay within a basin shaped pit at a depth of 11 in. from the surface. They had been placed in a general east-west direction with the skull toward the east. Some large stones, broken animal bones, one projectile point, one broken blade and one turtle shell were found in the burial area.

BURIAL 15

Burial 15, a disturbed and incomplete skeleton, was located at a depth of 28 in. within the limits of the refuse pit mentioned under VILLAGE FEATURES. It may or may not have been intrusive. The dark color of the surrounding soils made it impossible to detect disturbances within the pit. A bone awl fragment, four damaged projectile points and one broken flint object were found in the immediate vicinity of the bones, but these may represent debris from the refuse pit rather than intentional burial offerings.

In general, the burials found at the Morris site had been placed in shallow circular or oval shaped pits. The skeletons were either flexed or semi-flexed and apparently had not been intentionally oriented in any given direction. Grave associations were found with about one-half of the burials; a pottery vessel and turtle shells were characteristic offerings.

ARTIFACTS

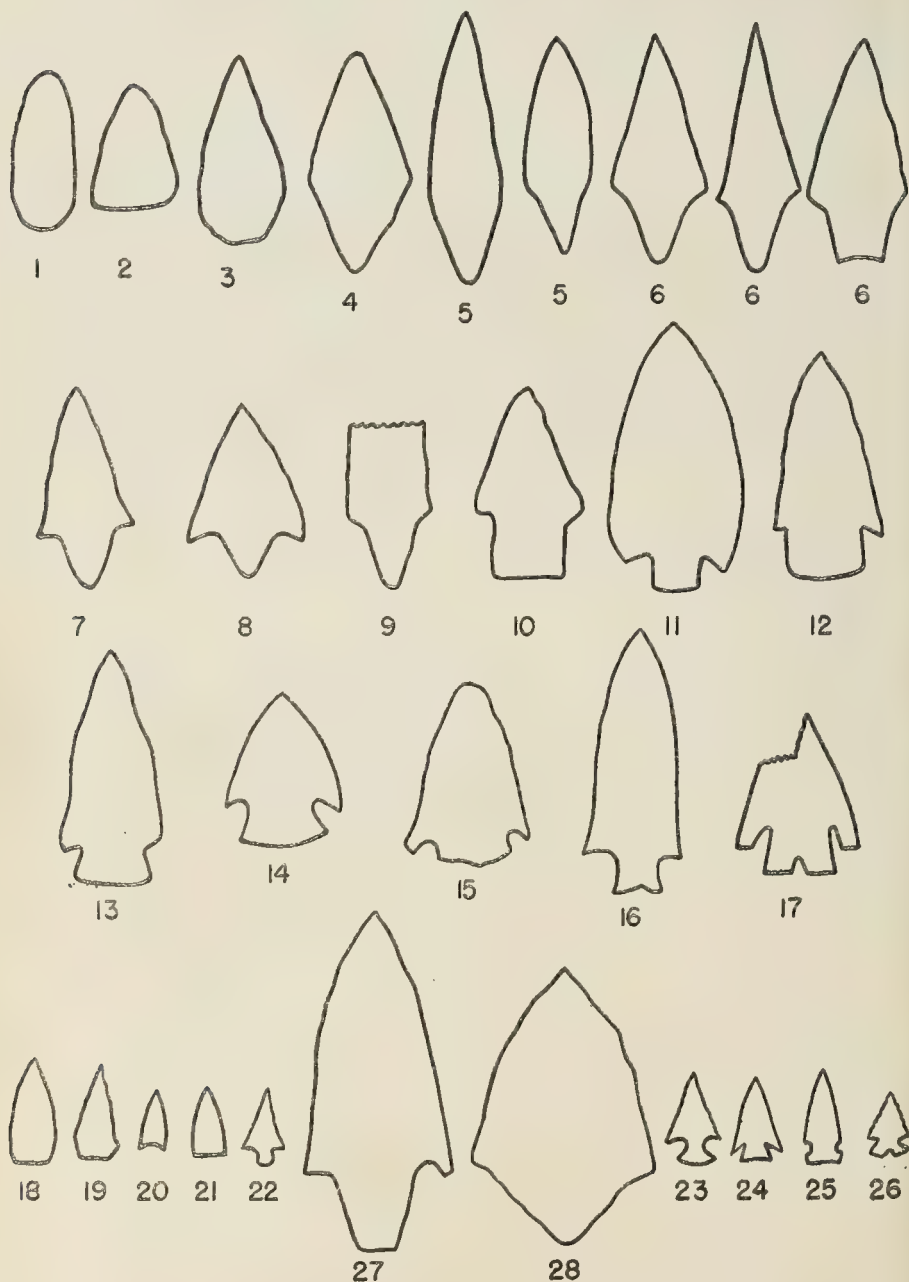
Various artifacts which were not associated with the burials or village features were found throughout the excavations. These represent materials from the village midden deposit which covers the site. The following discussion covers both these artifacts and those picked up from the surface on the site. Specimens which were associated with the burials or refuse pit are not included since they have already been mentioned above. The village deposit contained a relatively large number of specimens with more than one thousand items, not counting pottery sherds having been recovered.

PROJECTILE POINTS

The total sample included 384 unbroken or reasonably intact projectile points, and 222 broken pieces that were too fragmentary to be typed. The former were classified into twenty-eight groups (Figure 2), primarily on the basis of stem form, shoulder or barb form, and size, although other features entered into the consideration in several cases. With respect to size, there are at least three separate series. The first of these, which contains both the greatest number of types and the largest total of specimens, is made up of points of representative dart-point dimensions. It includes types 1 through 17. The second series, types 18 to 26, consists of a group of smaller points of typical arrowhead size. The third series contains only

two types, numbers 27 and 28. These are considerably larger than those of the other two series, and they fall within the large dart, or spear point, category.

FIGURE 2



*Examples of numbered projectile point types found at the Morris site.
Numbers 5 and 6 illustrate variations within the type.*

Types 1 to 3 and 18 to 21 represent various stemless forms. Type 4 is approximately diamond-shaped. Types 5 to 9 have contracting stems and are distinguished from each other by the forms of the shoulders, except that number 9 has a characteristic slenderness of form as compared to the more triangular shapes of the others in this group. Types 10 to 12 have parallel stems with shoulders and barbs of various shapes. Type 11 is leaf shaped and somewhat larger than the other two, which are triangular in outline. The remaining types, except 27 and 28, all have expanding stems.²

Types 27 and 28, which make up the large dart series, as previously mentioned, have contracting stems.

While this large number of types may appear to be somewhat unexpected in such a relatively small sample, it should be borne in mind that the small arrow points, which comprise 9 of the types, have been separated out because of their relatively small size. On the basis of form alone they could have been disposed of among the other groups. The same is true of types 27 and 28, which were also sorted out on the basis of their size.

Furthermore, five types—numbers 15, 16, 17, 19, and 24—represent unique points, there being only one specimen of each in the sample. Ten of the other types contained five or fewer specimens.

The majority of the points therefore fall into a relatively small number of types and notably into numbers 5 to 14, and 23. These eleven categories alone contain 334 points or about 87 percent of all the identifiable specimens. Of these, number 6, by far the most popular of all the groups, contains 138 points or 36 percent of the total sample.

On a stratigraphic basis, the most notable feature of the distribution is that the arrow points (types 18 to 26) of which there are thirty-one specimens, occur, with a single exception, in the top levels. Of these, sixteen were found on the surface, fourteen in level 1, and only one at a deeper level, specifically level 3. An additional point of this type, which was found in the test trench, has been disregarded in the foregoing analysis because its stratigraphic position cannot be determined.

Type 6, perhaps the only type found in a statistically useful quantity, occurs at all levels. Disregarding the test trench, it represents 16.7 percent of the total sample of level 2 and 39.0 percent of the points found on the surface. The percentages for all other levels fall within these limits, except for level 5, which, however, produced an overall total of only three specimens. This distribution, while not uniform, covers such a relatively narrow range that it

² See *Appendix B* for Classification of Projectile Points from the Morris Site, C K-39.

suggests no significant change in the importance of the type from level to level.

KNIVES

In this classification there is a total of fifty-eight specimens. Only nine of these represent complete blades; the remainder are identifiable fragments of various sizes and shapes.

The typical shape of the unbroken specimens is elliptical, or elliptical with one pointed end. The ratio of the length to the width varies from about 3:1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$:1. Eight are made of flint and the ninth is made of basalt.

These same shapes are dominant among the incomplete specimens in so far as the forms of these can be inferred from the fragments. However, several of the implements represented may have had at least one unrounded end and possibly were somewhat triangular in general outline.

No inferences can be drawn from the stratigraphic distribution.

SCRAPERS

Scrapers were quite rare at the site; only seven were found. Five of these are complete and two are fragmentary.

This small sample includes two unbroken hafted scrapers which show some beveling. The remaining unbroken specimens, all of which are typical side scrapers, are comparatively crude in both the finish of the scraping edge and the overall workmanship. The two fragments are fairly well chipped on the scraping edge.

DRILLS

Three chipped flint drills were found. Two of these have more or less triangular stems that have been intentionally shaped. The stem of the third is leaf-shaped with a length to width ratio about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the triangular stems on the other two specimens. In all three cases, the shafts taper gradually from stem to point.

AXES

Twenty-five chipped, double bitted axes were found; nineteen were on the surface, five were in the test trench, and one was in level 1. While they vary in length from about 3 to 5 in., the majority fall near the large end of this gradation and have lengths in excess of 4 in.

The typical implement appears to have been made by chipping both faces to a relatively thin core with an edge at each end and along the sides. The sides are indented at the midsection to facilitate hafting.

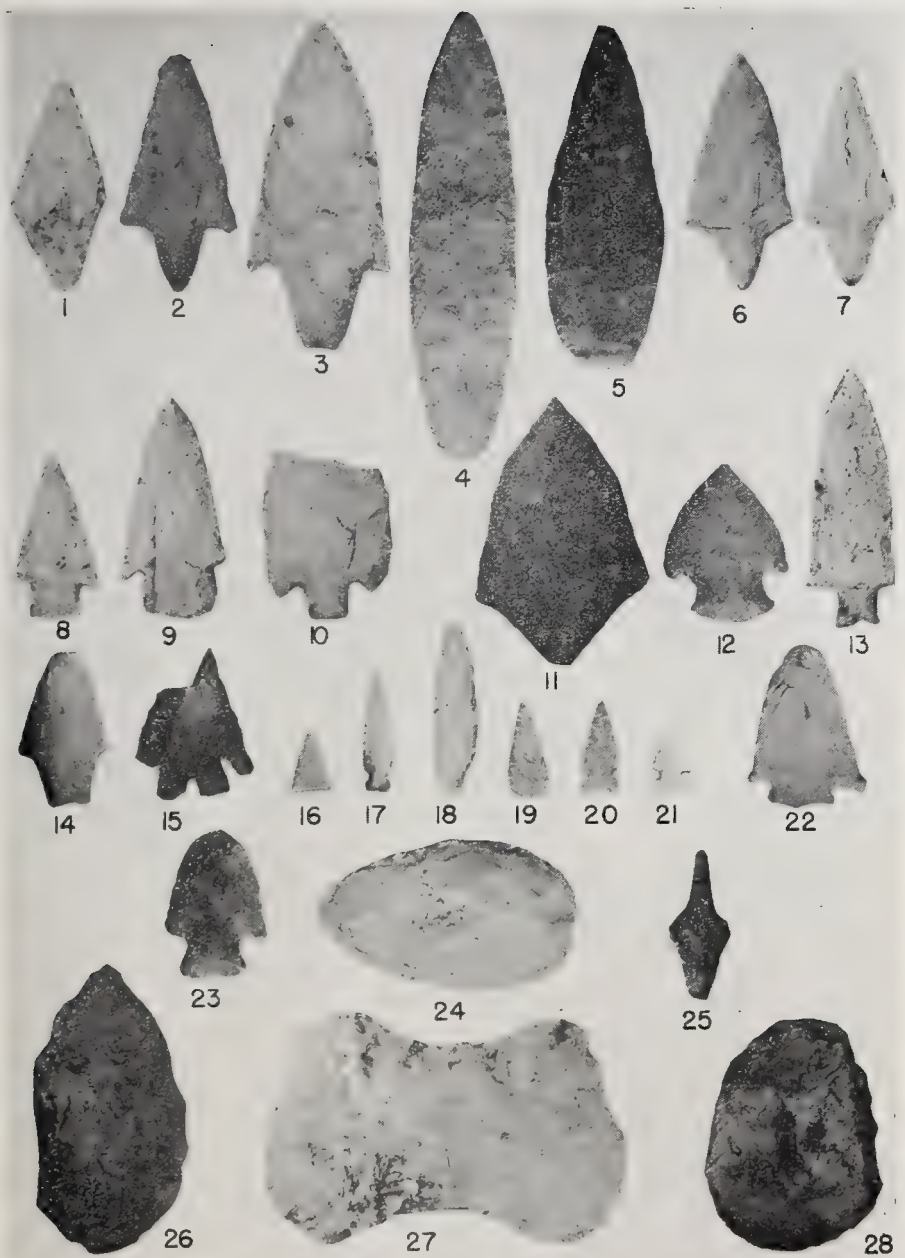


PLATE I

Chipped stone artifacts from the Morris site. Projectile points (1 to 3, 6 to 22); knives (4, 5 and 24); hafted scraper (23); flint drill (25); core scrapers (26 and 28); double-bitted axe (27). Two of the knives (4 and 5) were associated with Burial 12.

Several of the specimens are more rectangular, but they have hafting indentations in a modified, less clear-cut form.

No specimen in the sample has been finished by fine workmanship after the initial rough chipping. The edges of four of the implements have been worn down by use, and some examples exhibit smoothed areas on the mid-section where the handle rubbed on the stone.

HOES

Eighteen chipped hoes are included among the specimens. All were found on the surface or in the upper levels of the site. They are flat in cross-section and are roughly rectangular with rounded corners in face outline. All have sharpened ends, and several have also been worked to a dull edge along the sides.

Their dimensions vary from $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 in. to about 4 by 6 in. with a thickness of about 1 in. They are made of sandstone, chert, or basalt, with the latter predominating.

Two specimens have the cutting edge ground down quite smooth and show considerable wear and abrasion. At least two others also show the effects of considerable use.

There are four ground stone hoes. One is complete and the other three are fairly large fragments. The shape of these is similar to that of the chipped hoes—rectangular with well rounded ends—but these are somewhat larger in size. The unbroken specimen measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. and has a thickness of about 1 in.

On two specimens, including the complete one, both faces have been ground down quite smooth. On the remaining specimens only one side has been smoothed down; the other side is quite rough and still bears the projections and irregularities of the stone.

Two of the specimens are quartzite, one is limestone, and one is a sandy-limestone.

CORE SCRAPERS

This classification consists of seventy-six otherwise untyped specimens which, nevertheless, have a characteristic shape. They are distinguishable from the crude cores described under the next heading in that they are uniformly ovoid in outline. Having been worked to a rough edge along their perimeters, they somewhat resemble quarry blanks or unfinished objects.

Although here classified as crude core scrapers, many of these objects probably represent cores of raw material or discarded pieces of flint which, for some reason or another, were not suitable for an implement of any kind.

CRUDE CORES

There are ninety-three pieces that fall into this group. All show some evidence, although very little in most cases, of having been worked in some way. Many are rough, thick flakes, while others are large chunks of raw material. Most of these specimens are probably rejects or by-products from the working of flint.

UNIDENTIFIED SPECIMENS

This group, containing 150 specimens, is composed of fragments of well finished artifacts. Since the pieces are quite small, it is impossible to be sure just what is represented. Many are perhaps fragments of knives and projectile points; others are probably parts of axes or hoes. A few which show more chipping than the cores or core scrapers still cannot be definitely attributed to any specific category.

HAMMERSTONES

Eleven globular shaped pecking hammers were found; five were on the surface, one was in the test trench, four were in level 2 and one was in level 3. The typical specimen is a fairly well rounded piece of flint between 2 and 3 in. in diameter. In a few cases, however, all the corners and projections have not been worn down by use. These are rounded on one or two surfaces only; the remaining surfaces reflect the original planes of the rock.

PITTED HAMMERSTONES AND MANOS

There are eleven pitted hammerstones. For the most part, the outlines of these vary from elliptical to almost circular. However, three specimens are more or less square with rounded corners. The face dimensions vary from $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. and the thickness varies from 1 to 2 in. The pits are fairly well defined in most specimens, but in others they are very shallow.

There are five manos, only one of which is unbroken. This one is elliptical in outline, 4 in. wide and 6 in. long, and is quite thick in cross-section. In general appearance the broken specimens in this group resemble the pitted hammerstones, differing only in the fact that they have no pits. Actually, considering the two groups together, there is a gradual transition from the specimens with fairly deep pits to those with none. Apparently broken manos were utilized for hammerstones.

CELTS

There are four ground stone celts, two of which are broken, and two of which are reasonably complete. Two examples are fairly large; the other two are smaller than these in all dimensions, particularly in thickness. One of the larger specimens is 5 in. long and 2 in. wide; it is quite thick and is circular in cross-section. The butt

is rounded and the sides expand gently toward the bit, which has been ground down to a cutting edge. The smaller specimens are generally oval in outline with a cutting edge at one end. One whole specimen measures 3 by 2 in. and is only $3/4$ in. in thickness.

Quartzite appears to have been a favorite material for the manufacture of stone celts.

GALENA

Two balls of galena were found on the surface. The largest is about 3 in. in diameter and the other is about 2 in. While these objects are far from being spherical, all their corners have been ground down and are fairly well rounded.

The powdered galena may have been used as a pigment.

PIPE

Several pieces of a single elbow-shaped stone pipe were found in level 1. The length of the bowl is $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. and that of the stem is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. The bowl is not of uniform diameter but is slightly spindle shaped with the mid-section larger than the ends. The walls of both the stem and the bowl are relatively thin, and the exterior surfaces are fairly well finished.

SHARPENING STONES

A sandstone awl sharpener and a sandstone sharpening stone were found in level 1.

BEADS

One large black stone bead was found on the surface. It has the shape of a flattened spheroid with a diameter of $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. and a thickness of $13/16$ in. It is well formed and is perforated through the center.

EAR SPOOL

One broken stone ear spool was found in level 1. It is of the pulley type and consists of one flange and a part of the inter-connecting midsection. The flange, which is circular in outline, has a depressed central area. The rim, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, is rounded inward to the central depression and outward to the perimeter. The diameter of the connecting midsection is $7/8$ in.

SHELL

Three marine shell (conch?) specimens were found, all in level 1. One of these is a flat disc gorget about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. It is almost a perfect circle in outline with two small perforations near one edge. The second specimen consists of the major part of a broken elliptical gorget. There is a pair of drilled holes at the

top of this specimen. The third specimen is a small triangular piece of chalky shell which may or may not have been worked.

BONE AWLS

Five fragments of bone awls were found; two were in level 2, one was in level 5, and two were in the platform of Burial 5. Two of these fragments are tips, and the others represent mid-sections. All examples exhibit some use polish and were originally made from splintered sections of animal long bones.

BONE ORNAMENTS

One tubular bone ornament was found in level 2. It is 2 in. long and about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. A single small perforation has been drilled through the bone tube at one end.

ANTLER

Two pieces of antler were also found in level 2. One is a short antler tip fragment; the other is a short curved section about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. While neither shows much evidence of having been worked, the latter is fire-blackened on one side.

POTTERY

Two major pottery wares were found at the site. One of these is shell tempered and the other is granular clay tempered. A few sherds of two minor wares, bone tempered and limestone tempered respectively, were also found. The sample, which contains no whole vessels, except as otherwise reported under BURIALS, consists primarily of relatively small fragments.

SHELL TEMPERED WARE

The shell tempered ware consists of 163 sherds or 50.6 percent of the total sample. With respect to the totals for each level, its distribution, though by no means uniform, is fairly consistent from the surface through level 4.

Color: Black, dark brown, red, and buff. Frequently a dark brown or mud colored core has been oxidized to a reddish-brown on one surface, usually the exterior, and reduced to a greyish-black on the other. In many such cases the color layers are so thick that one blends directly into the other in the cross-section. In other cases the uneven firing resulted in colors of mottled red and black. A few sherds are uniformly red both on the surfaces and in the cores. Several sherds have a red slip.

Decorations: Only five sherds have been decorated. One of these is incised with two slightly curvilinear parallel lines, about one inch apart, crossed at a 45 degree angle by a third curvilinear line. If this third line had been repeated, as it may well have been



PLATE II

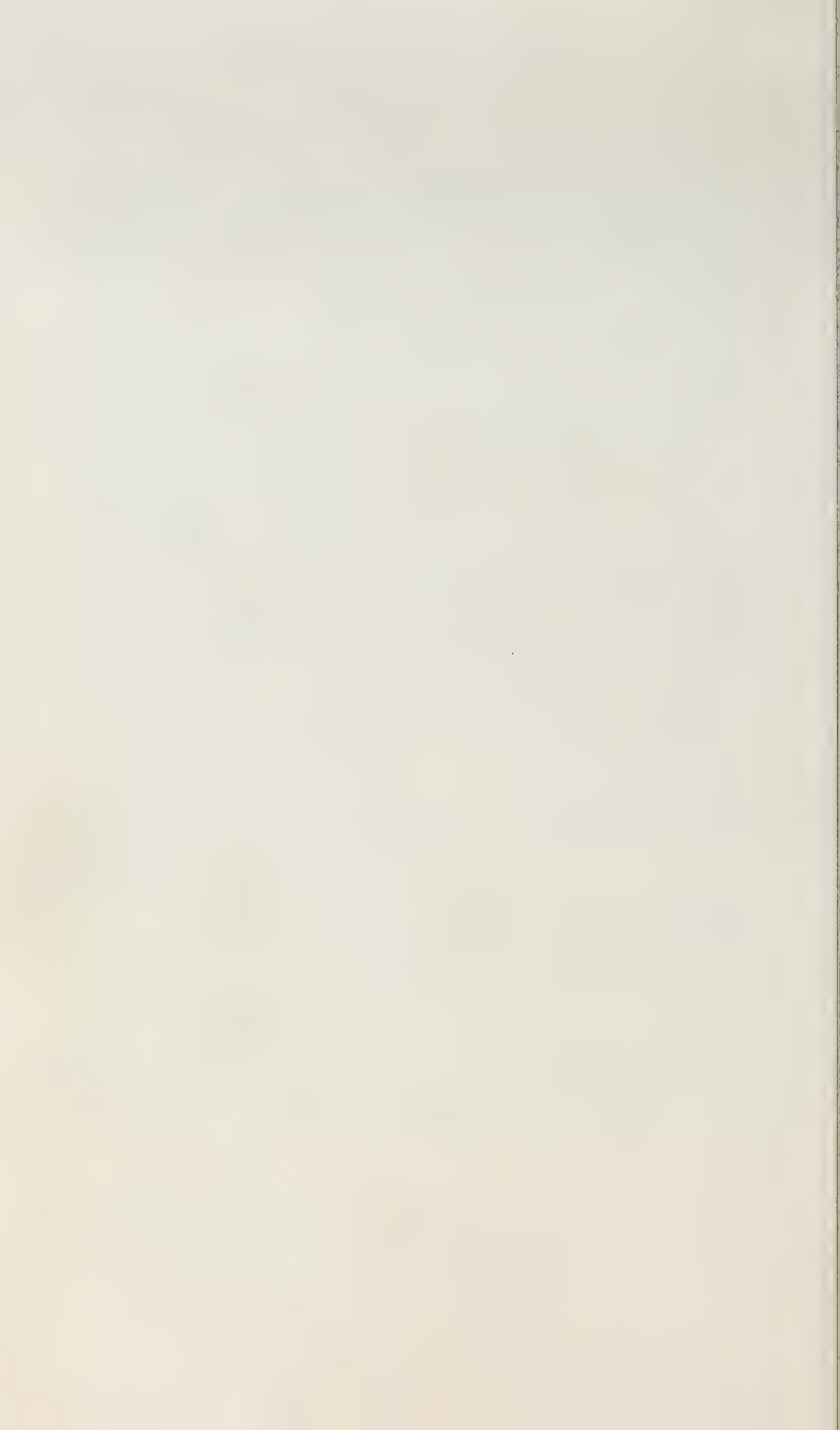
Artifacts from the Morris site. Chipped stone hoe (1); pitted hammerstone (2); flint hammerstone (3); sharpening stone (4); galena (5); stone celts (6 and 7); bone awls (8, 11 and 12); stone pipe (9); tubular bone ornament (10); stone bead (13); stone ear spool (14); bone hoe (15); unfinished bone object (16). Three specimens (7, 15 and 16) were associated with Burial 12.



PLATE III

Artifacts from the Morris site. Pottery vessels (1 to 3); rim sherd with handle (4); decorated pottery sherds (5 to 9); shell ornaments (10 to 12); shell hoe (13).

Burial associations: Burial 11 (1); Burial 10 (2); Burial 12 (3 and 13); Burial 6 (10).



on a larger sherd, the lines would have formed a rhomboid or a parallelogram. Another of the decorated sherds bears a clay node which has been attached on the surface. The remaining three are incised with broad, deeply cut parallel lines; one has three lines separated by intervals of about $\frac{1}{4}$ in., and the other two have only two such lines. Form: The vessels, in so far as can be inferred from the fragments, were probably small, flat bottomed bowls or deep jars. The rims, as indicated by several fragments, flare outward but may have been straight in some cases. The lips are rounded, squared, narrowed, or thickened and rounded. One fairly large rim fragment bears a strap handle with a small lip tab on each side adjacent to the handle.

GRANULAR CLAY WARE

This group consists of 136 sherds or 42.2 percent of the total sample. The level by level distribution is fairly uniform, as in the case of the shell tempered ware. The ware can be divided into three categories: thick rough textured utility ware, an intermediate ware thinner and less coarse in texture, and a still thinner and smoother ware.

Utility ware: The paste is brown or mud colored, but uneven firing has produced a variation in color from brown to black. Often one surface and about half the thickness of the core are brown; the other surface and the remainder of the core are black. A single surface may for the same reason have mottled brown and black patterns. The paste is tempered with small to fairly large granules of hard clay. Often it contains a noticeable quantity of small sand or rock fragments that possibly were intrinsic in the paste material. The vessels have flat bottoms, and their sides flare outward from the base. One lip fragment is narrowed and has one corner rounded on the inside. The ware is not decorated.³

Intermediate ware: The color is similar to that of the utility ware except that one or two sherds have a red slip. The texture of the paste and the surface is smoother, as previously noted. The lips are narrowed and rounded (three sherds) or un-narrowed and rounded (one sherd). One sherd is decorated with nodes and four parallel incised lines spaced about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. apart. No other sherds are decorated.

Thin ware: This is quite similar to the other two groups in color. The lip form is no doubt also the same although only one lip sherd was found. The only decorated sherd in this group is incised with parallel lines separated by about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Several sherds appear to be fragments of a bottle form.

BONE TEMPERED WARE

Only thirteen sherds fall into this classification. For the most

³ See *Appendix C* for Classification of Potsherds from the Morris Site, C K-39.

part the paste is black. The surface may be black or dark brown, or a thin surface layer may be oxidized to a red. The surface may be smoothed, and two specimens have a red slip. The single rim sherd in the group has a narrowed lip with rounded corners and a flared rim. The ware is not decorated.

LIMESTONE TEMPERED WARE

Only nine sherds fall into this category. The color of the paste is black, greyish-black or reddish brown. Firing was uneven in several cases. A thin red slipped rim fragment of a small bowl is represented by a fairly large sherd of good workmanship. The rim slants inward at an angle of about 45 degrees; the lip is slightly thickened.

STRATIGRAPHY

The only significant feature other than the uniform distributions of the two major wares, which has been previously noted, is that the two minor wares appear in the upper levels, primarily on the surface and in level 1. Neither was found below level 2, except possibly in the test trench.

COMPARATIVE REMARKS

The collections from the Morris site are as yet limited so that a comparison with other sites is largely subjective. The information now available is chiefly obtained from burials or village refuse with no data on the type of houses or other village features. This absence of architectural information presents a serious handicap in establishing relationships. There are three sites in the immediate area where major excavations have been completed: the Brackett site,⁴ the Vanderpool site,⁵ and the Cookson site.⁶ Of these three, the Morris site most closely resembles the Cookson site, which has been assigned to the Turkey Bluff focus of the Fulton Aspect.

There are many characteristics which suggest the assignment of the Morris site to a Fulton Aspect time period—the special cemetery area, flexed burials, refuse pits, flint knives, side scrapers, the elbow style stone pipe, awl sharpeners, bone hoes and shell tempered pottery vessels. Most of these features are similar to the Fulton Aspect, which is found throughout Eastern Oklahoma.

⁴ Howard, Lynn E., "Preliminary Report of Cherokee County, Oklahoma Archaeology," *Oklahoma Prehistorian*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 2-9, Tulsa, 1940.

⁵ Bell, Robert E., *Archaeological Newsletter*, Vol. II, No. 5, Sept. 1951, Norman, Oklahoma.

⁶ Lehmer, Donald J., "The Turkey Bluff Focus of the Fulton Aspect," Manuscript, Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1951.

On the other hand, there are some things which suggest an earlier occupation at the Morris site. The large projectile points, flaked axes, galena balls, the ear spool fragment, the black stone bead and granular clay tempered pottery are most characteristic of the Gibson Aspect, which is earlier in time. It is significant, however, that the Gibson Aspect traits are represented by artifacts from the village debris and that they were not associated with the burials. All of the burial associations which were clearly intentional grave offerings suggest a Fulton Aspect time period.

It would appear then as though the present collections represent at least two occupations: one the Gibson Aspect, and the other, the Fulton Aspect. If such is not the case, then at least a single occupation is represented which would be transitional between the two and thus have some traits of each. In addition, it should be pointed out that the number of large sized projectile points is not characteristic of either the Gibson Aspect or Fulton Aspect period and may well represent an even older pre-ceramic Archaic horizon. There is little, if anything, in the stratigraphic evidence to support such an assumption from our present limited excavations although it is hoped that additional work will clarify the actual situation.

From the meager evidence, it would appear that the burials found at the Morris site represent a general Fulton Aspect time period and is most closely related to the Turkey Bluff focus as manifest at the Cookson site. Similarities also exist with the Searcy component⁷ materials on Grand River to the west and with the Fort Coffee focus⁸ to the east.

These excavated burials may be intrusive into a site which was earlier occupied by a Gibson Aspect people (Spiro focus?) and possibly an even older Archaic (Grove focus?) group. A final answer awaits excavation in other sections of the site.

⁷ Bell, Robert E., and Bacreis, David A., "A Survey of Oklahoma Archaeology," *Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society Bulletin*, Vol. 22, pp. 64-71, 1951.

⁸ Orr, Kenneth G., "The Archaeological Situation at Spiro, Oklahoma. A Preliminary Report," *American Antiquity*, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 228-256, 1946.

APPENDIX A
BURIAL DATA FROM THE MORRIS SITE—OK-39

Burial number	Grave size	Disturbances	Sex	Age	Number of individuals	Type of burial	Depth from surface	Orientation	Direction of skull	Associations	Remarks
1	?	Yes	?	Infant	1	Flexed	18"	?	?	None	Disturbed by Burial #2.
2	38x21	No	Female	Adult	1	Semi-flexed	25"	SE-NW	SE	Present	Disturbed by plowing.
3	31x15	Yes	?	Adult	1	Flexed	6"	?	?	None	Disturbed by plowing.
4	46x29	Yes	?	Adult	1	Semi-flexed	4"-9"	NE-SW	NE	Present	Disturbed by pot-hunters?
5	58x22	Yes	Male?	Adult	1	?	3"-5"	E-W?	E	Present	Badly disturbed.
6	?	Yes	?	Adult	1?	?	8"	?	?	Present	Incomplete.
7	?	Yes	?	Infant	1	?	15"	?	?	None	Incomplete.
8	15x11	Yes	?	Infant	1	Flexed?	13"	N-S	N	None	Incomplete.
9	35x25	No	Male?	Adult	1	Semi-flexed	20"	N-S	N	None	Pit penetrated subsoil.
10	40x29	No	Male	Adult	2	Flexed	30"	N-S	S	Present	
11	39x24	No	Male	& infant							
12	38x23	No	Male	Adult	1	Flexed	16"	E-W	E	Present	Pathological femur.
13	?	Yes	Female?	Adult	1	Semi-flexed	15"	N-S	S	Present	Disturbed by plowing.
14	47x34	Yes	?	Adult	1	Flexed	3"	E-W	?	None	Incomplete.
15	?	Yes	Female	Adult	1	Flexed	11"	E-W	E	Present	In refuse pit?
							28"	?	?	Present	

APPENDIX B
CLASSIFICATION OF PROJECTILE POINTS FROM
THE MORRIS SITE—Ck-39

Type	Surface	Trench	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Totals
1	2		1	1				4
2	2			1				3
3	3	1		1		2		7
4	1					1		2
5	9	1	3	1				14
6	89	15	22	4	5	3		138
7	26	1	2	1	2	2	1	35
8	17	1	4	5	1			28
9	11	2	5	4	3			25
10	11	4	3	1		3		22
11	7	1	2	2	1			13
12	4	1	3		1	1		10
13	12		3	1	1			17
14	9	2	4	2	2	1		20
15	1							1
16						1		1
17		1						1
18	2		1					3
19			1					1
20	3							3
21	2							2
22	1		1					2
23	5		6		1			12
24	1							1
25	2		3					5
26		1	2					3
27	7				1			8
28	1	1			1			3
Totals	228	32	66	24	19	14	1	384
Untyped								
Frag-								
ments	96	17	69	19	9	10	2	222
Grand								
Totals	324	49	135	43	28	24	3	606

APPENDIX C
CLASSIFICATION OF POTSDHERDS FROM
THE MORRIS SITE—Ck-39

Level	Shell Tempered	Granular clay Tempered	Bone Tempered	Limestone Tempered	Totals
Surface	33	54	10	3	100
Test Trench	20	12	2	2	36
1	65	44		5	114
2	31	14	1		46
3	11	12			23
4	3				3
5					
Totals	163	136	13	10	322

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE JAMES K. HASTINGS PAPERS

The *Papers of James K. Hastings*, a manuscript volume of 82 pages, has been placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society. In the Run of '89 Hastings took a homestead in present Payne County, and has lived in the county more than sixty years. He was a teacher, farmer, justice of the peace, and county surveyor.

In the collection are such rare documents as a leave of absence issued to a homesteader by the Guthrie Land Office, 1889; a teacher's contract in Payne County, 1896; and a Democratic-Populist ticket, Payne County Primary Election, 1904. There are a number of short, unpublished articles. The volume contains the manuscript copy and the printed copy of three of the author's articles in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*.¹ It also contains one of his articles in the *Colorado Magazine*, and one in the *New Mexico Historical Review*.²

Hastings was born in Kent, Ohio, December 9, 1867, the son of John Irving Hastings and Charollette Minerva Blake Hastings. He graduated at Kent High School. Part of his early life was spent in Colorado and New Mexico. He has been a man of exceptional physical and intellectual vigor. He has had no use for tobacco, and he stood as an ardent opponent of intoxicating liquors. Early in life he acquired an appreciation for historical materials, and was able to set forth vividly in writing the conditions under which the first settlers lived.

The papers were arranged by Dr. B. B. Chapman as part of a project of the Research Foundation of Oklahoma A. and M. College. Materials such as the Hastings papers form the basis of historical research.

 EARLY HISTORY OF BLUEGRASS, OLD BEAVER COUNTY

The post office called Bluegrass was established on September 13, 1886, with William B. Stanley³ as first postmaster, near the eastern boundary of No Man's Land now comprising the Panhandle of Oklahoma. This whole region became Beaver County when it was

¹ "The Opening of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), pp. 70-75. "Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Old Central," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 81-84. "Log-Cabin Days in Oklahoma," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1950), pp. 143-153.

² "A Winter in the High Mountains, 1871-72," *Col. Magazine*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (July, 1950), pp. 225-234. "A Boy's Eye View of the Old Southwest," *New Mex. Hist. Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (Oct., 1951), pp. 287-301.

³ George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 46.

organized as a part of Oklahoma Territory in 1890, and is referred to in Oklahoma history as "Old Beaver County" to distinguish it from present Beaver County in the state. Two days after the establishment of Bluegrass post office, the first step was taken by the settlers of the region in the movement to organize No Man's Land as Cimarron Territory. This was never approved by Congress but the area was referred to as the Public Land Strip in the Organic Act approved May 2, 1890, which designated the same area as Seventh County in the organization of Oklahoma Territory. The name Beaver was chosen for this new county, by popular vote at the first election in the Public Land Strip on August 5, 1890, called by Governor George W. Steele recently appointed executive for Oklahoma Territory. The new county was named for Beaver River⁴ which flows through the entire length of the Panhandle except for a thirty mile bend south across the line in Texas. People in Northwestern Oklahoma still call the stream Beaver River even though some modern maps show it as the North Canadian.⁵

The following notes on the early history of Bluegrass are contributed by H. S. Judy, of Woodward, Oklahoma:

—Ed. (M.H.W.)

BEAVER COUNTY IN THE 1890's

The first legal and authorized election was held in Beaver County, Oklahoma, in 1890, soon after it was organized as a part of Oklahoma Territory. Beaver County then covered the entire Oklahoma Panhandle, now divided into Beaver, Cimarron and Texas counties. The writer at the time of the first election was a small boy and lived in the east part of the County, then and now known as Bluegrass Precinct. Some of the early settlers in that neighborhood discovered a rank growth of salt grass in the Kiowa Creek valley early one spring, thought it was bluegrass and gave their first postoffice, store, school district and voting precinct the name "Bluegrass."

The Bluegrass store and postoffice was started by John T. Stanley, a pioneer of that neighborhood. He settled there before the county was surveyed in section lines. He made a crude survey from a zinc tube a few miles away on which the section, township and range numbers were stencilled. He located and squatted on his claim with 80 acres on each side of the road and built the Bluegrass store building on the west side of what he thought was the section line. He also set out cottonwood trees on each side of the road, which made rapid growth and were large trees when that territory was surveyed and section lines established. It then developed that the Bluegrass store and the row of cottonwood trees on the west side of the road were right in the middle of the section line.

⁴ On a very early map showing Spanish names of the streams in this region, Beaver River is shown as *Rio Nutria* which means "Otter River" in Spanish. It was probably named by early Spanish explorers for the otter found along the stream, which reminded them of a species of the otter-like animal called the coypu that they had seen in northern South America. The plucked pelt of the coypu is called "nutria" in the fur trade, a fur noted a hundred years ago in making men's "beaver" hats.

⁵ Rand McNally *Pocket Map*, 1948.

Mr. Stanley refused to move his store or cut down the trees. He later homesteaded the two eighties and gave the public road according to the old erroneous survey instead of the legal survey, which road exists to this day with a jog back to the correct section line at the south end of the Stanley homestead. Bluegrass precinct was thickly settled in those days and Bluegrass store and school house was the center of most business and social activities. It was the meeting place of the Bluegrass Vigilance Committee, before law was established, which dealt with thieves and criminals in a very effective but abrupt and hasty manner. Sunday school and church services were held most every Sunday at the Bluegrass school house. Naturally, Bluegrass was chosen as the voting place for the first election in that part of Beaver County.

Willis B. Stanley, a son of John T. Stanley, was elected on the Republican ticket as the first County Treasurer of Beaver County. The officers in charge of this election were John R. Farra, Willis B. Stanley, H. French, John T. Stanley and John Van Geisen. The Democratic and Republican parties were both represented by a full list of candidates. The first County officers were about evenly divided between the two political parties.

Court was held at Beaver [Beaver City], the County Seat soon after the County was organized, with a Judge from the east side presiding and with Chris Madsden, noted peace officer there to keep order. As this was the first legal court ever held in Beaver County, the rules, regulations and restrictions of the court procedure were very galling and annoying to many who were used to the old wild care free days and way of life before the law came to Beaver County.

Court had been going awhile when a delegation of cow punchers, after taking on stimulating refreshments at a local saloon decided to adjourn court. They stated that courts were unnecessary and not needed; that they lived there many years without courts and could continue in that way. Soon after this announcement was made to the court, Chris Madsden went into action and pistol whipped one of the leaders with his "45," and restored order and convinced these parties that the court was there to stay.

One cow puncher got a prison sentence for stealing cattle. Convicts at that time were taken to the prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, for confinement as Oklahoma Territory did not have a suitable prison. It was customary for the prison authorities at that time to learn prisoners some trade if they desired, usually along the line of work they were familiar with. This prisoner was asked what kind of work he did before he came there and what kind of work he preferred while serving his term. He replied that he had always punched cows and that was the only kind of work he was fitted for and asked that he be allowed to herd the town's milk cow herd. It is not on record that he got that job.

A short time after Beaver County was organized, the Bill Doolin gang of outlaws robbed a train at Cimarron, Kansas, and the report was they got away with \$15,000.00. Four of these outlaws, Bill Doolin, Arkansas Tom and two others stopped for a meal at the Del Hesse ranch just east of Bluegrass P. O., on their way back from Cimarron, Kansas. There was a \$5,000.00 reward for Doolin, dead or alive. The sheriff from Beaver, Frank Healy, soon appeared and drafted a posse of men from the Bluegrass neighborhood to pursue and capture these outlaws. Among those on the posse were Tom Seward, George Petty, J. T. Stanley, John Marshall, Del Hesse and possibly others. These were joined by Geo. Gillian and Bill Cavin from Englewood, Kans. They overtook the outlaws a few miles south of the present town of Laverne, Okla. One member of the posse was sent to old Fort Supply to get out soldiers to come up Wolf Creek

and head them off. The soldiers were too slow in getting started as there seemed to be a lot of red tape about starting the U. S. army on an expedition of this kind.

In the meantime, the posse was engaged in a running fight with the outlaws until near dark when they went into a large willow thicket north of the present town of Fargo, Okla. Just before this, some members of the posse shot Doolin in the foot and wounded his horse so he had to abandon it and rode on the same horse with Arkansas Tom. The soldiers arrived about dark, charged the willow thicket but the outlaws all escaped. Arkansas Tom kept Doolin concealed in the canyons near the present town of Camargo, Okla., until his wounded foot healed. The total result was one captured crippled horse by the posse men, no reward money and Doolin was wounded in the foot.

There is still a school house and voting precinct known as Bluegrass, but no store or postoffice. When the Katy railroad [M.K.&T.] built near there in 1912, the town of Laverne was started a few miles east of Bluegrass, and it is the principal trading point for that community now.

—H. S. Judy

OKLAHOMA'S HISTORY DISCUSSION COUNCIL

In February of this year the Oklahoma City Greater Libraries presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a plan and a program for a series of discussions of Oklahoma. The purpose was to arouse a larger and deeper interest in all Oklahoma history. The discussions were to take place in the Auditorium of the Society each Thursday evening from 7:30 to 9:00 p. m., beginning March 6, and ending April 24. Stated subjects were set forth and the general public was invited to participate in any and all sessions without charge.

The two young men appointed by the Oklahoma City Greater Libraries to conduct these programs were Mr. Robert Duncan and Mr. Walter Gray. One or more authoritative historians of the State were to open discussions and then under the direction of a chairman in due season the audience was invited to participate.

The Oklahoma Historical Society through its Secretary earnestly endorsed this movement and gave it as much publicity as possible through letters, newspaper articles, etc. Mr. Duncan and Mr. Gray, ably and vigorously, attended to every detail of securing public interest and guarding carefully the development of each subject, both as to speakers and preparation for the opening and closing of each session and advising as to the length and closing of each evening's program.

The dates, subjects and speakers for each program is here set forth: March 6, "Oklahoma Folklore," Bob Duncan, Folklore Consultant, Oklahoma City Libraries; March 13, "Oklahoma's Cowboys," Dr. E. E. Dale, Research Professor of History, University of Oklahoma; March 20, "Religious History of Oklahoma," Rev. Rupert Naney, Nichols Hills Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Dr. John R. Abernathy, Associate Minister, St. Luke's Methodist Church, and

Miss Muriel Wright, Co-Editor, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*; March 27, "Oklahoma's Art, Music and Literature," Dr. Angie Debo, Curator of Maps, Oklahoma A. & M. College Library; April 3, "Early Visitors in Oklahoma," Dr. O. W. Davison, Director, School and Community Services, Extension Division, University of Oklahoma; April 10, "Oklahoma's Indians," Dr. M. L. Wardell, David Ross Boyd, Professor of History, University of Oklahoma; April 17, "Political History of Oklahoma," Panel of prominent Oklahomans, including Governor Johnston Murray and Jo O. Ferguson, Editor of the *Pawnee Chief*, Pawnee, Oklahoma; April 24, "History of Oklahoma City," U. S. District Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Needless to say this series of discussions awakened great interest in Oklahoma City and certain historical centers over the state. Good audiences of some one hundred and more were always present and individual interest was so intense at times that the audience took over the program. It was such a success in every way that there was a call from the public to make it an annual institution. On the last night Mr. Gray and Mr. Duncan, speaking for the Oklahoma City Greater Libraries, and Dr. Charles Evans for the Oklahoma Historical Society, expressed complete faith that it would become an annual affair.

—Ed. (C.E.)

LIGHT ON OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKERS

The government of Oklahoma, through legislative enactment gave \$10,000 for historical markers, to be placed at certain points, telling of heroic events in pioneer life. These markers were developed and placed under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society in co-operation with the State Highway Department, in the years of 1949-1951. The original committee appointed by the Board to choose these pivotal points consisted of General W. S. Key, President, Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.⁶

Miss Wright has recently compiled the inscriptions of the markers that were visited on the historical tour made by the Society and friends, April 25, 26 and 27, 1952.

The Editor believing it will greatly help the people of Oklahoma and the readers of *The Chronicles* to read these sketches is placing them in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

—Ed. (C.E.)

⁶ Col. George H. Shirk was active in this work, and became a member of the Committee in 1950. The detailed program for 1949 and for 1950 in completing the Oklahoma Historical markers was published in *The Chronicles* for each of these two years, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), and Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), respectively.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TOUR

APRIL 25, 26, 27, 1952

leaving Oklahoma City south to Norman—

Historical Markers erected by the Historical Society visited en route on Tour:
Description on Marker with location in parenthesis following:

1. "The University of Oklahoma: Established Dec. 19, 1890, by First Legislative Council, Oklahoma Ter., with \$10,000 grant from Cleveland Co., and 40 a. site donated by citizens of Norman. Opened Sept. 15, 1892. David Ross Boyd, President. WNAD, radio station, established 1923; and University Press, 1929."

(On U.S. Highway #77, three blocks south of Boyd Street, Norman, Cleveland Co.)

NOTE:

Stop made at Lexington, at Y on U.S. #77 before crossing bridge, to visit Historical Marker, granite shaft erected by Colonial Dames of Oklahoma, marking site of Camp Holmes in vicinity where U.S. made 1st treaty with Plains Indians on Aug. 24, 1835.

2. "California Trail: Crossed here—Caravans of gold seekers in the Rush for California traveled this Trail in spring, 1849, under military escort commanded by Capt. R. B. Marcy. Route lay west from Ft. Smith, south side of Arkansas and Canadian rivers, across Oklahoma. Camp ground and spring, 3 mi. west, well known on this famous Trail."

(On South side of Wayne, McClain Co., roadside park on U.S. #77.)

3. "Fort Arbuckle: One-half mile North—Established in April 1851 by Capt. R. B. Marcy. From here in 1852 Capts. Marcy and Geo. B. McClellan, later Comdr. in Chief of Army of Potomac, set out to explore source of Red River. Post abandoned to Confederates May 3, 1861. Again garrisoned by U.S. troops after Civil War; abandoned 1870. Initial Point for land surveys is 1 mi. south at intersection of Indian Meridian and Base Line."

(At Hoover, Garvin Co., State Highway #7, about 7 miles west of Davis.)

4. "Ardmore: Post Office named for Ardmore, Pa., and established Oct. 27, 1887, on Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe R.R. built north from Texas. Home of Lee Cruce, 2nd Governor of Oklahoma 1911-15. Hargrove College opened by Methodist Church, in 1895, became Carter Sem. in 1917 for Chickasaw Indian girls, named for Charles D. Carter, M.C."

(Ardmore, Carter Co., north city limits on U.S. #77.)

5. "Tishomingo: Capitol of the Chickasaw Nation which was organized in 1856, under a written constitution. Named for revered Chief Tishomingo who had died on the Trail of Tears during Indian Removal from Mississippi. Last Chickasaw Governor was Douglas H. Johnston who served 39 years. Stone capitol was built in 1897. The Chickasaw Academy for boys opened in 1851, about 3 miles of S.E."

(At Tishomingo, Johnston Co., near junction of State Highways #99 and #22.)

6. "Fort Washita: 4.5 mi. S.W.—Site selected and named, 1842, by Gen. Zachary Taylor, later Pres. of the U.S. Post established 1843 by 2nd Dragoons. Garrisoned until Civil War. Braxton Bragg, post comdr. in 1854, later Lieut. Gen. in Confederate Army. Occupied throughout Civil War by Confederate forces. Not occupied at any time thereafter by U.S. troops."

(Marker 1 mile south of Nida, Johnston Co., on State Highway #299. Site of Fort Washita is in N.W. Bryan Co.)

7. "Camp Leavenworth: About 2 mi. South—Named for Gen. Henry Leavenworth who died near here, July 21, 1834 while enroute from Ft. Gibson to Wichita Village in western Oklahoma for a peace conference with the Plains Indians. The expedition continued under Col. Henry Dodge, assisted by many notable officers and civilians including Lt. Jefferson Davis and George Catlin, the artist of Indian life."

(At Kingston, Marshall Co., west limits of city, on U.S. #70.)

8. "Durant: Home of Robert Lee Williams, one of Oklahoma's foremost citizens. Member Constitutional Convention; Chief Justice State Supreme Court; and Governor 1915-19. Later, was Judge on U.S. District Court, and Judge on U.S. Appeals Court, 10th Circuit at time of death, 1948. Was President of Oklahoma Historical Society since 1938."

(At Durant, Bryan Co., north side of City limits, on U.S. #69-75.)

9. "Chahta Tamaha: 3 mi. N.E.—Armstrong Academy, established by Choctaw Nation and named for Wm. Armstrong, Indian Agt., was opened there, 1845. Rev. R.D. Potts, Supt., under Baptist Miss. Soc. Post Office established Nov. 1850. Confederate capital during Civil War. Choctaw capital, 1863-1883. Noted chiefs there included Peter P. Pitchlynn, Allen Wright and Jackson McCurtain.

(At Bokchito, Bryan Co., about 2 miles, at junction of State #2 and #2A.)

10. "Goodland Mission: 2 miles west—Begun 1848 by Rev. John Lathrop of American Bd. of Foreign Miss. Rev. O. P. Stark, Supt (1850), built 1st church. Mrs. Stark opened 1st school there. Others in the service through 100 years included W.J.B. Lloyd, J.P. Gibbons, Bella M. Gibbons, Silas Bacon, Mr. and Mrs. B. McCann, Ebenezer Hotchkins, S. Bailey Spring, and E.D. Miller."

(South of Hugo, Choctaw Co., about 2 miles, at junction of State #2 and #2A.)

11. "Rose Hill: Site 1 mile south—One time noted plantation home of Col. Robert M. Jones, wealthiest Choctaw, owner of 500 slaves. A Southern leader he served as delegate from Choctaw Na. to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Va. Baptist mission of "Providence" near by, closed about 1843, was acquired by Jones, and converted into his Rose Hill estate."

(In Choctaw Co., on U.S. #70, east of Hugo about 2½ miles.)

12. "Goodwater Choctaw Mission: Site about 6 miles south. Mission was opened in 1837, by Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkins, under auspices of American Bd. of Foreign Missions. Kunsha Sem. for girls was located there, 1842, by the Choctaw Council, through influence of Israel Folsom, noted Choctaw."

(In Choctaw Co., on U.S. #70, about 1 mile west of Kiamichi R. Bridge.)

13. "Spencer Academy: Site 8 mi North—Noted school for boys, established by Choctaw Nation, 1841; named for John C. Spencer. U.S. Sec. of War. Students who were later prominent leaders included Coleman E. Nelson, Allen Wright, Jackson McCurtain, Charles S. Vinson, B.F. Smallwood, Jefferson Gardner, Simon T. Dwight, Eliphalet N. Wright, Homer Davis."

(In Choctaw Co., on U.S. #70, east side of Sawyer.)

14. "Fort Towson: Near here, N.E.—Established May, 1824, under command of Col. Matthew Arbuckle to guard this region on Spanish border. Headquarters of Gen. S.B. Maxey, C.S. Army; abandoned at close of Civil War. In the vicinity, Doaksville was important trading center and one time capital of Choctaw Nation. George Hudson, Principal Chief, 1860. Noted Choctaws included David Folsom & Robert M. Jones."

(At Ft. Towson, Choctaw Co., east city limits on U.S. #70.)

15. "Wheelock Mission: 1.5 mi. North—Established by Rev. Alfred Wright in 1832, missionary to the Choctaws for 33 years; also, physician, and translator of New Testament and many other books, into Choctaw. The stone church there is the oldest church building in Oklahoma. The Choctaw Council established the Seminary for girls in 1842. Harriet B. Wright, Principal. Rev. John Edwards in charge, 1853-59."

(East of Millerton, McCurtain Co., about 1½ miles on U.S. #70.)

16. "Miller Court House: Oklahoma's 1st post office, about 9 mi. south, established Sept. 7, 1824. J.H. Fowler, Postmaster, at county seat of Miller Co., then part of Arkansas Ter. County abolished Oct. 1828, as land had been ceded to Choctaw Nation. Court house destroyed by fire in Nov. 1828."

(At Idabel, McCurtain Co., at junction of U.S. #70 and State #87.)

17. "Eagletown: First permanent settlement among Western Choctaws. Postoffice established July 1, 1834. Rev. L.S. Williams, P.M. Stockbridge Mission established here 1836. Rev. Cyrus Byington, Supt. Here he produced monumental "Dictionary of Choctaw Language." Iyanubbee Seminary for girls established here in 1842 by Choctaw General Council."

(At Eagletown, McCurtain Co., on U.S. #70 east of bridge over Mountain Fork R.)

18. "Choctaw Capitols: Near here is site of "Nanih Waiya," first Choctaw capitol and council ground where first Constitution written in Oklahoma was adopted by Choctaw Nation, 1834. Joseph Kincaid, Thomas Le Flore, and Nitakechi, Chiefs. Tushkahomma Council House, last Choctaw capitol, one mile N.E. erected 1884, Jackson McCurtain, Princ. Chief.

(West of Tuskahoma, Pushmataha Co., on State #271.)

Note:

Visited Jones Academy, about 2 miles northeast of Hartshorne, Pittsburg Co., school for Indian boys maintained by Federal Govt. This Academy was established by the Choctaw Nation and first opened in 1892, named for Wilson N. Jones, Principal Chief of the Choctaw

Nation, 1890-94. The Academy was operated by the Choctaws until about 1930 when their tribal government properties were closed. Some of the buildings and the land are still owned by the Choctaws.

19. "Whipple Survey: Crossed here—Lieut. A. W. Whipple (later Maj. Gen., U.S. Army), under instructions of Jefferson Davis, U.S. Sec. of War, made first railroad survey from Ft. Smith to Pacific Coast, 1853. H.B. Molhausen, artist, Jules Marcon, geologist, and other scientists in party, crossed here Aug. 10, from camp a few miles east near a Shawnee town.

(About 5 miles south of Calvin, Hughes Co., on U.S. #75.)

20. "Fort Holmes: In immediate vicinity—Established in 1834 by Lt. T. H. Holmes, later Lt. Gen., in Confederate Army. Post visited in June, 1834, by Gen. Henry Leavenworth on his Expedition to Plains tribes. Edwards' Store, site one mile west and across Little River, was the last trading post on California Road, for emigrants during the Gold Rush, until reaching Santa Fe. Jesse Chisholm partner in the store, 1836.

(At Bilby, Hughes Co., on State #64.)

21. "Emahaka Mission: Near here N.E.—School for Seminole Indian girls established 1894 and operated by Seminole Nation. Rev. W.P. Blake, first Supt. Mrs. Alice Brown Davis, who later became first woman chief of the Seminoles was the Supt. at Emahaka Mission in 1908. The school was abandoned in 1914, and the imposing building accidentally destroyed by fire in 1927.

(South of Wewoka, Seminole Co., about 5 miles at intersection of U.S. #270 and #56.)

—M.H.W.



PAUL NESBITT

NECROLOGIES

PAUL NESBITT

1872—1950

Paul Nesbitt was born April 3, 1872, at Milford, Iowa, and died July 22, 1950, at Talihina, Oklahoma. He was the third son of James Blackburn Nesbitt and Evaline Watkins Lee Nesbitt. His father had been a First Lieutenant in the United States Army 1861-1865, and saw action at Fort Donaldson and Shiloh and other engagements in the western theatre. His great grandfather, James Nesbitt, was an Irish immigrant who served under General Washington and was present at Valley Forge and Yorktown.

Shortly after the war, while Paul was still a small boy, Father Nesbitt settled in Nebraska and the boy grew to manhood on the prairies of that State and obtained a high school education. He was graduated from Chicago Medical College with an M.D. degree in the spring of 1894, and practiced medicine at Vinton, Iowa, for awhile.

It was during the Nebraska years that his father, always an independent thinker, left the Republican party and via the Populists emerged a full fledged Democrat by the time Bryan appeared on the scene. Son Paul followed in his sire's footsteps, so that, shortly after the Democratic National Convention in 1896 he posed with his bride for a photograph, having across his lap a current newspaper bearing a life-size portrait of William Jennings Bryan.

Paul practiced his profession at El Dorado Springs, Missouri, from 1895-1899, coming to Watonga, in Blaine County, Oklahoma Territory, where he continued to follow the profession of medicine. But Paul was depressed and discouraged by the lack of knowledge of the medical profession of his day, and was intrigued by the prospect of journalism, engaging in the newspaper business even while still practicing medicine. He finally abandoned his profession and in 1904 went to St. Louis to serve his apprenticeship as a cub reporter, later working on the Joplin Globe. In 1906 he returned to Oklahoma to direct the press bureau for the Democrats in the Constitutional Convention campaign.

He was secretary to Governor C. N. Haskell, and on the night in 1910 when the capital was removed from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, he and a Mr. Anthony lifted the Great Seal of Oklahoma and bore it to Oklahoma City, so that the State could legally do business in the new capital the next morning.

Later, as a resident of Pittsburg County, Paul represented that County in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Sessions of the Oklahoma Legislature, serving as Speaker of the House for the Sixth Session in 1917. He was an ardent supporter of Jack Walton for Governor and served as Commissioner of Highways through Walton's stormy tenure of office. During the bitter Ku Klux Klan controversy he was a leading anti-Klan advocate, campaigning for Walton for U. S. Senator on an anti-Klan platform.

In the late 1920's, he went to New Mexico at the request of an old friend and was engaged for a number of years in building roads for the Highway Commission of that State. During that time he established a residence at Chama, almost astride the Continental Divide, and became Postmaster, a position he held for ten years.

In the fall of 1944, having retired as Postmaster, he returned to Oklahoma—to Talihina—where he and his wife were to care for Mrs. Nesbitt's aged stepmother. Like many another man who has led an active life, he failed rapidly under retirement, and died of a cerebral hemorrhage in July, 1950.

While practicing medicine in El Dorado Springs, Missouri, in 1896, Paul was married to his boyhood sweetheart, Carrie May Lee. To this union were born five children, two of whom survive: Robert L. Nesbitt, Bellingham, Washington; Mrs. George D. Bradley, Clifton, Arizona. The widow makes her home with her daughter, Mrs. Bradley.

Paul Nesbitt sleeps in a little hilltop cemetery in his beloved Oklahoma, whose destiny he helped shape in her formative years. Of him, a former colleague said: "He was a competent official, an honest man, and his character was above reproach."

—Howard Nesbitt.

Muskogee, Oklahoma

MRS. JASPER SIPES

1861—1950

Mrs. Jasper Sipes, one of "Old Oklahoma's" pioneer women, died at her home at 701 N.W. Street, Oklahoma City, on May 8, 1950. She was eighty-nine years old.

Mrs. Sipes was born Eliza Anna Johnston on February 5, 1861, at Mount Pulaski, Illinois. Her father, Captain Robert Johnston, lost his life while serving in the Union Army during the last days of the Civil War. She often described her visit to Kentucky as a little girl during the War when she saw Abraham Lincoln reviewing the Union Army. The widow of Captain Johnston lived in Ohio with her two daughters where they attended the Finley schools. Anna Johnston went to Oberlin College, in Ohio. In 1883, she left College to visit her sister, Mrs. Horace Carpenter, in Wichita, Kansas, and there met Jasper Sipes from Virginia City, Montana. They were married April 7, 1884, at the home of her sister in Valley Center, Kansas. For the next five years, they lived in McPherson and Pratt counties, Kansas, where Jasper Sipes farmed. He also used a "timber claim" right in Stanton County. Three children were born to this union in Kansas: a daughter, Helen, died in infancy; the son, Glen, was born in 1886, and the daughter, Gail, in 1889.

In 1889, Mr. and Mrs. Sipes came to Oklahoma City where they established a school and church equipment business which continued down through the years until the death of her husband in 1941. They exercised their homestead right when "Old Oklahoma," or the Unassigned Lands area in the Indian Territory, was opened to homesteaders, locating their claim about five miles east of Oklahoma City on what was known as "Crutcho Farm" near Crutcho Creek. Mrs. Sipes lived there with her two children during the period necessary to secure a homestead title. During this time, her husband carried on his business in Oklahoma City. When weather would permit, she would drive to Oklahoma City with the old family horse and buggy so her husband could come home for Sundays and holidays. This time on "Crutcho Farm" was indeed a rugged and colorful experience in Mrs. Sipes' life. She loved to see the farm prosper as it was entirely under her supervision. She was a courageous and ambitious young woman. She wanted to build the family's place and position substantially in order to give their children all the education they wished and to have a home



MRS. JASPER SIPES

of comfort and graciousness. All this she realized during her contented busy life of eighty-nine years. She was indeed one of Oklahoma's true pioneer women.

Mrs. Sipes was interested in all civic and cultural activities that contributed to develop Oklahoma Territory from the time of its organization in 1890, into a leading commonwealth. She served for several years as President of the School Board of District 74 which included Cruteho Farm in Oklahoma County. She was active in the '89er organization serving as President in 1929-30. She was a Charter Member, also a Life Member of the Y.W.C.A. of Oklahoma City. She was a Charter Member, and later elected Honorary Life Member, of the New Century Club, serving as President in 1922-23. She was a patron of the Art Center of Oklahoma City for many years. She was a Charter Member and, also, a Life Member of Epsilon Sigma Omicron Club.

After the death of Mr. Sipes on July 12, 1941, Mrs. Sipes continued to live in her old home in Oklahoma City until her death. She is survived by her son, Glen J. Sipes, of San Francisco, and her daughter, Gail Sipes Wright (Mrs. Curtis Wright), of Piedmont, California, besides three grandchildren, and four great-grand children. A devoted wife and mother and an esteemed citizen has passed from her family and many friends except in loving memory.

—Gail Sipes Wright

Piedmont, California

MARION RILEY TITTLE

1864—1951

Marion Riley Tittle was a self made man with varied interests. Born and reared on a farm, he became a successful farmer, banker and merchant. He was a worthy and highly respected citizen, enjoying the confidence and respect of those who knew him. Coming to the Indian Territory in the early days, he helped to lay the foundations of this great commonwealth, the State of Oklahoma.

Of sturdy Scotch-Irish ancestry, Mr. Tittle was the son of poor but honest and honorable parents. He was born at Pilot Point, Denton County, Texas, November 3, 1864, the oldest son of twelve children of Adam Elias Wells Tittle and Elizabeth (née Farris) Tittle. His father was a native of Tennessee and his mother of Alabama. They were married in Texas where Adam Elias Wells Tittle enlisted in a company raised in Denton County, Texas, for service in the Confederate army. He served with gallantry and distinction throughout the period of the Civil War, and at its close returned to his farm in Texas. In 1868 Adam Elias Wells Tittle moved to Arkansas and two years later to the Indian Territory. Nine years later he returned to Texas, but not satisfied there he went again in 1880 to Charleston, Arkansas. In 1887, he moved to Webbers Falls, Indian Territory, where he later died at the age of sixty-seven years. The mother later died at the home of her son at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, at the age of fifty-nine years.

Marion Riley Tittle received his education in the common schools of his day but his family needed him, so much of his time was spent on the farm. When twenty years old he was granted his "time" by his father, who also presented him with a horse, saddle and bridle, his sole capital of material things when he went out to make his way in the world. He was able to secure a plow on credit, and fashioned a make-shift harness, the lines of which were largely made of tops of old boots cut into strips.

With this modest equipment he started his career as a farmer in the vicinity of Webbers Falls, Indian Territory. After a few years, he entered business life as a clerk in a general store. By hard work he saved \$1,000 and invested it in a general store at Prairie Grove, Arkansas, where he went to live. After seven successful years in business there, in 1900 he came to Westville, Indian Territory, where he established the well known and successful firm of Cherokee Lumber Company. In 1906, he bought out Sheffield and Son Mercantile Company, a general store, which under his management grew to large proportions and afterwards became the M. R. Tittle Mercantile Company, of Westville, Oklahoma. He owned considerable real estate, and for some time was a member of the firm of Hall-Tittle Drug Company and president of the Peoples Bank, both of Westville.

In politics, he was a conservative Democrat of the old school, and had little patience with some of the modern liberal and socialistic schemes trying to take over the Democratic party. He was a strong believer in the free enterprise system and competition in business. Work, economy and thrift represented his way of life. For seventeen years he served as School Director, and otherwise never sought popular favor. He was enthusiastic in his aid for all public improvements. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge and the Methodist Church of Westville. At the church he taught the adult Bible class for thirty-two years.

In 1892 at Webbers Falls, he married Jennie D. Belleu, who died in June 1930. To this union were born four children: Marion R. Tittle Jr., a son, of Westville, Mrs. Nell Hall, a daughter, of San Antonio, Texas, Mrs. Lena Cabe, a daughter, of Westville, and Mrs. Lola Graves, a daughter, who died in April 1919. Mrs. Lola Graves left one son surviving her, Earl Homer Graves who was reared from a small child by his grandfather. Mr. Graves now holds a very responsible position as electronics engineer with E. I. Du Pont DeNemours & Company, at Aiken, South Carolina. Mrs. Hall has one daughter, Mrs. Virginia Longmoor, of San Antonio, Texas. Mrs. Cabe has a daughter, Mrs. Van Duke Carlton, of Westville. Two brothers survive the subject of this sketch, W. A. Tittle of Lincoln, Arkansas and John Tittle of Walla Walla, Washington. On November 30, 1931 Marion Riley Tittle married Mrs. Gertrude Howard of Rogers, Arkansas, who survives him and now lives at Westville.

At the age of eighty-six years, in apparent good health, he was suddenly stricken with a heart ailment and two days thereafter on April 20, 1951 passed from this world. In the spring time, with all nature waking from the winter's sleep, with flowers newly in bloom, with him making plans for future years, nature beckoned to him and the mighty column fell. The funeral was conducted by Rev. D. C. Welch of Westville and Rev. Lee Cate of Lincoln, Ark., in the Westville Methodist Church, and loving hands laid him to rest in the Westville Cemetery.

At the funeral, a fitting eulogy was delivered by Judge Joe M. Lynch, of Stilwell, Oklahoma, who had known Marion Riley Tittle for over forty years. Speaking of his friend, Judge Lynch said: "His life is the culmination of as beautiful a Christian life as I have known. Such men inspire us to live as God wants us to live. He was truly a Christian gentleman."

—William B. Moore

Muskogee, Oklahoma



MARION RILEY TITTLE



CLINTON RILEY STRONG I.

1877—1951

Clinton Riley Strong I, called "Clint" by his friends, was one of the most colorful, likable, enterprising and capable businessmen and executives who ever lived in Oklahoma, or on the frontier of the Plains Country of the United States of America. His Creator endowed him with extraordinary gifts and abilities in many ways. He was born in California March 30, 1877. When a little boy his father moved the family to Iowa. In the 1890's another move was made, this time to the Cheyenne and Arapaho County of Oklahoma Territory. There, in 1898, his father went to his eternal reward. Now, at the age of 21, Clint was left the head of the family. No man ever discharged his responsibilities and duties more faithfully. The "Good Book" says, "But if any provide not for his own, and specially those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." His Maker will never charge Clint Strong with failure to care for, direct and protect his people. He did it with joy. He watched over his mother, a devout Christian, as though she were a baby, until she went to heaven at a ripe old age. He saw to it that his sisters and brothers were properly educated and trained. They are all useful, God-loving, law abiding citizens.

Clint engaged in almost every line of endeavor: merchant, landowner, rancher, builder, automobile dealer, banker, oil, mining and railroad building. He owned many business buildings in many towns and cities, in all parts of the country. He exchanged a fine ranch for Signal Hill, Long Beach, California, long before it became a choice residential section, and, later on, covered one of the greatest oil pools ever developed in California. The former owner gave him \$10,000 to exchange back. This was before it was covered with houses or oil was found underneath it.

Everything Clint did was on a large scale. But he transacted business with such ease his way was truly a work of art. He loved his fellowman, and ever treated all alike, whether rich, poor, educated or uneducated. He was a handsome man, good natured, possessed a high sense of humor, a hearty natural laugh, and made a friend, instantly, out of practically every person he met. His individuality was warm, strong and vivid. There was no limit to his loyalty to his friends. He never failed them.

He made a tremendous contribution, financial and in executive ability, in the building of a railroad from Clinton to Butler, Custer County, Oklahoma, and then on to Strong City, Roger Mills County, a distance of fifty-four miles. Strong City was named in his honor. His connection with this business venture came about through his acquaintance with Thomas J. Nance, a banker and large property owner in Clinton, Oklahoma. A rich farming and stock raising territory extended from Clinton northwest into the State of Texas. Most of it was a long distance from transportation of any kind, save by freight wagons. The people of that region were clamoring for a railroad. At the time Clinton had three railway systems: the Rock Island, Frisco, and Kansas City, Mexico and Orient. Clinton was a thriving wholesale center and growing city. Its citizens felt that a railroad up the Washita River to the northwest would be of great financial benefit to it. Mr. Nance discussed the matter with his friend, Clint Strong. They decided to pool their financial assets and built it. They organized the Clinton & Oklahoma Western Railway in about the year 1907 or 1908. Mr. Nance was President and Clint Vice-President and General Manager. The people of Clinton, Butler, and the farmers and stockmen of the whole region joined with them heartily. A bonus of about \$90,000.00 was raised and considerable right-of-way donated. The line was completed to Butler

in about 1910, and to Strong City in about 1912. Later it was purchased by the Santa Fe System and extended to Pampa, Texas, where it connected with the main line of the Santa Fe from Chicago, Ill., to Amarillo, Texas.

Clint was appointed by Governor William Murray (Alfalfa Bill) as a member of the unofficial "Budget Committee", and served with Mr. C. C. Hatchett, Major Eugene Kerr, Judge Cromwell, and Ben Harrison, State Budget Officer. This committee worked harmoniously and with great efficiency. It was one of the best Oklahoma has ever had.

In 1933 Governor William Murray appointed Clint as Business Manager of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma. After serving his term he was absent for a time, then was appointed by Governor Robert Kerr. In co-operation with Dr. Henry G. Bennett, and other able men of the above College, mighty advances have been made.

The "Good Book" says, "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction." Clint, instinctively, always sought out those in sorrow and distress. In such cases his generosity knew no bounds. These acts of kindness were seldom remembered by him, but were never forgotten and never will be forgotten by the recipients. And no man ever held, in his mind, heart and soul, a greater reverence for God than Clinton Riley Strong I.

Clint passed from this life on August 30, 1951, at Stillwater, Oklahoma. Services were held in that city in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College on September 1, with the Rev. Roman Smith of the First Christian Church in Stillwater the minister in charge and the memorial tribute was delivered by the late Dr. Henry G. Bennett, President of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Assistant Secretary of State of the United States. In this moving funeral address to the memory of his great friend, Dr. Bennett paid tribute and gave acknowledgment to the magnificent contribution Mr. Strong made to the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College in these words:

"We live in a world of confusion. Too many times, men who ought to be strong are timid. Mr. Strong was a man of great courage. Nothing looked impossible to him. Nothing was too difficult for him to undertake with full assurance that we could carry it through to ultimate success. It would have been impossible for us through these trying years, years of drouth, years of depression, years of hard fiscal conditions—it would have been impossible for us to have carried out the dream which we had together with our associates of an evergrowing, expanding service institution for the State of Oklahoma without the faith and the courage which our great friend had.

Funeral services were also held in Clinton, Oklahoma, in the First Christian Church, on Sunday, September 2, 1951, with the pastor of that church, the Rev. H. Thornton Jones, the minister in charge, and the eulogy delivered by Judge Don Carrrough of Clinton. Burial was in old Parkersburg Cemetery near Clinton.

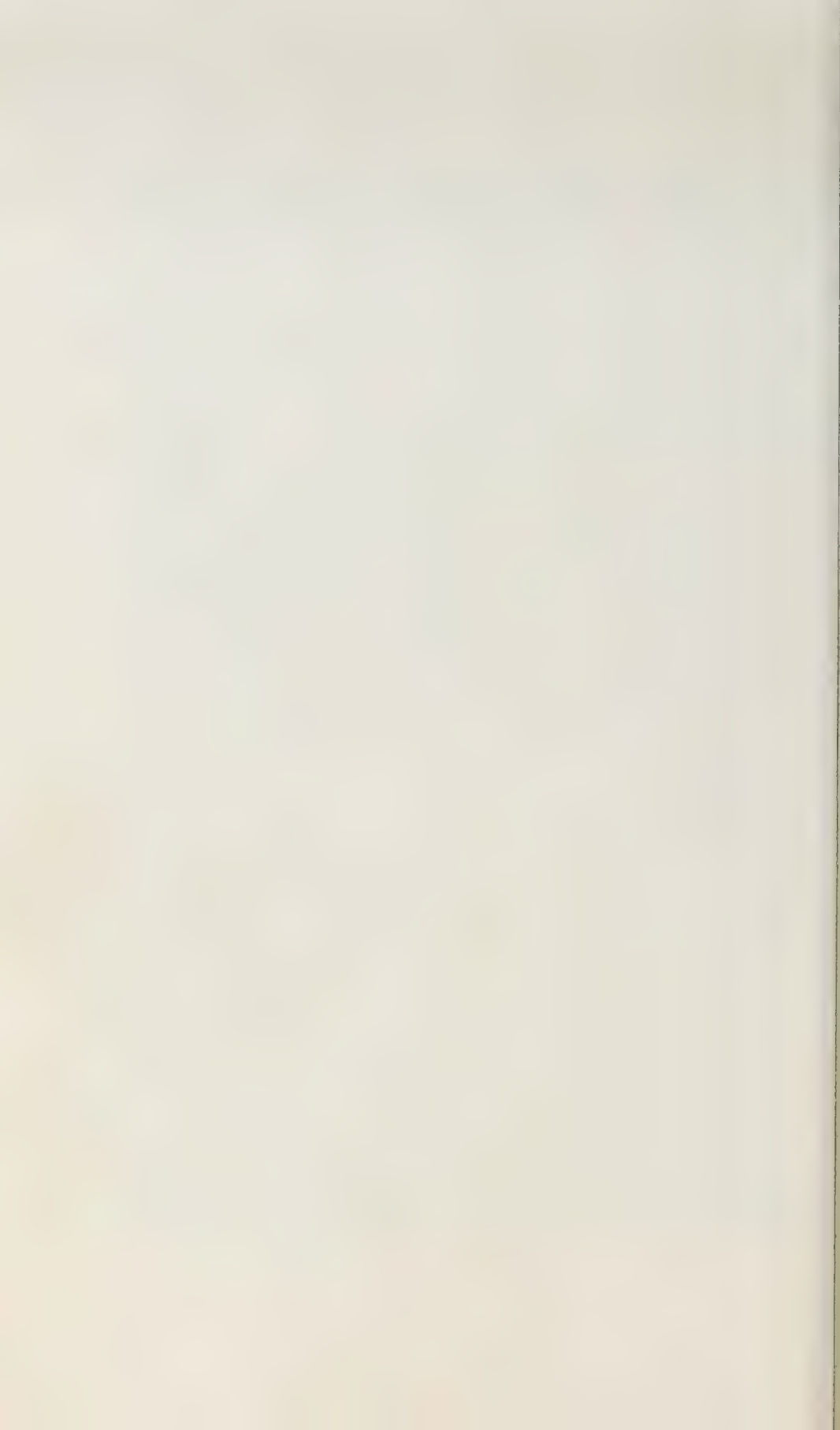
Survivors include his widow, Mrs. Minnie Strong; a son, Dr. C. Riley Strong, El Reno; two daughters, Mrs. Isabel Gutshall, Long Beach, Calif., and Mrs. Alverta Von Osterheldt, Minneapolis, Minn.; three brothers, J. S. Strong, Oklahoma City, R. B. Strong, Arapaho, nad F. F. Strong, Wichita, Kans.; two sisters, Mrs. Delma Chapman, Clinton, Oklahoma, and Mrs. V. D. Hicks, Osceola, Iowa; and four grandchildren.

—Charles H. Lamb

Tulsa, Oklahoma



CLINTON RILEY STRONG



MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 25, 1952, DURANT, OKLAHOMA

The Annual or Birthday Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society usually meets upon May 26 each year. The Executive Committee was authorized by the Directors to accept the invitation of the City of Durant to hold the annual meeting of the Society in the City of Durant. The Executive Committee selected April 25, 1952, as the date of this meeting, inasmuch as an historical tour of southeastern Oklahoma comprising three days, April 25, 26 and 27, would be centered around the meeting of the Board held under the rules and regulations of the Society.

On or about 9:30 p.m., April 25, 1952, after a splendid banquet had been served by the citizens of Durant in Hallie McKinney Hall, Southeastern State Teachers College, in honor of the Society, General William S. Key, President, called the Board to order and upon roll call, the following members answered "here": General William S. Key, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mr. H. B. Bass, Mr. George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Dr. E. E. Dale, (Judge Robert A. Hefner, having returned to Oklahoma City from Ardmore because of special business, was not present but was counted because of his contribution to the historical tour as far as Ardmore), Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Judge W. J. Peterson, Mr. Milt Phillips, Col. George Shirk, Judge Edgar S. Vaught, and Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary.

The President expressed deepest appreciation of the splendid attendance of the directors and said, as far as he knew, it was the largest number ever present at an annual meeting.

The following members presented letters explaining their absence: Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Anna Korn, Mr. N. G. Henthorne, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Judge N. B. Johnson and Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: C. G. Baker, Oklahoma City; Logan Billingsley, New York; Mrs. Mildred S. Boyer, Oklahoma City; Mrs. John E. DuMars, Topeka, Kans.; M. J. Ewert, Pauls Valley; W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb; Earl Foster, Oklahoma City; Boris B. Gordon, Washington, D. C.; Jess M. Harris, Wilburton; L. L. Humphreys, Duncan; Earl Hancock Kelley, Oklahoma City; James C. Leake, Muskogee; J. W. Mack, Oklahoma City; Leo A. Mideke, Oklahoma City; F. Stratton Morey, Oklahoma City; George C. Naden, Oklahoma City; T. A. Nicholson, Oklahoma City; E. W. Perry, Oklahoma City; S. Morton Rutherford, Tulsa; Fred P. Schonwald, Oklahoma City; Samuel G. Sullivan, Durant; Britton Tabor, Checotah; Francis W. Thompson, Bacone; Grover C. Wheeler, Clinton; Orion M. Wilbanks, Holdenville; Mrs. Sue K. Williams, Pauls Valley.

ANNUAL: Ruth Adachi, Tulsa; Mrs. Laura B. Amis, Vicksburg, Miss.; Frank J. Brandenburg, Tulsa; Leslie H. Butts, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Elmer Capshaw, Norman; A. Langdon Card, West Orange, N. J.; Sister Mary Charles, Paola, Kans.; Horace B. Clay, Tulsa; J. T. Courts, Quinton; Mrs. Thirza E. Cox, Heaveney; Paul V. Craft, Oklahoma City; John Wm. Craig, Jr., Guymon; Jess E. Dew, Tulsa; E. T. Dunlap, Wilburton; J. V. Frazier, Jr., Edmond; Harold P. Gibson, Elmore City; Mrs. J. P. Gibson, Elmore City; Inez Butts Glenn, Oklahoma City; Web. Glidewell, Helena; Carlton M. Greenman, Oklahoma City; C. S. Harrah, Oklahoma City; T. F. Harrison, Jr., Cushing; Perkins F. Hinson, Yale; H. H. Hobbs, Oklahoma City; Bert Hodges, Preston; Morton Harrison, Tulsa; Viola Jayne, Oklahoma City; L. Wayne Johnson, Stillwater; Lee M. Jones, Oklahoma City; Virgil M. Lewis, Tulsa; Garrett Logan, Tulsa; Mrs. Dallas T. Luttes, Ardmore; Mrs. L. S. McAlister, Muskogee; George R. McKinnis, Edmond; Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City; Justus R. Moll, Washington, D. C.; Tescue Jane Nichols, Oklahoma City; Albert C. Outler, Dallas, Texas; Ralph F. Parisi, Altus; Charles T. Phillips, Darrouzett, Texas; Carlton Poling, Oklahoma City; Robert T. Pollard, Oklahoma City; Mrs. T. D. Quaid, Enid; Mrs. L. M. Renz, Oklahoma City; Forrest F. Reed, Nashville, Tenn.; Hazel Rigsbee, Hobart; Elizabeth Ross, Park Hill; Julian J. Schaub, Guymon; Ernest J. Selby, Okmulgee; Robert M. Shultz, Oklahoma City; W. E. Sunday, Claremore; Mrs. J. E. Tilgner, Hawarden, Iowa; P. B. Vandament, Yukon; Linus W. Walker, Tulsa; Mrs. Eugene Whittington, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Lowell M. Wickham, Oklahoma City; Guy F. Williams, Tulsa; J. R. Wilson, Oklahoma City; Charles L. Wood, Columbus, Miss.; Jim Wright, Oklahoma City; P. M. Wynn, Cache; Dean E. Foster, Tulsa.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts had been received:

Memorial coin made for the Missouri Centennial in 1921, presented by Mrs. J. B. A. Robertson; sample of wool tweed made by the Sequoyah Weavers, presented by Mrs. Rella Looney; 21 World War I posters presented by Ralph Hudson; Choctaw Hymn book presented by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour; collection of pitchers presented by Mrs. W. P. Pringle and Harry A. Kyle; a piece of German script presented by Bill Ellis; photograph album of Dwight Mission pictures made in 1917, presented by the Board of National Missions; large colored picture of "Malmasion," home of Greenwood LeFlore, presented by John F. Sims; oil portrait of John Easley, presented by Ardmore friends; oil portrait of Perle Mesta, presented by the Oklahoma Memorial Association to Governor Johnston Murray who presented it to the Historical Society; oil photographs of Mae Audell Murray, outstanding 4H Club girl and Bill Carmichael, outstanding 4H Club boy of 1951, presented by Mr. Holler; colored photograph of Mrs. David Osborne Fisher, presented by Mrs. Agnes Fisher Colbert; miniature of Mrs. J. B. A. Robertson, presented by J. B. Butler; photostatic copies of 37 documents dating from 1803 to 1874 relative to the Shawnee, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Choctaw and Plains Indians, the gift of Dr. Grant Foreman; 27 printed documents filed before the Indian Claims Commission, the gift of Mr. Roy Thompson; printed document filed before the Indian Claims Commission, gift of Mr. Tom O'Connell.

Mr. George L. Bowman made a motion that the gifts be accepted and that a vote of thanks be sent to the donors. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion, which passed.

The Secretary called attention to the need of repairing the murals in the hall on the fourth floor of the Historical Building. Mr. H. B. Bass made a motion that the matter of the repairing of said murals be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act. Judge Redmond S. Cole seconded the motion which passed.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Treasurer, presented the financial report of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the Treasurer's report be accepted. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

Judge W. J. Peterson made a motion that the expenses of Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor, Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, and Mrs. C. E. Cook, Curator, to this annual meeting, be paid out of the private funds. Mr. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that \$100.00 be allowed from the special Funds of the Society to be placed in the Petty Cash Fund. Col. George Shirk seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Nealy Tilly, Custodian of the historical building had been called upon to keep the auditorium open each Thursday night for eight weeks during the Community Workshop Series sponsored by the Oklahoma City libraries and the Oklahoma Historical Society, and suggested that Mr. Tilly be paid \$25.00 for said extra services. Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that the sum of \$25.00 be paid to Mr. Nealy Tilly for said services, out of the private funds. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported the urgent need for a microphone in the auditorium of the historical building. Dr. E. E. Dale made the motion that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee with authority to act. Mr. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the July meeting be omitted, and that the Executive Committee be authorized to act until the October meeting. Col. George Shirk seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. R. M. Mountcastle in which he enclosed a bid of \$407.00 for reroofing the old Barracks Building at Fort Gibson. Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that the Secretary be authorized to negotiate with the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board with a view to said Board taking the Barracks Building at Fort Gibson under its control. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary reported that the Board of Affairs had offered to the Oklahoma Historical Society a replica of the archway which it had been planned at one time to place across Lincoln Boulevard in Oklahoma City, in honor of the Oklahoma soldiers in World War I. Judge W. J. Peterson made a motion that a committee of three be appointed by the President to pass on whether this replica of this archway be accepted by the historical society. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion which passed. The President appointed Mr. H. B. Bass, Col. George Shirk and Mr. Milt Phillips as members of said committee.

Mr. Milt Phillips made a motion that the Executive Committee be given authority to draw the budget of the Oklahoma Historical Society and to submit it to the Office of the Budget. Col. George Shirk seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. R. G. Miller suggested that the Board make a tour in the western part of the state, west of Highway 81, in the Fall. Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that the Society hold its next tour in the western part of Oklahoma, west of Highway 81, at such time as will be most convenient. Mrs. Jessie R. Moore seconded the motion which passed.

Col. George Shirk called attention to the July 1951 meeting at which time the Board authorized the preparation of an historical calendar for all high schools of the state covering two hundred days, and made a motion that \$500.00 of the private funds be authorized for that project. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion which passed.

Dr. B. B. Chapman made a motion that Mr. R. G. Miller be requested to write an article about the Historical Tour for the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Mr. Milt Phillips seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Redmond S. Cole made a motion that a vote of thanks be extended by the Board of Directors to the people of Durant and Southeastern State Teachers College for their hospitality. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. Milt Phillips made a motion that the meeting adjourn. Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

WILLIAM S. KEY, President.

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

R. G. MILLER

H. MILT PHILLIPS

GEORGE H. SHIRK

THE SECRETARY

Autumn, 1952

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WILLIAM BENNETT BIZZELL:

BIBLIOPHILE AND BUILDER

By Morris L. Wardell*

Dr. William Bennett Bizzell was born October 14, 1876 in Independence, Texas. He graduated from Baylor University with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1898, and a Bachelor of Philosophy in 1900. In 1911 he received a Master of Laws degree from the Illinois College of Law and the degree of Doctor of Civil Law in 1912. He received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Chicago in 1913 and a Doctor of Laws from Baylor University in 1919. Columbia University granted him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1921.

After serving ten years as superintendent of public schools at Navasota, Texas, Dr. Bizzell became president of the College of Industrial Arts at Denton, which position he held from 1910 to 1914. From 1914 until 1925 he was president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. On July 1, 1925, he became president of the University of Oklahoma. He served not only the University but the state as a whole. At the termination of his work as president in 1941 he was made President Emeritus and chairman of the Department of Sociology. During his academic career he was a member of numerous societies, associations, and clubs.

On August 16, 1900, Dr. Bizzell and Carrie Wray Sangster of Navasota were married. One son and one daughter were born to this union—William Sangster and Elaine.¹ Dr. Bizzell died at his home in Norman May 13, 1944, and burial was in Rose Hill Mausoleum, Oklahoma City.

Three years after the establishment of the University of Oklahoma it was reported that 1,800 volumes constituted the entire collection of books. The first president, Dr. David Ross Boyd, was deeply conscious of the need of books and to him goes the credit of initial work. The Library has steadily grown until it now has more than 300,000 volumes.

The Library of the University of Oklahoma, dedicated December 14, 1949, will be known to future generations as *The William Bennett Bizzell Memorial Library*, and will stand as a monument to the memory of Dr. William Bennett Bizzell, president of the University from 1925 to 1941.² He took great pride in making possible the construction of a beautiful building in which is stored for use the learning of the past, found on printed pages. He loved and admired not only books

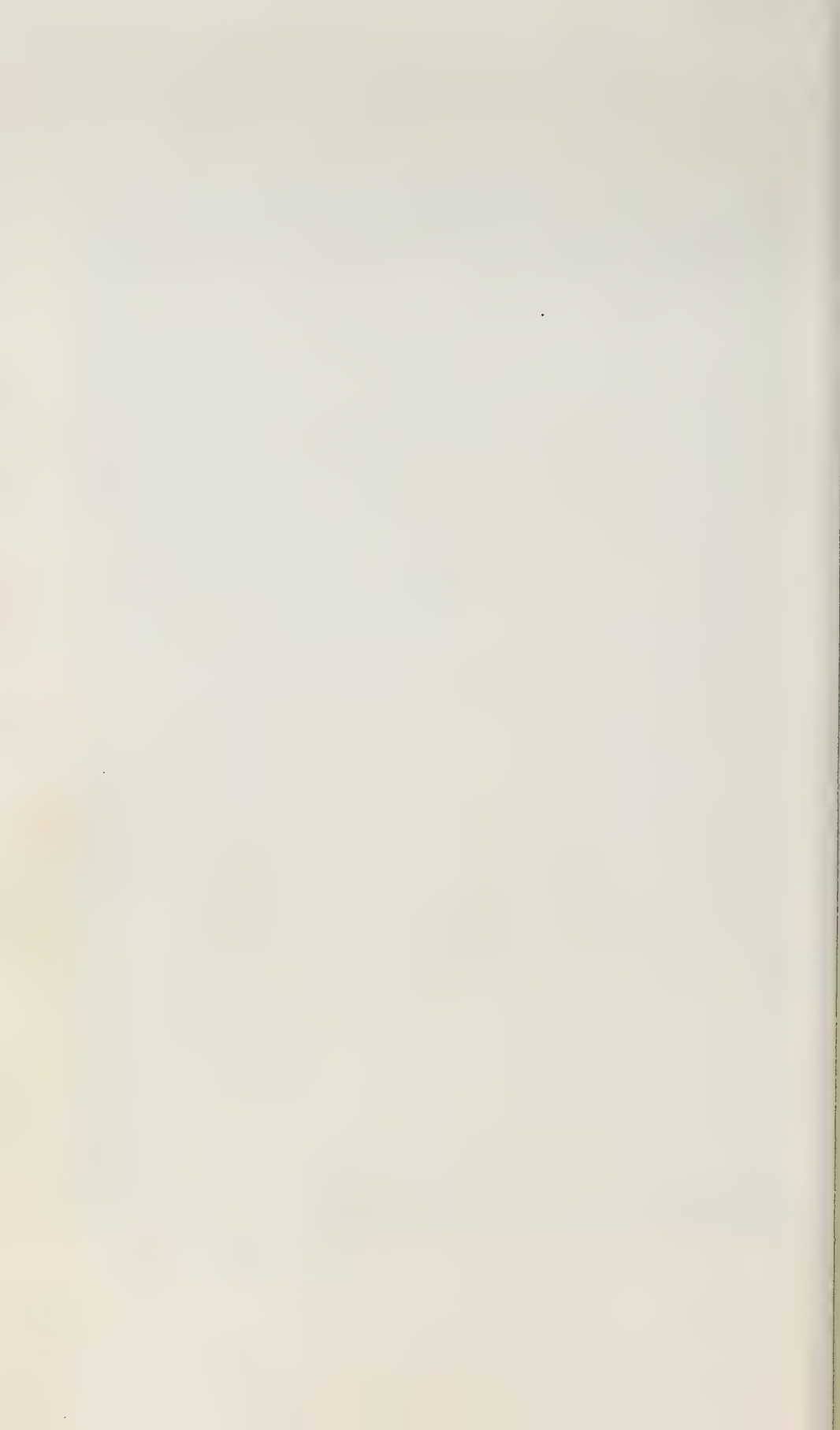
* Dr. Morris L. Wardell is David Ross Boyd Professor of History in the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

¹ The son, William Sangster Bizzell, married Edith Hocker. They now live in New Orleans. They have two children: William Bennett Bizzell, II, and Barbara Bizzell who married Jack G. Barry of Oklahoma City. The daughter, Elaine Bizzell, married Lee Bennett Thompson of Oklahoma City. Their children are Lee Bennett (Jr.), Ralph Gordon and Carolyn Elaine Bizzell.

² The statue of Dr. Bizzell which stands immediately across the street from The William Bennett Bizzell Memorial Library was unveiled at the dedication of the Library on December 14, 1949. This statue was completed in the summer of 1952, by Joseph Richard Taylor, Professor of Art, who was the designer and sculptor.



WILLIAM BENNETT BIZZELL



but beautiful books; books with historic bindings; bindings that are in themselves works of art; pages that are illuminated; and, in short, fine and good books.

Because of such circumstances as the fire of 1903 which destroyed the Administration Building and the library books, the lack of finances and urgent need of an adequate building in which to house the few books and those to be acquired soon afterwards, the Carnegie Corporation provided funds for a new building. When the library was removed from this building it became the home of the College of Education. The next library building to be constructed is the present Fine Arts Building. It was outgrown within ten years.

When Dr. Bizzell came to the University of Oklahoma in 1925 he saw the need for an adequate library building. Through his efforts, assisted by other lovers of books who also appreciated their value, this present building was constructed. No more appropriate statement can be quoted than the one under his picture in *Oklahoma's Crown Jewel*, which was issued at the time of dedication of the Library in 1930:

William Bennett Bizzell, president of the University, early set as the goal of the University a library building. Interested in books, himself a collector of rare and precious books, the president regards a library as the touchstone of any university. He had early expressed his wish that the University become a center of research and culture; and by sacrifice made this magnificent Library building possible.

Inaugural ceremonies for Dr. Bizzell were held February 5, 1926. In his inaugural address Dr. Bizzell set forth a program of education which included fundamental aims for the University, objectives that were to be reached through instruction and research which he provided:

1. The development of a more versatile and more conscientious citizenship.
2. The attainment of a more stable and a more satisfying social life.
3. A human product better fortified against human ills and physical deterioration.
4. A widespread dissemination of a knowledge of rational living.
5. Insuring to society a surplus of material goods and social advantages.

Further in the inaugural address appears a statement which shows the conscious effort the leader of the University for sixteen years made to build a good State: "We must never forget that the essential justification for education at public expense in a democracy is training for good citizenship." In closing the inaugural address Dr. Bizzell said, ". . . I hope to have the courage to do right, the

will to be just, and the Christian virtue of being kindly, sympathetic, and open-minded." Those who knew him best feel that he accomplished his aim.

It was custom during the presidency of Dr. Bizzell for students to assemble at the beginning of the academic year and listen to a convocational address. These addresses have been brought together in a book bearing the title *The Relations of Learning*. Here one finds kindly humor, philosophy of life, and advice to seekers of learning. At the end of one convocational address appears three concluding sentences worthy of being read again: "The comradeship of learning involves the spirit of courage and labor. Growth in body, mind and soul will be the rewards for your efforts. With these high purposes, let us unite our efforts in making this a year of great intellectual triumphs and fine companionship."

In these collected addresses scores of writers are quoted; dozens of books are mentioned; parts of poems appear; and many great characters are named for emulation. This lover of books and contributor to leadership was intellectually effective and kindly convincing when speaking before the students of the University of Oklahoma.

Dr. Bizzell invited men of international and national distinction to the campus to give the students intellectual inspiration. Among these authors and statesmen was Count Carlos Sforza of Italy who was a visiting professor for a month. Count Sforza later held a place of importance in the Italian government.³ Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia came to tell the story of victims of nationalistic aggression. The great Chinese scholar and Ambassador Dr. Hu Shih came twice. Bertrand Russell, Emil Ludwig and Maurice Hindus were other international characters who visited the University. From our own great men a few may be mentioned. Two great Oklahomans, Will Rogers and Don Blanding, came to speak before students and faculty members. Henry Seidel Canby and other literary personages made intellectual adventure appealing to young men and women.

As Dr. Bizzell read books he must have felt with Laurence Sterne who said: "Writing, when properly managed . . . is but a different name for conversation." Following the pages of an author, Dr. Bizzell must have paused to converse with him. Thus, new ideas were born, new thoughts were catalogued and passed on in further pleasant and profitable conversation with his friends. With humanist, scientist or musician, Dr. Bizzell's conversation was always enlivening. Like Talleyrand and Metternich, he was happy when talking with those who were clever, brilliant and equipped with the knowledge of the past, conscious of the present, and intelligent enough to project their thinking into the future. It was with such

³ Count Sforza, who was a friend of Dr. Bizzell, died in 1952.

persons that he could draw upon literature which was a part of his intellectual possession.

Truly educated Dr. Bizzell was philosophical. In seeking knowledge, he discarded useless information and equipped himself with facts that made an intellectual environment conducive to plain living and high thinking. Truth to Dr. Bizzell was not an abstract term. His constant search for principles upon which to base decisions led him to read widely and wisely. His convictions were not founded upon half truths but, as far as time permitted, upon complete investigation.

The lives of great men were not necessarily goals by which he might acquire a place of prominence. They were means by which he might inspire confidence, hope and faith in those with whom he associated: "If any man can convince me and bring home to me that I do not think or act aright, gladly will I change; for I search after truth, by which man never yet was harmed." These were the words of Marcus Aurelius and they might well have been said by the man we honor today. Perhaps he had read them and took them as his guide. From constant reading of good books, among other cultural pursuits, one's life is both consciously and unconsciously shaped.

To understand a man it is necessary to know many of his activities and interests which will at least open avenues to his philosophy of life, his love of intellectual adventure and zest for living. It may be an unusual procedure to make a study of Dr. Bizzell's book reviews but it is extremely revealing. His reviews show a wide interest in books, the versatility of his mind, and appreciation of the efforts of the authors.

Biographical studies constituted a field of interest. One month Dr. Bizzell wrote reviews of four books, three of them dealing with the lives of great men—Gandhi, Daniel Webster, and Admiral Sims. The fourth was a review of *Man and Society in Calamity*, a book describing man's place in great crises such as the recent war.

Many times Dr. Bizzell wrote letters of appreciation to the authors of the books he reviewed. Occasionally he received replies. It was not for these replies that he wrote but out of a deep feeling for fellow authors who like himself loved books. On one occasion an author replied: "I am grateful to you, not merely for your very generous criticism of my book but especially for your kind letter. I do indeed appreciate your writing me. That is the human touch that most reviewers never trouble about, and I wish to assure you that it means a great deal to me." Dr. Bizzell's reviews are evidence of wide acquaintance with the literature expressive of man's emotions and aspirations, and the plain facts of life.

His love of books took him into many areas of writing and study. It is small wonder that a great library is one of his contributions to the University of Oklahoma. Thousands of students have profited

from his own love of books. Thousands, many thousands, in years to come will read here, and bless the memory of the man whose statue faces this center of culture.

Dr. Bizzell has left in his own scholarly productions significant statements of his belief in the power of education. From accumulation of facts, and the desire to place on paper his own mature thoughts, he wrote many books, pamphlets, essays and addresses.⁴ In the essay "Higher Education in the Southwest" (*Higher Education in Society*, 1936, p. 20) he wrote: "As long as we believe that knowledge is better than ignorance, every effort should be made to give the youth of the land a chance to bring to fruition all the powers that they possess. To proceed on any other basis would be to turn the hands of the clock of progress backward and endanger the future leadership of the nation." His keen insight to the needs of the future has doubtless never been better phrased than in the above statement. His emphasis upon knowledge, not mere information, points the way for the good teacher and the good administrator.

Since it is through good books that the wisdom, knowledge and learning of one generation are passed to another, it was obvious that a press should be part of the facilities of the University. In 1928 under the direction of Dr. Bizzell the *University of Oklahoma Press* was established to provide an opportunity for creative writers primarily engaged in the academic pursuits to place before readers the benefits of their labor. Two hundred separate publications, representing a total of one million volumes, have been published. Significant contributions have been made to science, humanities, social sciences, art and other areas of study. The University of Oklahoma is universally known through its Press to men who are eager to read books that have passed the test of critical readers, a capable editorial staff and the good name of the University itself.

⁴ (a) Publications by William Bennett Bizzell:

Judicial Interpretation of Political Theory. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

The Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets. Boston, Sherman, French & Co., 1916.

Rural Texas. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924.

The Green Rising: An Historical Survey of Agrarianism. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926.

(b) Written in collaboration:

The Relations of Learning. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

With Duncan, M. H. *Present Day Tendencies in Education*. Chicago and New York, Rand, McNally & Co., 1919.

With Splawn, Walter M. W. *Introduction to the Study of Economics*. Boston and New York, Ginn and Co., 1923.

With Klein, A. J. and Withers, J. W. *Survey of State-Supported Institutions of Higher Learning in Arkansas*. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931.

With others. *Higher Education and Society: A Symposium*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1936.

Scholars who have had their first books published here continue to offer the Press the results of their studies and research. As the intellectual world has profited by the publishing arm of the University during the past score of years the future, too, will be made richer with books. Dr. Bizzell looked upon the Press and its refined product as another one of his contributions to Oklahoma, the Southwest and the nation. Doubtless it is one of the most important and will continue to be so recognized by those who love learning and beautiful books.

Dr. Bizzell studiously collected a personal library which contains approximately 9,000 volumes. Many were autographed and presented to him by admiring and appreciative authors who were his friends. This library covers broad fields of learning. The humanities, the arts, and the sciences are represented. The hundreds of volumes stand today as evidence of the intense and expansive interests that characterized him as a scholar, a Christian gentleman, a noble soul and a friend of men and women both young and old.

Wide publicity has been given his Bible collection which undoubtedly is one of the best and most extensive to be found among all private collections. It was much more than the love of collecting books that led him to surround himself with Bibles.

Like most lovers of books who have collected them he identified his personal copies with a book plate which is a quotation from Shakespeare,

“ . . . Ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven.”

While giving almost the whole of his adult professional life to the heavy responsibilities connected with students of a large university, which was constantly expanding, he had time to become a leader of leaders, a contributor to the enrichment of the lives of young men and women and the lives of all those with whom he associated. Dr. Bizzell through his accomplishments was a resourceful and radiant personality. The world in which he lived was bounded by horizons far beyond the vision of the average man. His interests were deep, abiding and universal.

PIONEER DAYS IN ELLIS COUNTY

*By Violet Polin Igou**

The breeze gently touched the tanned cheeks of the young Missouri farmer who stood looking over his rocky field, his eyes filled with discontentment. For several weeks the report about the Oklahoma land that was open for homesteaders had filled his thoughts.

Responsibility had ridden the rough trail with this young Lee Polin,¹ for his father had died leaving the care of the mother to the lad not yet fourteen years of age. Time, the great healer of all sorrow, had long since closed the gaping wound of loss in the death of his mother, Amanda Polin. Then, too, the acquisition of a wife and a small son had opened a new way of life.

The beauty of Ella Zartman² attracted countless swain. Her culture and gentleness of spirit warmed their hearts and caused the rivalry for her hand that was ended by Lee coming forward with his steely gray eyes and dark wavy hair, claiming her for his bride. Not only did he gain in the fair Ella, a girl as ambitious as he, but a new father and mother and two sisters, Grace and Rose and a younger brother, Ira. No one could have gained so much and yet offered so much in return, for theirs was a love that was to live and grow stronger with the passing years and the coming of children.

Daddy Zartman, whose feet itched with wander lust, was an easy victim for the pilgrimage to a new home in the western wilderness. Maps were studied, the railroad contacted for transportation, and the trip was soon to be started. One of the first little economies and the cause of many a deep chuckle in after years was the loading of the freight cars. Two cars were contracted for, and loaded to capacity. The horses stood in with the plows, hoes and rakes; the feed with the bedding and food for the families, even the cows and chickens were brought along. Every available inch was crowded with something they just might need. They reasoned that they had chartered the cars so why not fill them. Every one was happy to be able to crowd so much into such little space. What a rude awakening when they reached the little frontier town of Gage, Oklahoma, and found that

*Violet Polin Igou is the fourth child of Lee and Ella Polin. She graduated from Follet High School in 1925, and married the same year to Chilion A. Igou. She attended West Texas State College, taught school for twelve years, and is the mother of two sons, Jack and Delmar. Mrs. Igou lives in Perryton, Texas.—Ed.

¹ Lee Polin was the youngest son of Henry and Amanda Polin. Henry Polin was a Civil War veteran from Christian County, Illinois. Amanda Davis Polin was the niece of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States.

² Ella Zartman was the eldest daughter of Leroy A. and Anna Zartman. They were originally from Indiana, moving to Cloud County, Kansas, then to Ozark, Missouri.

a railroad car was just not chartered in its entirety but that the price was charged by weight. The unloading was slow and unhappy. Four railway cars could have been used for exactly the same amount of money, and everything would have stood the trip so much better. But there was no time for crying had they been the crying kind. The land was out there: the home they had dreamed of.

The next day the wagons were re-assembled and loaded, and with friendly advice of the depot agent the family set out. It was the spring of the year of 1901. Everywhere wild flowers dotted the plains, birds sang, and from behind every soaproot, a rabbit sprang up, eyed the strange procession, decided this was not for him and loaped away over the prairie. To drive over boundless prairie seeing no human inhabitants was an awesome thing. In choosing a site for a prairie home, water was the first requisite. Driving along, calling laughingly to each other, the time passed swiftly and the miles of prairie landscape slid by. Along in the afternoon of the second day out, Daddy Zartman called, "Yoo Hoo, Lee, I believe I've found it!" They had come to a deep ravine, and from a sheltered rock lay a spring with water clear as a crystal.

Grace and Rose, who were at the age to be thinking more of sunburn and freckles than to be truly interested in an uninhabited wilderness home, came from their wagon, looked around in disgust, shook down their skirts and came to the wagon where Marvin lay asleep in his blanket, unmindful of the great change that had come into his hitherto well ordered life. Lifting her arms high, Grace said, "Hand him down. If he is to be the only man in our lives, we must make the most of him".

Tents, which were to be home for several weeks until soddies were erected, were raised, staked and the furniture placed. Things must be kept exceedingly clean around primitive homes for there were no doctors, nothing but God and man and a future to be carved from the wilderness. Gardens were planted, and fields were laid out. Each night found the homesteaders tired yet hopeful for the future.

Nature smiled that spring. The soil was new and fertile. The rains came at the right time, and by fall there was a Thanksgiving such as the Pilgrims celebrated. The one thing that had worried them was the lack of wood, and coal was out of the question. Cow chips were said to burn with an intense heat, but who could eat food cooked over this refuse? One day, there was no wood close, and the men were in the fields. Rose and Ella donned their bonnets and went out with a basket to gather chips. No one was hungry for the meal that cooked merrily on the stove, but necessity coupled with youth and a high sense of humor prevailed. Soon chips were the accustomed fuel.

Lean years were in store for the young Polin family. Proud but poor it came to be a strange game to keep Daddy Zartman from

finding out just how scarce was the food supply. When they were known to be coming for a meal, the best was brought out which was likely to be beans and stewed rabbit. Upon hearing of their hardships in later years, someone said, "Why, a nice young rabbit fried golden brown was good eating."

"But," said Ella with a far away look in her eyes, "There was not enough shortening to fry it in, and stewed rabbit can get pretty sickening." "Why," said she, "We got so hungry for fried potatoes, that on the few trips to Gage, we could smell them cooking for half a mile away and tears would come into our angry eyes."

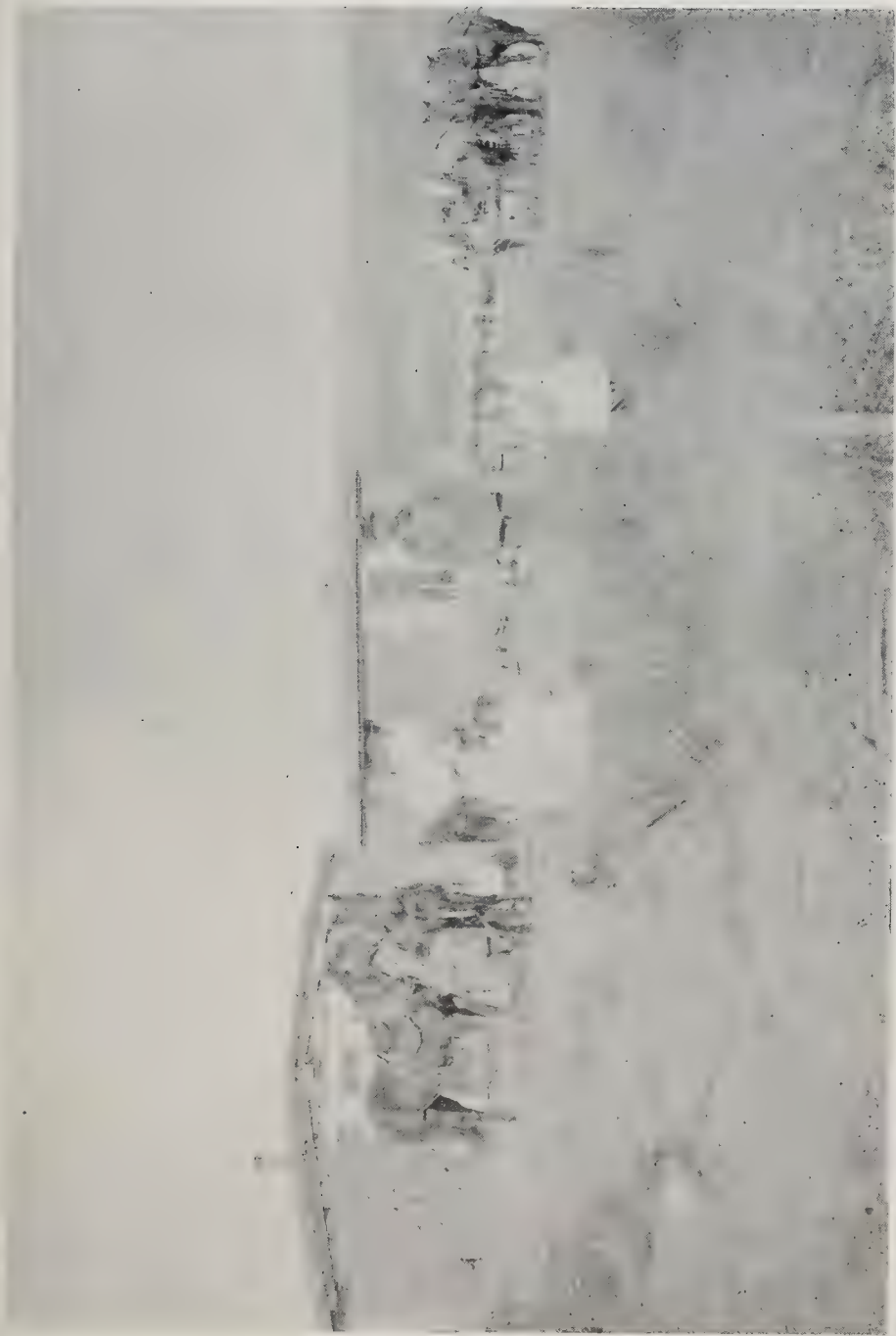
Money was so scarce that fifty cents a trip was considered good wages when Lee rode horseback over the trails to Gage, some twenty nine miles away, to bring back the neighborhood mail. This was before the small country store and later post office of Catesby was established by the Rose family.³ Lee once said, "We bet the government fourteen dollars (the price for filing on the homesteads), that we could live on that land for five years without starving, and we nearly lost."

Clear Creek ran three miles north and east of the homesteads. Many times, on Saturday afternoon, Lee and Ella would pack a lunch and carrying Marvin, a lad now two years of age, would walk to the creek, spend three or four hours fishing, and walk back home with a nice mess of perch and cat fish. It had been some time since they could spare a few hours for fishing so they decided to go the next Sunday, and they had a lively time. The fish were biting, and soon they had so many that they were planning a Sunday evening get-together with Daddy Zartman and a fish fry. This was the moral story told to teach the children in later years to observe the Sabbath, for lo! and behold! when they started to dress the fish, they found that they were infested with larvae. Never could we convince Mother that it was not the Sunday fishing but probably low water that caused the fish spoilage.

On July 2, 1902, Della Grace, nick-named "Dottie" by her brother Marvin, came to make her home with the Polins. She was the first white baby on record born in this northwestern section of Oklahoma. A neighbor woman, usually a close friend, was present for the birth of these pioneer babies. A trip of twenty-six miles in a buggy or horseback for a doctor and the twenty-six miles back was usually of no avail as the baby's arrival usually was before the doctor's. Mrs. Lily White,⁴ neighbor and friend, was Godmother to

³ The Rose family were early Ellis County pioneers. See F. P. Rose, "Early History of Catesby and Vicinity", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (Summer 1951), pp. 177-99.

⁴ Mrs. Lily White was the mother of Mrs. Hallie Rose, wife of Ralph Rose, mentioned in "History of Catesby and Vicinity", *ibid.* The latest knowledge had of Mrs. White is that she is still living in Woodward, Oklahoma. Mr. White died many years ago, and my recollection of him is faint.



Lee and Ellen Polin with their children Marvin, Dottie, Irene and Violet—at their pioneer, soddie home in Ellis County.

most of the Polin babies. Clean and neat and lovely in spirit, she is revered today as one of the greatest of pioneer women.

One day as she was traveling over the prairie to the home of a friend in need, she heard the ominous hiss of a rattlesnake, which was the most deadly enemy of the plainsmen. She had no weapon yet this viper must be killed. She looked around for a stick but none was in sight. She stooped, picked up a clod of earth, keeping her eye on the snake, and struck her first blow. She repeated this until the snake was stunned, then using her shoe to finish the job, went on her way.

The year of 1903, found the homesteaders better prepared for the approaching winter than at any time since they had come to this country. Comfortable sod houses had been erected, and scattered farms were dotting the landscape. Times were still hard but hogs had been butchered and put into the well house. Cans of food were stored away, beans had been picked and dried, potatoes were put in dried grass and covered over with earth, pumpkins and squash were piled high; and there was always nice fresh milk, butter and butter-milk.

One stormy night in November, the dogs started howling. One suddenly yelped as if in pain. Lee jumped from the bed, grabbed his rifle and, not stopping to put on shoes, ran from the house. The dogs were running in the direction of the ravine, still barking. Lee followed as fast as possible, his bare feet picking up sand burs and hitting sharp rocks. His anger made him immune to pain. A sneak thief, an onery coyote was all that would steal from homesteaders who had worked so hard. Lee's foot hit something, and he went down sprawling full length among the burs and in the sand. His hand went out, gropingly found and clung to one of the hams that had been saved for winter meals. He picked it up and trudged back to the house. The next morning found him on the trail again. He found where the going had been rough and the gunny sack that had held the ham had been dragged. Finally, he came to where he had picked up his winter meat supply. This kind of thievery was unusual in those days. People were generous, and if a family was in need, they could get help.

Three sisters had become playmates of little Marvin. Christmas was a festive occasion. There was never much money to spend, in fact, manufactured toys were nearly unheard of and never missed. The children knew that something unusual was taking place in the shop. Uncle Ira was taken to view something for Christmas but the children were not allowed close. Curiosity was rampant. Christmas morning finally dawned and the children tumbled from bed at the break of morn. There stood a rocking horse, fully two and one half feet high, complete with dappled skin, long white mane and tail. Later we could not imagine how "Old Gray" had lost her tail, we

never dreaming that Santa had used her plumage in his workshop. No present that could be found today could compare in our childish hearts to this miracle of a rocking horse. We rode him and loved him, and kept him in the family for the next ten years.

The winter of 1906 has gone down in history as one of the worst winters in the Southwest. Blizzards came early and buried the cows belly deep in snow. It was impossible for the ranchers, especially, to care for their herds. Thousands upon thousands of cattle died during that terrible winter. The homesteaders fared a little better as they had fewer cows, and shelters had been built for them; but feed before spring was scarce so the cattle were terribly thin and the calving season was light. Mr. Gigger, who owned one of the largest ranches nearby, told in later years of riding out across his range and seeing the greater part of his herd frozen stiff. This was a bad year for the ranchers, but from then on, the feeling of being pushed off their range grew less, and the feeling toward the homesteaders became more friendly.

In 1906, the little frame church at Catesby was built by the farmer folk. This was one of the first rural churches to be dedicated in this part of Oklahoma. Although it became a Methodist church, it welcomed people from all denominations. Holidays were community days and the people came with their well filled baskets, making the church the center of public as well as religious gatherings.

The land had been laid off into districts (or townships) and about every six miles, a small rural school house stood bleakly against the horizon. The Polin children along with their neighbors went to school in their district. Needless to say the room was packed. In the winter time, the boys set trap lines. Many a day, after they had made a good catch, the school room was insufferable from the odor of skunks. These boys were never sent home to change clothing, but seemed to glory in the unusual situation they were creating. Large and small, they were all crowded into one room, with the teacher, usually a man, in charge of all eight grades. Recesses were held in relays, thus putting a bunch of youngsters on the playground at all times. Four and five classes were often heard at the same time with older students teaching the younger pupils, and the teacher supervising and teaching the higher grades. These first teachers in Oklahoma should be given great credit for they worked under tremendous handicaps, and for the main part, turned out citizens of the west who were honest and courageous, even if they did not get much formal education.

California was a far off paradise, but it was not the forbidden land to Daddy Zartman. His feet had become itchy again, so he and Grandma Zartman and Rose, who had not married decided to go west. They advertised all their worldly possessions for a public auction sale. People came for miles around partly for a day of visiting, and partly



The new home after the Polin's trip to California



Mr. and Mrs. Lee Polin at the time of their
Golden Wedding Anniversary

for the thrill of bidding against neighbor and friend for a choice possession. This was a time of sadness for Ella, who now mothered five children of her own and those that her children endlessly brought home to spend the night. It was the first time that she was to be separated by more than a few miles from her parents. We were to miss these dearly beloved grandparents and the aunt, who continually bossed and scolded and loved us. But as long as Aunt Grace and Uncle Walter remained close, and Uncle Ira and Aunt Cora, we were happy.

The years passed, and the homesteaders who withstood the droughts and blizzards and hard work became financially secure. By this time the Polin family had nearly outgrown the sod house that had been their home for so long. There was talk of a new home to be built upon the hillside so that we could see the highway and the surrounding countryside. In 1912, the wheat crop was good and the land all paid for. As we sat around the supper table, Dad turned to Mother and said, "That new house that you have been wanting, do you want it this year, or would you rather go to California and see your folks?" Our hearts stood still. This was the greatest, the most thrilling thing that had ever happened to us. Had it been put to a vote not an "aye" would have been heard for the new home. No indeed! When it had been settled that if the trip to California came to pass, all of the children would go—we numbered six by that time. Nothing would have changed our vote had it been left to us, but the decision was mother's. By the next day, she had decided. We would wait for the new home, and we would all go to California accompanied by our loved Uncle Ira and Aunt Cora, who had no children, and who loved and petted us.

It was in the dead of winter and we would miss the rest of the school term, but we had missed two months anyway, since the six of us had just recovered from a severe epidemic of scarlet fever, when the final plans were made for our trip to California. We had scarcely seen a train, much less get on one and ride for days. It was nearly beyond our imagination!

The trip was a miraculous experience. The Negro porter who helped us on, looked with bulging eyes at the six stair-step children. I hope we did not give him too much trouble. I do know that the aisles were a little more worn from the water cooler to the rest rooms when the trip was over. Mother and Aunt Cora had packed food to last for the length of the trip but when we stopped, and Dad and Uncle Ira would get off and bring back pies and a carton of coffee, nothing ever tasted so good. When we got into Arizona, and the train was met by Indians with beads and trinkets, our happiness was complete. The baby had real Indian moccasins, and the rest of us strands of beads that would have reached the floor if they had not been wound around our necks several times. Marvin looked on and over us with his big brotherly concern. Half boy and half man, he

was the idol of our eyes. History had come alive for us, for before this time we had read and heard of the Five Civilized Tribes, and of the Negroes and the Civil War, but here right with us was a Negro man who made our beds, and came through the car with trays of the most delicious confections known to childhood. He might not have been "Uncle Tom," but to us he was the "Uncle Tom" that we had cried over so many times. We never tired of looking at him, and would touch his hand if the occasion permitted. The Indians thrilled us even more. We looked closely for their war paint and tommyhawks that we just knew were hidden somewhere under their blankets.

We were almost sorry, yet Mother and Dad were not, when we arrived in California and came to the town of Clovis⁵ where our Grandparents lived. It was a complete surprise to them, as they had not been notified of our intended visit.

My what a land of romance was California! Under some trees stood a barrel of olives and a glass dipper. We could help ourselves to this delicacy that we had never tasted before. Grandfather had a work bench under the orange trees from which we could pick and eat oranges at our convenience. Incidentally, unless we were sick, we had never eaten an entire orange before, as we usually had divided it and picked for the larger piece as this would last longer. There were the fields of poppies that our feet would not pass by. We had never seen anything of such rare beauty. Our trips to the ocean became common place, as our appetite for the beautiful and unusual was completely satiated. But we had one more great thrill. A salesman came to sell Grandad an automobile, and took us for a ride. My how we had to watch not to scratch the paint or anything in that car! I know that was the most anxious hour the salesman had had in a long time, too, and he probably blamed six curious children for not making the sale. The Negro, the Indians, the ocean, the fields of flowers and a ride in a real auto were some of the things we had to brag about when school began the next fall.

We arrived back in our home town of Shattuck, which we had thought was wonderful before this trip, to find that it had shrunk in size and was just a drab little town without the colorful Indians of Needles, or even our Negro porter. However, when we had ridden the twenty one miles in a buckboard to our country home, we were so tired that our little sod home looked ever so good.

Childhood with ten brothers and sisters offers excitement. Soon the older children were thinking of dates and marriage. A high school education was as hard to get as a college education of today. There we were twenty miles from a town that offered a higher education. To send a boy or girl of fourteen away for a nine-months term was expensive, and the separation was heartbreaking. However, for

⁵ Clovis, California, is a town located in Fresno County, where Mr. and Mrs. Zartman and Rose made their home for years.

those who desired, the way was provided, and soon buses were running into the rural sections transporting the children to the nearest high school.

So ran the full life of Ella and Lee Polin, dearly beloved parents not only of their ten children, as well as other foster children who happened to be far away from their own folks. It is good to recall childhood memories of pioneer days: when the skunk came calling at our chicken house; when the calf and his rope caused our small brother, Bill, to fall and cry out, "My leg is broke, my leg is broke!" Then, there was the fear in our hearts while we waited for the doctor to drive twenty miles out to set the bone. And another time, when our Dad had the fever and had lain between life and death for days, one little girl asking in a quavery voice with tears in her eyes who would carry the pocketbook if he died. Such are the childhood memories of the children who are parents now: just realizing the sacrifice, worry and hardship and laughter that went along with rearing a pioneer family.

This story gives a true picture of our pioneer Dad and Mother.⁶ Our Mother left us for her heavenly home a few years back, and our Father, L. S. Polin, now has made his home in Shattuck, Oklahoma, for he could not bear living without Mother in the home that he had built for her where so many memories lingered.

⁶ With all their children present, Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Polin celebrated their golden wedding anniversary on December 6, 1948.—*Northwest Oklahoman*, Shattuck, Ellis County, December 10, 1948.

POTAWATOMI DAY SCHOOLS*

By Hobert D. Ragland

In 1864, most of the Potawatomi tribe of Indians (about 2,000 members) were living in Kansas. Some of these were blanket Indians who followed the chase. Others were enlightened in civilized ways. Of this group, some six hundred members had by 1868 received their Kansas State citizenship papers. They were known as the "Citizen Potawatomi."

On February 27, 1867, a treaty was made with the Potawatomi tribe whereby they were to select a reservation in the Indian country. The reservation selected included most of what is now Pottawatomie County and extended west to the Indian Meridian. It was a tract some thirty miles square, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on November 9, 1870.

About a fourth of the tribe left Kansas in 1870 and 1871, and by 1872 some 1,800 members were living on the new reservation. It was found that since many of these Indians were citizens, they could not hold land in common. Therefore a law was passed on May 23, 1872 authorizing the reservation to be divided into allotments. The head of each family was to receive eighty acres.¹ These allotments started in 1875 and lasted for fifteen years.²

Most of the citizen Potawatomi first settled in the southern part of what is now Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma, but later moved to different parts of the reservation as they secured their allotments.

When the Potawatomi Reservation was surveyed in 1873, a reference was made in the field notes of the surveyors to these settlements.³ Even as early as this date, traders' stores were in operation. One of these was located south of what is now Wanette, and east of the road from Shawneetown and Johnsonville. It was known as Clary's Store.⁴ This is probably the first store established in this section of Pottawatomie County.

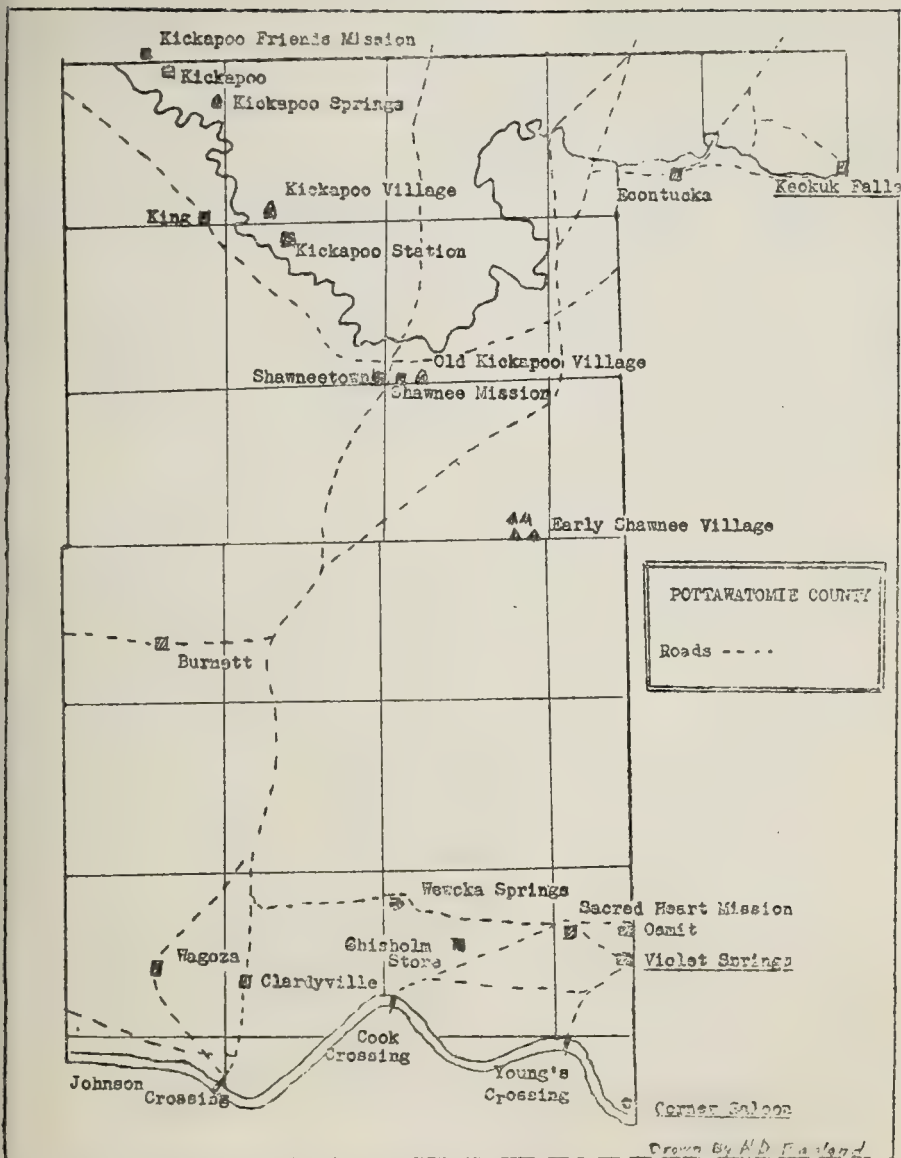
* This article is an adaptation of a paper read before the Pottawatomie County Historical Society at its meeting on June 23, 1952. The society met in the old Shawnee Friends Church south of Shawnee, Oklahoma. (The name of the county in Oklahoma is given "Pottawatomie," although the approved spelling of the name of the Indian tribe is "Potawatomi."—Ed.)

¹ Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 221.

² Berlin B. Chapman, "The Pottawatomie and Absentee Shawnee Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), p. 305.

³ See the original survey township plats and field notes in the County Clerk's office, Pottawatomie County, Shawnee, Oklahoma. Only part of the plats are in this office. Others are in the Pioneer Abstract office of Shawnee, Oklahoma.

⁴ See plat for Township 5 North and Range 3 East, Section 6.



Map of Pottawatomie County showing the location of early settlements prior to 1891. Places underscored established after 1891.

Early Settlements in Pottawatomie County

Near the present townsite of Wanette was another store and post office. On February 15, 1875 a post office was located here giving the name of the place as "Isabella," with Isabella A. Clardy as postmaster.⁵ Ten days later the name of the place was changed to "Clardyville."⁶ On May 4, 1876, Brinton D. Wilson, formerly a teacher at the Pleasant Prairie school was postmaster. He had established a trader's store at the place since Clardy had moved.⁷ The new post office was called "Oberline," and Mrs. Mary Trousdale was appointed postmistress on April 25, 1876.⁸

About five miles northwest of this place was a settlement known as Pleasant Prairie where a store, blacksmith shop, and school was established in an early day.⁹ The post office was moved from Oberline to this place on July 18, 1881 and renamed "Wagoza." John Clinton was the postmaster.¹⁰ The office was discontinued on June 9, 1884 and the mail transferred to Sacred Heart Mission.¹¹

CLARDYVILLE SCHOOL

From the very beginning, the Potawatomi were interested in educating their children. Small subscription schools were established in most of the small settlements. For the lack of funds and the scarcity of teachers, the schools were very inefficient.

Even though funds were set aside for the educational interest of the tribe, these people were unable to secure their share for a number of years after coming to their reservation. On March 23, 1875, J. E. Clardy, delegate of the Citizen of Potawatomi wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting that a portion of the funds set aside by the Indian Appropriation Bill, approved June 22, 1874, for educational purpose be given to these Indians who were destitute of educational funds.¹² Agent John H. Pickering, of the Sac and Fox Agency, in a letter to Commissioner Hoag, dated June 10, 1875, acknowledged receipt of \$2,500 of the \$5,000 educational fund, for the building and support of day schools among the Potawatomi of his agency. In the letter the agent said: "I will visit

⁵ George H. Shirk, "Early Post Offices in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 240.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁷ From the file "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Traders," Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society (hereinafter given OHS). In a letter to agent Woodard, as of February 12, 1877, Mr. Wilson requested permission to remain in "Pottawatomie Nation" and farm since he had disposed of the store.

⁸ Shirk, *op. cit.* The office was about 100 yards south of the present Wanette cemetery.

⁹ This settlement was possibly in the center of Section 21, Township 6 North, Range 2 East of the Indian Meridian, since there is a house shown there on the original survey plat (1873), and the names of some of the early citizens of the community are listed.

¹⁰ Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² D. Delano to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," Indian Archives, OHS.

said Potawatomi as soon as practicable, select a location, decide what kind of a house will best meet their wants and forward plans and specifications immediately thereafter. I want to have every thing ready for school to open in early fall."¹³

After surveying the territory, agent Pickering, found that the best place to establish a school was at Clardyville. The site for the building was located at or near what is now the Wanette cemetery. It was about a quarter of a mile from the store. John Clinton and John W. Smith received the contract for erecting the school building. By December 18, 1875, they had completed the project at a cost of \$1,719.¹⁴ It was built of stone and often referred to as the "Stone School House." The agent employed William Brown as teacher of the school. Brown was formerly of Columbus, Kansas. He was to receive \$50 per month salary.¹⁵ In a letter requesting Brown to accept the school, the agent said:¹⁶

"I am about starting two schools among the 'citizen Potawatomi'. . . . I have employed Brinton Wilson as teacher for one of the schools. The school which I designed for thee is taught in a new stone school house, which is now being completed. . . . The funds for these schools are limited and unless additional money is obtained this winter, the schools cannot continue longer than about six months."

When Brown arrived to take over the school, he found the building not yet completed. The furniture was to be freighted from Atoka, Indian Territory. In referring to the progress of the school he wrote:¹⁷

"Inclosed please find reports from Pottawatomie Boarding School. The carpenters and plasterer are at work. The work of plastering will be commenced perhaps in two or three days by Clinton and the man who was helping the carpenter. I had perfected arrangements for two wagons to go after the furniture at Atoka and we were about hitching up to start when a man who had witnessed the scene brought the sad intelligence that the depot and warehouse at Atoka with all the contents were consumed with fire. We hope more books and furniture will be promptly ordered."

By the latter part of 1875 the families were beginning to take their allotments and were scattering to different parts of the reserva-

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Items December 18, 1875, February 18, 1876, *ibid.* The building was inspected and recommended by Antoine Bourbonnais and George Pettifer, trustees, and Wm. Brown, teacher, on December 18, 1875. Bourbonnais and Pettifer received the building from Agent Pickering on February 18, 1876. In a letter to Pickering from Brown dated January 31, 1876, reference is given that the building was located in Sec. 19, T. 6 S., R. 3 E. The plat for this township shows it to be located in the South East Quarter. The building was about 100 yards north of the present Wanette cemetery.

¹⁵ School Report, Fourth Quarter, 1875, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Pickering to Brown, October 18, 1875, *Sac & Fox*, Vol. 2, Indian Archives, OHS.

¹⁷ Brown to Pickering, December 3, 1875, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.* Brown organized the school in his home and taught it there while waiting for the building to be completed.

tion. Brown saw that a day school was out of the question. A meeting of the Citizen Potawatomi was called to consider the matter of erecting a boarding house in connection with the school. The tribe was willing to furnish all necessary supplies for such a boarding house if the building could be erected. In a letter of December 3, 1875, Brown wrote the agent that, "I shall soon have our boarding house ready. I have 41 hewed logs on the grounds and about a dozen more in the timber. The main building is to be 18 by 20 ft., two stories high—a kitchen and dining room on one side 11 ft. wide and 20 ft. long, and a porch on the other side of the same size."¹⁸

The building was to be used for eating and sleeping quarters. He went on to point out in the letter that the building would cost \$150. He had advanced \$75 from his own personal means and C. Pickett had promised the other \$75.

The Potawatomi were proud of their school after its completion. The enrollment rose from a very small number to 103 in March, 1876.¹⁹ But for some reason, the Agent was not able to secure funds for the support of the school. The Indians were poor and unable to hire teachers. Their only means of support was by farming on a small scale. However, Brown continued his work for some time hoping that money could be obtained either from the Friends Church or from the government appropriations. His hopes were in vain, for on February 16, 1876, he resigned the school for lack of funds. In referring to the plight of the Potawatomi especially with reference to their lack of educational opportunities, Agent Levi Woodard reported in 1877:²⁰

"A school-house was built for them two years ago, but owing to their limited pecuniary circumstances and scattered condition, they have been unable to hire teachers or to maintain a school, and whatever may have been their former condition, they are now objects of charity, and should have some aid for school purposes, as many of them are far advanced in the scale of civilization and anxious to have their children educated."

By the next year very few of the Indians were living near the school. For that reason, the Agent reported in 1880 that the building was still left vacant. In a letter of April 3, 1883, Agent Jacob V. Carter, of the Sac and Fox agency, requested of Commissioner Price permission to use the floor and roof of the old school building for the benefit of the Wagoza School, since the building was used only as a dance hall by the youth.²¹ E. S. Stephens in a letter to Carter, on April 26 of the same year, gives the agent permission to use all of the building for the benefit of the school.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ School Report for March 31, 1876, *ibid.*

²⁰ *Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1877, p. 106.

²¹ *Sac and Fox Letter Book*, Vol. 9, pp. 270 ff, Indian Archives, OHS.

²² "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

THE WAGOZA SCHOOL

In 1871, John Anderson moved to the southern part of what is now Pottawatomie County to a place known later as the mission farm. He served as blacksmith at this place for a number of years. The place was located some five miles northwest of present Wanette, Oklahoma. Besides the Andersons there were other families numbering about twenty-eight persons in all. Among these were the Clintons, Bourbonnais, and Johnsons. This settlement was first known as Pleasant Prairie.²³

Even before these people secured any of the money set aside for educational purposes, they had started a school. The first teacher was a horse thief who left in the night. The second was a Catholic spinster, and the third was a Mormon preacher.²⁴

In a letter to Wm. Brown, Agent Pickering, of the Sac and Fox Agency stated that he had secured the services of Brinton Wilson as teacher for this school. Wm. Brown in a letter to the Agent, dated December 3, 1875 wrote: "Brinton's school commenced last 2nd day with 16 pupils, I understand, but they have only 4 or 5 old books for the whole school. I furnished them with some crayons."²⁵

Mr. Wilson was a single man and a native of Iowa. He came to the school from Kansas, and received his appointment on November 22, 1875, at a salary of \$35 per month.²⁶ There were twenty-one pupils enrolled in the school on February 1, 1876.²⁷ Mr. Wilson left the school sometime in the spring of 1876 and became engaged as a trader at Clardyville. With the exception of a brief period in 1879, the school was without a full time teacher. During this brief period, Mr. William Garner, an Indian teacher served at a salary of \$480 per year.²⁸ In his April report, Mr. Garner listed only sixteen pupils enrolled in the school.²⁹

On October 11, 1880, Mr. C. T. Wells was appointed to the school. He had formerly served as carpenter at the Shawnee Boarding School. He was a native of Ohio but came to the territory from Arkansas. During part of 1881, he served as a clerk at the Sac and Fox Agency, and from July 1, to December 31, 1882, was superintendent of Kickapoo Station.³⁰ He established a trading post in the northern part of the Kickapoo Reservation. A post office was established here in 1884 with Mr. Wells as first postmaster. The place was called Wellsfon,

²³ Luther B. Hill, *A History of The State of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1909), Vol. II, p. 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 508 f.

²⁵ "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

²⁶ Report of the Fourth Quarter, 1875, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," Indian Archives, OHS.

²⁷ Teacher's Report, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Report of Second Quarter, 1879, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," *loc. cit.*

²⁹ School Report, April 7, 1879, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

³⁰ Reports of 1880, 1881, 1882, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," *loc. cit.*

and later became the town of Wellston, Oklahoma.³¹ Mr. Wells was to receive \$40 per month as teacher of the school at Pleasant Prairie. By the time he took over the school, practically all the pupils of this section were in attendance the other schools having been abolished. His report for January 30, 1881, listed 100 pupils enrolled.³²

On December 10, 1881, Miss Mary Grinnell was appointed teacher of the Pleasant Prairie school at a salary of \$40 per month.³³ She was a sister-in-law of the Reverend Franklin Elliot, of the Shawnee Friends Mission, and the daughter of Rev. Jeremiah A. Grinnell, a prominent minister in the Society of Friends. She was married to the late Thomas W. Alford on September 7, 1884.³⁴

Just prior to the time Miss Grinnell took over the school, the post office at Oberline was discontinued and the mail transferred to the Pleasant Prairie settlement. The name of the new office established was "Wagoza." From then on the school was called the Wagoza School instead of Pleasant Prairie. John Clinton was appointed as the first postmaster of Wagoza July 18, 1881.³⁵

Miss Grinnell was succeeded by the late Thomas W. Alford on November 1, 1882 at a salary of \$480 per annum. He only taught one year and was transferred to the Shawnee Boarding School as principal teacher. The following description of the school house at Wagoza is given by Mr. Alford: "The school building was a log cabin about 12 X 14 feet; the cracks between the logs were filled with red clay, which shut out the cold wind. The floor was made of rough split timber, and the two windows were without glass or shutters. It stood in a thick wood of post oak timber."³⁶

By the time Mr. Alford had been appointed to the school the Citizen Potawatomi were moving to their allotments. Mr. Alford lists, in his June 30, 1883 report, only seventeen pupils enrolled.³⁷

Mr. Horace V. Easterling, a former principal teacher of the Shawnee Boarding School was the last teacher of the Wagoza School. In his report for April 5, 1884, only twelve pupils were listed.³⁸ Four of these were white children. Some of the pupils were being boarded at the place at two dollars per week. By this time, the end of the school was near. Agent I. A. Taylor, of the Sac and Fox Agency, in a letter to Commissioner Price on April 15, 1884, states that the

³¹ Hobert D. Ragland, "Some Firsts in Lincoln County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-52), p. 421.

³² "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

³³ Report for December 1881, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," *loc. cit.*

³⁴ Thomas Wildcat Alford, *Civilization, as Told to Florence Drake* (Norman, 1936), p. 123.

³⁵ Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

³⁶ Alford, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Mr. Alford began work as teacher of this school on November 1, 1882. See Report for 1882, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," *loc. cit.*

³⁷ Report for 1883, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

³⁸ Report of April 5, 1884, *ibid.*

school was being abandoned for lack of pupils. The Indians were moving up near Shawneetown.³⁹ In another letter to the commissioner by Taylor, June 16, 1884, information was given that the school closed after the first quarter of that year.⁴⁰ The post office at Wagoza was also discontinued on June 9, 1884 and the mail was transferred to the Sacred Heart Mission.⁴¹

OTHER DAY SCHOOLS

In a letter to John H. Pickering, Sac and Fox Agent, from Wm. P. Brown, dated January 31, 1876, reference is made to four Potawatomi day schools.⁴² Two of these we have already discussed. The other two seem to have been in existence for only a short time. They were established in January of 1876.

One of these schools was called Oakland or the George Young school. Ella Wilson, a single woman was selected as the first teacher. She was to receive \$50 per month for her service. Miss Wilson received her appointment on January 17, 1876. Prior to this, she had served as cook at the Sac and Fox Agency, and as seamstress of the Shawnee Boarding School. The latter position was held from October 1, 1875 until January 8, 1876.⁴³ In her quarterly report for March 31, 1876, she reports thirty-four pupils enrolled.⁴⁴ This school was in existence for only about a year.

The George Pettifer school, probably located about three miles northwest of Asher, Oklahoma, was first taught by Mary M. Brown, at a salary of \$50 per month. She received her appointment on January 17, 1876.⁴⁵ Her report for February 1, lists an enrollment of twenty-one pupils.⁴⁶ This school was probably consolidated with the Clardyville School after the stone building was completed at the latter place.

Much would be lost without a reference to the Sacred Heart Mission. Even though it was not a day school, the mission did much toward educating not only the Potawatomi youth, but youth of other tribes, as citizens. This mission, located in the southeastern part of

³⁹ Taylor to Price, *Sac and Fox Letter Book*, Vol. 10, p. 90, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴¹ Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁴² Report of 1876, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

⁴³ Reports of 1874, 1876, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ Oakland School Report, 1876, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

This school was also called The George Young School in the report of February 2, 1876. It was probably located in Section 31, Township 6 North, Range 5 East of Indian Meridian since this is where Mrs. George Young and son, George, Jr., received their land allotments.

⁴⁵ Report of 1876, "Sac & Fox-Sac and Fox Employees," *loc. cit.* This school was probably located in the northern part of Township 6 North, Range 3 East of the Indian Meridian.

⁴⁶ Report of George Pettifer's School, 1876, "Sac & Fox-Pottawatomie School," *loc. cit.*

what is now Pottawatomie County.⁴⁷ was established in 1876 by Father Isidore Robot of the Order of St. Benedict on reservation lands donated by the Potawatomi. The Mission later included the St. Mary's Convent for girls. Many boys and girls later prominent in the affairs of Oklahoma, received their early schooling at this mission.⁴⁸

After the Citizen Potawatomi had settled on their allotments, their children (those who attended school) were sent to the Shawnee Boarding School and Sacred Heart Mission. Many of these children attended the local white district schools after the reservation was opened to settlement in 1891.

Even though these Potawatomi day schools were in existence only a short time, they did much toward educating the children and youth of this region for future success. Many future successful Potawatomi could doubtless look back upon these schools with great appreciation.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The Mission and school were located in the Northeast Quarter of Section 18, Township 6 North and Range 5 East of the Indian Meridian.

⁴⁸ Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), p. 217.

⁴⁹ The author of this article is indebted to Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist in the Oklahoma Historical Society, for her patient effort in helping to point out source material used in compiling this paper.—H.D.R.

BAPTIST PIONEERS IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA

By Herbert Miner Pierce

The first white Baptist Association¹ in Oklahoma was the Short Mountain Baptist Association, organized at Cowlington,² in what is now LeFlore County, on October 24, 1884. The first presiding officer, known as Moderator, was Reverend V. V. McCarty. There was frequent interchange of pastoral leadership between the churches of the Short Mountain Baptist Association of Eastern Oklahoma and the Buckner and Concord Baptist Association of Western Arkansas, and also the Baptist General Association of Western Arkansas. The Short Mountain Baptist Association eventually included forty or fifty churches that reached from the Arkansas border west to Haileyville, north to Cowlington and Whitefield, and as far south as Bengal in Latimer County.

Three men that figured prominently in the work of the historic Short Mountain Baptist Association were Reverend L. F. Patterson, Reverend J. W. Hulsey, and Reverend J. H. Muse. These heretofore unwritten facts of their lives are now given to the public.

LINDSEY F. PATTERSON

1846—1924

Pioneer preacher, Columbus Lee Barnes, described L. F. Patterson as "one of the greatest souls that I ever knew." He was born in Walker County, Georgia in 1846, and three years later came with his parents to a place near Hartford, Arkansas. At the age of eighteen, he was baptized into the Friendship Baptist Church, Lawrence County Missouri.

Brother Patterson had little opportunity to gain a formal education, but God equipped him with a good mind and an attractive personality which he used to the full. Deacon Dave Nowlin described him as a medium size man with long whiskers. He frequently stayed in the Nowlin home. Nowlin recalls that the preacher was mindful of his horse's well being and carefully instructed the boys to feed the horse ten ears of corn each night.

Early in his ministry he was preaching in a home near Pleasant Valley, Western Arkansas. The floor was made from split logs.

¹ An Association is a unit of Baptist work that includes the Missionary Baptist churches of one or more counties, in voluntary cooperation.

² The community of Cowlington appears to have been first called Short Mountain, named after an interesting geological formation of table-like proportions with precipitous sides north of the present town. Later the community took the name of Cowlington after a pioneer resident, A. F. Cowling. The Short Mountain Baptist Association was organized in the home of this Mr. Cowling because the church house was not yet completed.

Under the spot where he stood was a trap door. In the enthusiasm of his message, he jumped a few inches off of the floor. When the secret opening gave way, the preacher unexpectedly disappeared into the cellar! He was so humiliated that he left through the side cellar door and never returned—that day!

During his fifty years of ministry, he pastored many churches in Oklahoma, including Choate Prairie, Heavener, Poteau, and Canadian. He spent years in Missionary work, including Buckner and Concord Associations of Western Arkansas, and Haskell Association of Indian Territory. He was pastor of many churches in Arkansas, including Winfield, Waldron, Dayton, and West Hartford. He was once moderator of Buckner Association, Vice-Moderator in 1918 and Moderator of the Concord Association in Arkansas in 1889. He was the last moderator of the historic Short Mountain Baptist Association.

While on a preaching tour southeast of Oklahoma City, Patterson was captured by Indians. He got them to laughing at his famous stories, seized his captors' gun and escaped.³

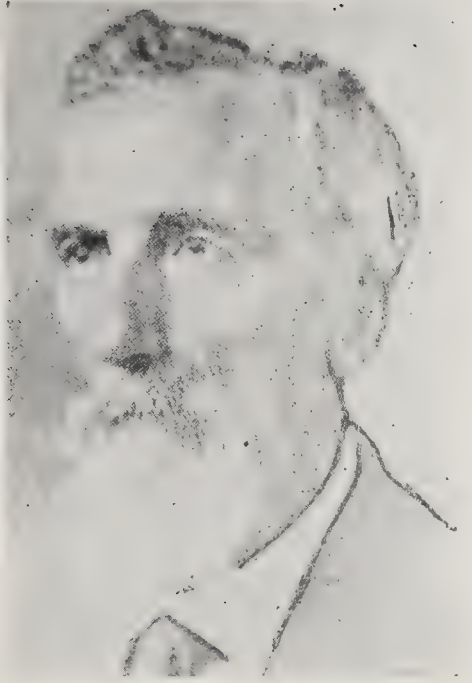
A certain revival meeting in Eastern Indian Territory started off with only one person in attendance, a woman. It ended when he had baptized forty people. He preached the first gospel sermon in Oklahoma City when it was a cowboy camp.

Deacon Green Stovall tells the following story: One day while near Oklahoma City he was bathing in a creek. He looked up in time to see an Indian deliberately gathering up his clothes. Naked and in great haste, he came up out of the water, giving chase. Stimulated by a strong urge, he prayed as he pursued the Indian for a full mile. Looking back over his shoulder, the Indian saw the preacher gaining on him, dropped the clothes to escape.

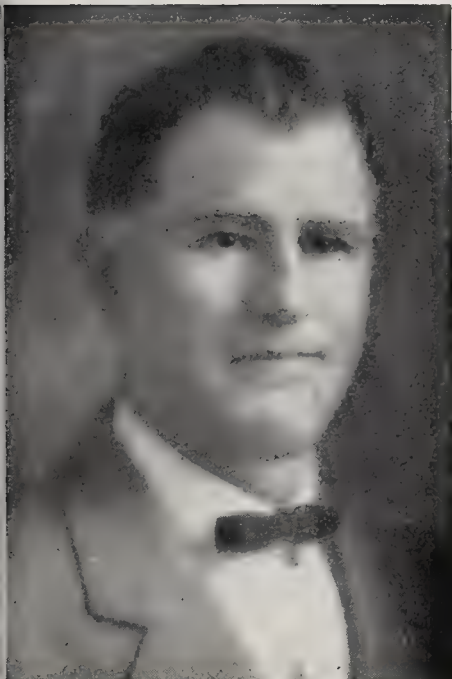
During the first seven years of his ministry, Brother Patterson did not receive any financial remuneration for his pastoral work. Like his Master and unlike many Christians, he was a very poor man. His treasures were not on earth. Reverend C. L. Barnes tells the following story that was written by Reverend Herman Highfill, about the Pattersons:

"Food was scarce in the home. Mrs. Patterson had prepared the last they had for dinner. The family had eaten. Nothing remained. There was no money with which to buy more. There was no employment to be had by which to earn more. It was a time of severe trial of his faith. He had given himself sacrificially to the Lord's service. He had held nothing back. At this last meal he and his wife had eaten sparingly in order that the children might have more. He and his good wife sat looking at each

³ This is a good example of a tale bordering folklore. In the 1880's, there were no wild Indians southeast of Oklahoma City who would have seriously taken a white man captive. The Indians throughout the Indian Territory of that day were generally a peaceable, sensible people. Some such incident could have happened in a prankish spirit, a group of young Indians having taken Patterson along with them as a practical joke.—Ed.



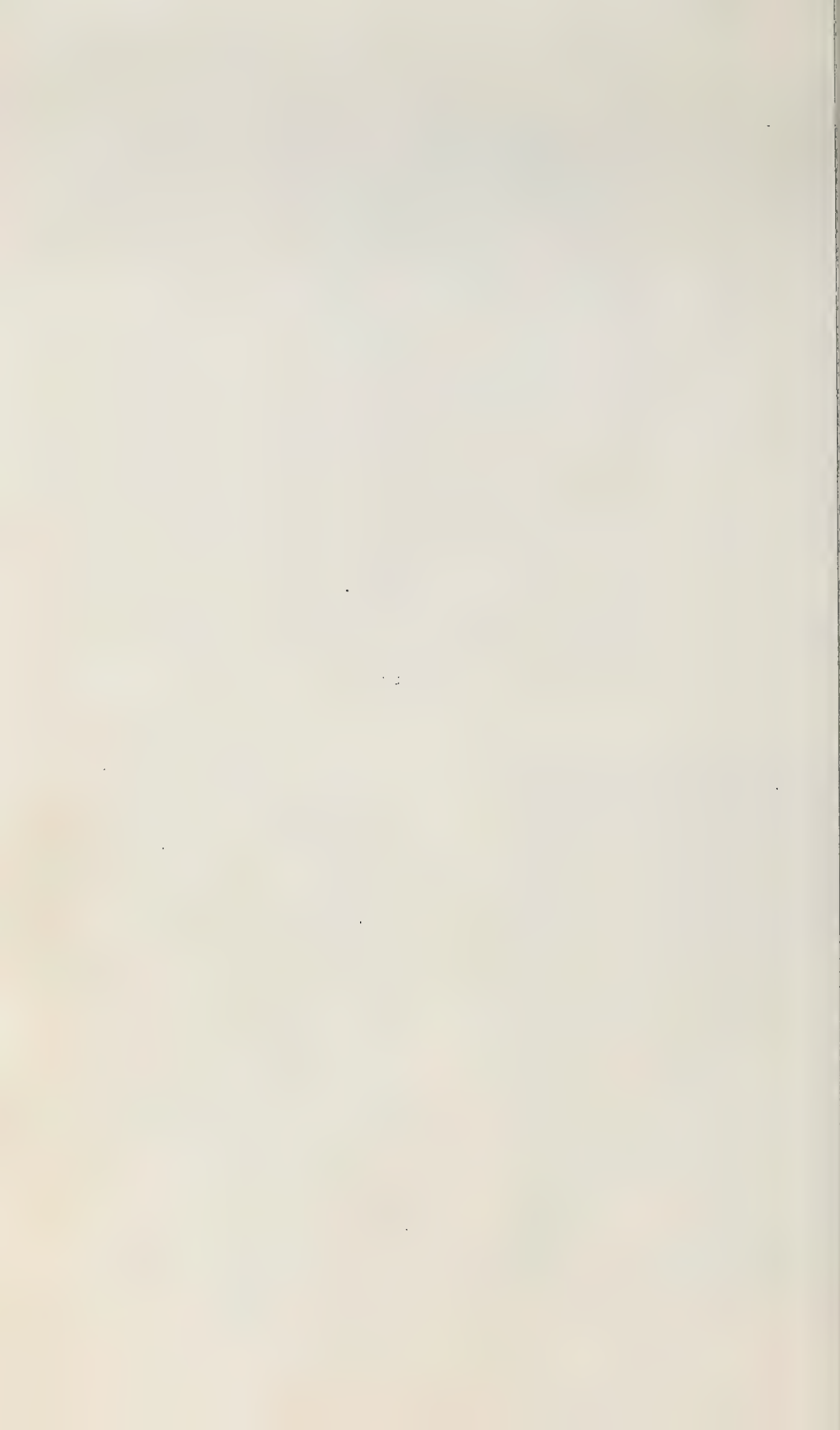
LINDSEY F. PATTERSON



JOHN WASHINGTON HULSEY



JOSEPH HARVEY MUSE



other, in their hearts the question, 'What next?' It was up to the Lord. He had preached the care of the Lord for his children. The rattle of a wagon was heard. Brother Patterson turned his head to see the driver turn the horses off the road toward the house. It was a merchant friend, Brother Hale, from Hackett, Arkansas, who had brought a wagon load of groceries and supplies. The Lord had been faithful. God did care for his own."

Brother Dave Nowlin said of him, "Like many other preachers of that day, he had only two shirts and two suits of underwear. He and father would cut each other's hair with mother's scissors. The boys called him 'a one horse preacher' because he had only one." Yet this devoted follower of the lowly Nazarene is said to have baptized 2,000 people. He passed away on March 2, 1924. On a little memorial card that bears his picture, circulated by friends, is the following eloquent eulogy: "Faithful servant of Christ and friend of all humanity has passed over the river to be with His Lord. What a reception he must have received, over there! . . . Dear Brother Patterson."

The people of LeFlore-Latimer Association for whom he had poured out his life, in grateful memory of his sacrificial service, erected a beautiful monument over his tomb at Winfield, Arkansas.

JOHN WASHINGTON HULSEY

1864—1944

The son of Lucretia Overall Hulsey and Dr. James Carroll Hulsey, was born on March 17, 1864 at Arkadelphia, Arkansas. His father was a country doctor practicing medicine in and around Cameron, Williams, Spiro, Hartshorne and Wilburton, Oklahoma. Like most others of his day in these parts he found little opportunity for schooling. His thirst for learning impelled him to attend country summer schools for years, even after he was married and the father of four children. He was converted in the summer of 1889, at the age of twenty-five, near Bengal, Latimer County, Oklahoma. His daughter, Mrs. Otto Whittington, thinks that he was either baptized by Reverend J. S. Murrow or Reverend E. B. Harlan. Reverend E. B. Harlan was Moderator, and A. J. Hulsey, Clerk of the ordination council which was also composed of Reverend C. L. Alexander, Reverend W. M. Morris, Reverend Joseph Barnes, and Reverend R. W. Cook. Mr. Hulsey was ordained by the Harlan's Chapel Baptist Church, on September 1, 1889.

When he began preaching in 1889 he could hardly read. His life shows what God can do with a man who is surrendered to Him. Brother Hulsey was later spoken of by one who knew him, "as a power in the ministry in Arkansas for nearly sixty years."

Prior to conversion he had run with a rough set of men. After he was saved, one of his former gang tried to force some strong liquor down his throat. In righteous indignation he struck the offender,

knocking him down, frightening the man's horse which ran away. The old drinking gang admired him, remaining his loyal friends, although none of them ever tried again to make him take a drink. In later years he won and baptized some of them.

Robert L. Kidd, a Methodist layman and life-long friend, described him as, "One of the greatest men I ever knew. He was fearless, consecrated to the Lord, devoted to the gospel ministry; an unforgettable character. When he prayed, he fully expected the Lord to do what John Hulsey had asked Him to do, and more. One day he prayed for rain. It hailed!"

He pastored the following Churches, probably on the dates given: Harlan Chapel and Bengal, Indian Territory 1889-1892; Cameron 1892-1894; Poteau 1894-1898. While Missionary and living in Poteau he organized the First Baptist Church, Wilburton in 1898 and served it until 1900; was re-called, 1905-1907. He also served Waldron, Dayton, and Gibson in Arkansas; Cameron, Liberty Hill, Red Oak, Wister, Choate Prairie and South Canadian in Oklahoma. From 1908-1913 he served Waldron, Parks, West Hartford and Mansfield, Arkansas. From 1914-1917 he was pastor at Norman, Caddo Gap and Mount Ida, Arkansas. In 1920-1921 he served at Kinta and Indianola, Oklahoma. From 1922-1944 he was pastor at Big Fork, Cherry Hill, Antioch and Mount Ida, Arkansas. His last and longest pastorate was his second term of work with the Mount Ida Church that lasted twenty-two years, until his death.

Brother Hulsey also did the work of a home missionary. He worked among the Indians during the last years of the nineteenth century. In 1917-1918 he was Missionary of the Caddo River Baptist Association, and then again in 1921-1922. He was Moderator of the Short Mountain Baptist Association in 1895, 1896 and 1898.

In 1919 he served as director of the \$75 Million Campaign in Montgomery and Polk Counties of Arkansas. He also served as Moderator of Buckner Association in Arkansas, 1909, 1911-1912. He preached the Arkansas Convention sermon in 1923.

Mrs. Otto Whittington thinks that "the best thing that he wrote was, "Instructions to Church Members." He is described as "a serious, thoughtful man, a powerful doctrinal Preacher." Reverend Columbus Lee Barnes, invited him to Bates, Arkansas to preach on a series of doctrinal subjects. One night he was dealing with the question of sanctification, reading from the Old Testament where it spoke of sanctifying of the fields to the Lord. Some preacher in the rear rose up and laughed. "Sit down brother," shouted Hulsey. "You are not going to laugh at God's word in this service." To

Iulsey it was a serious matter and he was ready to back up his command, if necessary.

In the *History of Arkansas Baptists*, in a very brief but striking tribute, he is described as being "in a class with Buckner, Comprere and other iron men of the West." He had gone to Little Rock to attend the State Convention, and unexpectedly died there on November 17, 1944.

JOSEPH HARVEY MUSE

1876—1948

Brother Joe, as he was affectionately called, was the eleventh child of Stephen and Mary Muse. Brother Muse was born at Story (now called Mount Ida), Arkansas on April 17, 1876. His father, a school teacher, was killed in a storm before Joe was born.

Brother Muse was denied the privileges of very much school education. He finished only the eighth grade at Burnsville, Arkansas. He was baptized by Reverend J. H. Byers on August 18, 1895, near Waldron, Arkansas. On July 16, at the age of thirty-two he was ordained by the Blackfork Missionary Baptist Church of which he was a member. The ordaining council included Deacon J. R. Adams, Moderator, and Deacon Z. R. Muse, Clerk, both nephews of the candidate, and also Reverend E. Bowen, Reverend W. G. Lucas, and Deacon D. J. Spears.

Brother Muse pastored many churches that lay in the valley between the Sans Bois and Kiamichi Mountains, and many others in Arkansas. At one time or another he was pastor of most of the churches in Latimer, LeFlore and Haskell Counties. Coming from Arkansas, the first church in Indian Territory to call him was Mountain View Baptist Church, south of Wister. Other churches that he pastored were Mt. Pleasant (near Heavener), Conser, Hodgen, Page, Honubbie, Loving, Williams, Pacola, (near Fort Smith), Muse, Big Cedar, Rock Creek (north of Red Oak) Lutie, Wister, Enterprise, Tamaha, Richie, Summerfield, Petros, and historic Cowlington. Once while preaching a drunken Indian rode his horse through the church while children were sleeping on the floor in the aisles, but no one was injured.

While Reverend Tom Lucas was missionary in the Latimer Association, 1943 to 1945, he held a revival meeting at Bengal where Reverend and Mrs. Joe Muse lived. One night a girl came in while the service was in progress and tried to open a window. Brother Muse gallantly rose to the occasion and opened it for her. Soon a sickening smack was heard as a rotten egg hit the window sill at his side; then another one hit the window frame by his head. A third egg crashed through a window pane and saturated his hair. It was worse than tear gas and sulphur bombs combined! The congregation, not being

able to stand the odors, were put to rout. But the agitators that sought to break up the meeting found that man cannot successfully resist the Almighty. The next night there were three professions of faith.

His close friend, the Reverend Tom Lucas tells the following story of an experience Muse had:

"One night he stayed in the home of a frugal mountaineer. After the chores were done and supper over, sitting on the porch they watched a mother cat and her kittens play. The next morning there was delicious, tender young squirrel for a sunrise breakfast. 'Where did you get those squirrel before day,' asked the incredulous Joe. 'Trapped 'em,' grunted the self-conscious host. After breakfast Joe set out in quest of the kittens. Only the old cat was found."⁴

Brother Muse gave many years of his life to missionary work in the white settlements in Eastern Oklahoma. He was missionary in Haskell Association for many years, and LeFlore-Latimer Association for at least eight years, probably longer. For some years he was editor of the *Missionary Baptist*, published at Wister.

A few days before his death he received a letter from his dear friend, Reverend Hedgepath of Heavener who was ill, asking him to come to him. That night his wife, Mrs. Nina Muse, laid out his clothes that he was to wear the next day. At about 1:30 a.m., he became suddenly and violently ill and died at 5:30 a.m., November 18, 1948 at Booneville, Arkansas. It was not until after the funeral that Mrs. Muse discovered that Brother Hedgepath had also died, and that both bodies had been in the same funeral home, at the same time. Doubtless both would have liked it that way. Brother Muse was laid to rest in the cemetery of the Mountain View Baptist Church, his first pastorate in Oklahoma, near Wister. Mrs. Muse now lives with her aged mother in Wilburton, Oklahoma.

⁴This story should be classed with the "tall tales" ascribed to the "Arkansas Traveler" many years ago. Though poor white of the Southeastern Oklahoma mountains, the host was an honest man: His laconic reply with backwoods' propriety explained the "delicious, tender young squirrel" served for breakfast. The dish was undoubtedly either ground squirrel or pocket-gopher sometimes trapped as vermin.

JOSEPH FRANKLIN THOMPSON: AN EARLY CHEROKEE LEADER

By T. L. Ballenger

Though not definitely traceable, the Thompson family seems to have a touch of English royal blood coursing through its veins. The "Thompson Family Records" tell of a Morris Thompson, who was a member of the government of Oliver Cromwell, the Great Protector. They tell us of his son, Sir John Thompson, born 1647, member of Parliament and first Baron of Haversham. They tell us also of Thompsons who were veterans of the American Revolution.

James Allen Thompson and family came from Georgia to the Cherokee Nation at the time of the removal and settled at what is now the Turner Edmondson place, on Beatties Prairie, about four miles southwest of Maysville. James Allen Thompson had married Martha Lynch back in Georgia. His father was born in South Carolina and his mother in Georgia. He was a white man, his wife a mixed blood Cherokee, and, when he came here, he brought along his Negro slaves and a considerable amount of money. They reared a family of eleven children of whom Joseph Franklin was the youngest. Joseph Franklin was born at the old home place, on Beatties Prairie, Cherokee Nation, May 21, 1841.

At a Parks-Thompson family reunion at Grove, Oklahoma, in August, 1936, his son, Walter A. Thompson, referring to the birth-place and early childhood of his father, painted the following vivid mental picture of him:

I wandered alone about the old place where my father was born, the youngest of eleven children. I walked around over the very ground and touched the very stones his little bare feet had touched ninety odd years ago. Looking back across the years, I can see him now, a little round-faced fellow, bareheaded and barefooted, toddling all around the place; here and there and everywhere; down to the spring and along the creek, up through the negro quarters and out among the cattle and sheep, or listening wide-eyed to the guns and bugles of old Fort Wayne.¹ Old Bart, his negro body servant, and Aunt Nan and Aunt Ann, and the rest, had plenty to do keeping him from mischief and harm.

I can see him standing by the fireplace in an old log cabin leaning against his mother's knee, listening to grandpa Jim Allen Thompson and the older boys as they talked of the succession of horrors all along the 'trail of tears', or spoke in hushed tones of the conspiracy of jealous hate that resulted in the murder of Boudinot and the Ridges. He heard them

¹Fort Wayne, first built on the site of the present town of Watts in 1837, was moved in 1839, to within a half mile of the old Thompson home. It was later discontinued and the equipment transferred to Ft. Scott, Kansas. Stand Watie and his followers used the buildings as a rendezvous during the heated factionalism of the middle forties. The Confederates used the fort as a recruiting place during the Civil War. The buildings have long since fallen to decay.

talk of the trial in Arkansas in 1842 of the lion-hearted Watie for the killing of James Foreman, leader of the band that waylaid and killed Major Ridge near Dutch Mills, Arkansas, and of his triumphal acquittal through the efforts of Colonel George W. Paschal, a member of the Federal Court of the Western District of Arkansas, and the splendid eloquence of his chief counsel, Colonel Arrington.

In his childhood, Joseph attended grade school at the old Beatties Prairie school house, about a mile northwest of the Thompson home. His teachers were possibly Kenney Davis and Mose Frye, grandfather of the Fries at Sallisaw, for these men taught there at about this time.

In the early eighteen-fifties Joseph was sent to the Male Seminary where he obtained a high school education. It was while he was here that Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, with his troops, came through Tahlequah on his way to Utah to quell the Mormon revolt.² The troops camped at the spring just south of the present city limits, and Uncle Joe tells of the seminary boys going out to visit their camp. After the temporary suspension of the Male Seminary, in 1856, he attended Cane Hill college at Cane Hill, Arkansas for a short time.

Shortly before the Civil War he went to Lebanon, Tennessee to obtain a college education and to study for the ministry. Here he attended the Cumberland University where he was graduated in 1861.

The war broke out while he was in Tennessee, and he enlisted in the Confederate service, in the Seventh Tennessee Infantry. He was soon transferred to the First Arkansas Cavalry, commonly known as Pierce's Brigade, and, a little later, joined Colonel Stand Watie's First Cherokee Regiment in the Indian Territory.

He soon became captain of Company E in his regiment, then was elected major. Upon the death of the Lieutenant Colonel, Major Thompson was promoted to that position. He became Stand Watie's chief dependence for the organization and leadership of the army. Stand Watie depended upon Colonel Thompson to keep his army records and to drill and discipline the troops in the General's absence. Thompson did valiant service for the Confederate cause at the battle of Honey Springs in 1863, and assisted Stand Watie in the famous capture of the Federal wagon train of supplies at Big Cabin in September, 1864. He was with Sterling Price at Wilson's Creek and participated in the battles of Pea Ridge and the Neosho. By the close of the war, he had risen to the rank of Adjutant General of the First Indian Brigade, C. S. A.

² Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, 2nd Cavalry, U.S.A., was commissioned brevet brigadier general "for meritorious conduct in the ability, zeal, energy and prudence displayed by him in command of the army in Utah," on Nov. 18, 1857. After his resignation from the Army in 1861, he served as brigadier general in the Confederate States Army, and was killed in action at the Battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, April 6, 1862. (Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Vol. 1 [Washington, 1903].)—Ed.



JOSEPH FRANKLIN THOMPSON

On September 2, 1862, he was married to Mary Ellen Adair. She was the daughter of James Thompson Adair and Martha Martin, daughter of the first Supreme Judge of the Cherokee Nation, John Martin. Her brothers were William Penn Adair and Frank Adair who was the father of Mrs. J. A. Lawrence of Tahlequah. The wedding of Joseph Franklin and Mary Ellen was solemnized in the old Adair home seven miles east of Stilwell, in Flint District. This commodious, two-story, double log house, in the Oak Grove community, was built in 1835 and is still standing and in a good state of preservation today (1952). Of this union, six children were born. His son, Walter A. Thompson, became one of the foremost citizens of the Cherokee Nation. He was a well educated man, taught for a number of years in the Male Seminary, and was an excellent public speaker. Joseph Franklin's wife, Mary Ellen, died April 10, 1900. He was married a second time to Mary Fannie Adair. After her death he married Mrs. Sarah Lovett.

He was in Texas when the war closed, and taught school there in Woods county, in 1865 and 1866. It was here that his son, Walter A. Thompson, was born. Returning to the Indian Territory he taught one year in the Choctaw Nation, then resumed his teaching in the Cherokee Nation at Locust Grove, where he worked from 1870 to 1873. He was then appointed to the Cherokee Board of Education in which capacity he served until 1875. The following year he was made first assistant at the Male Seminary, and served the next two years as superintendent of the Female Seminary at Park Hill. He then returned to the Male Seminary, and taught another year. Next he was superintendent of the Asbury Manual Labor School at Eufaula from 1880 to 1881. He held the superintendency of the Cherokee Orphan Asylum at Salina from 1882 to 1893, and again from 1897 to 1901. As Superintendent, he helped to educate and inspire many a Cherokee youth who has since that time assumed the responsibilities of citizenship and leadership in the new state of Oklahoma.

Mr. Thompson always kept the best interest of the people of his community uppermost in his mind. In the summer of 1900, while he was superintendent of the Orphan Asylum, a peculiar fungus growth attacked the appletrees of that region. Mr. Thompson sent a specimen and wrote to the Agricultural Experiment station, which had been established at Stillwater, Oklahoma Territory only a few years before, for information about the disease. When the desired information was returned, with instructions for its treatment, he broadcast this information through the different papers over the country to all of the people.

Mr. Thompson served in an official capacity in the Cherokee Nation at different times. He was appointed auditor by Chief Lewis Downing during the latter part of his term of office (1869—1871). He was sent to Washington as a delegate in 1894, to represent the

Cherokee Nation in a suit then pending with the United States. He was again a member of the Cherokee Board of Education in 1898.

In 1870, Mr. Thompson joined the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South and continued actively in the ministry until his death. He received his early training and practice in the ministry as circuit rider in the Grand River circuit, serving here for three years. His successive preaching stations in this circuit were Locust Grove, Spavinaw, the Butler school house on Honey Creek, the Parks home on Cowskin Prairie, Vinita, Silver Lake in Cooweescoowee district, Coody's Bluff, one other station, and then back to Locust Grove. It usually took him about a month to make the rounds. Though these long trips, always made on horseback (or, as they said at the time, "on a broom-tail pony"), were hard and grinding, he never faltered. On one occasion he returned home to find that his infant daughter had become ill, had died, and was already buried. He was far away, no one knew just where to find him, and there was no way of getting word to him. In 1874, he was made Deacon of the Methodist church and, in 1876, was raised to the office of Elder.³ He served the Fort Gibson-Tahlequah circuit 1877 and 1878. In 1879 he was made Presiding Elder of the Cherokee district and, in 1881, was Presiding Elder of the Muskogee district. He filled the pastorate at Tahlequah 1896-1897.⁴ His last preaching was done in the Tahlequah circuit.

The question has sometimes been raised by researchers in Oklahoma history as to the origin of the term "The Trail of Tears" given the roadway over which the Indian removal was made to the Indian Territory in the eighteen-thirties. The pioneer Oklahoma historian, the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, often told the story of how he had first heard the term "the trail of tears" from his Methodist preacher friend, the Reverend Thompson.⁵ Once when Mr. Thompson was preaching in the Choctaw Nation, he and Dr. Thoburn were riding along in a buggy and talking over old times. In crossing a road leading from old Skullyville toward Ft. Smith, Mr. Thompson pointed eastward up this road and remarked to Dr. Thoburn: "That's the road the Choctaws call 'The Trail of Tears.' They traveled that old road long ago during the removal from Mississippi to this country." After this visit to the region of old Skullyville in the Choctaw country,

³ The official documents of appointment, the one signed by Bishop George F. Pierce at Louisville, Kentucky and the other by Bishop Holland N. Tyeire at Vinita, are in the private files of the writer.

⁴ Sydney Henry Babcock and John Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma* (1935), Vol. I, pp. 344-421, gives Mr. Thompson's appointments by the Indian Mission Conference Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1874-1904.

⁵ Told the writer by Miss Muriel H. Wright who often heard Dr. Thoburn relate how he had first heard the term "The Trail of Tears." (Joseph B. Thoburn used the term "the trail of tears" in his first state history textbook, *History of Oklahoma* [1908] p. 51, under the sub-head "A Sad Chapter" in his chapter on "Migration of Eastern Tribes."—Ed.)



Cherokee Orphan Asylum at Salina. Buildings completed and occupied late 1870's.
(Kirk Collection, Library, OHS)



The Reverend Joseph M. Thompson with group of his Indian boys working in his onion patch at Salina when "Uncle Joe" was superintendent of the Cherokee Orphanage there.



Dr. Thoburn used this term in his writings. The Methodist circuit rider who had lived for a time among the Choctaws had been impressed with the pathos of their interpretation," the trail of tears," or he was familiar with the account of the tragic removal of the Cherokees as well as that of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory. Today, the term is of such universal use that few of us ever stop to wonder about its origin.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century while the Cherokees were still embittered over Civil War factions and were beginning to be considerably wrought up over the prospective termination of their tribal government, some rather suspicious transactions took place in which several prominent citizens were either implicated or were accused of abetting. Under these circumstances many of the sober minds of the nation, regardless of party, hoped to avert disaster by electing a level-headed, unbiased chief who would be capable of leading the people out of chaos and into a more reasonable adjustment of their affairs. Joseph F. Thompson was the leader to whom they turned.

The *Pryor Creek* (?) *Enterprise* of April 29, 1899 said:

The Cherokees will elect a chief on the first Monday of next August. The old party lines will be largely effaced and in their place will be progression against retrogression. This people should put aside all ideas of the return of the good old days of the past and wake up and put forward the best plans for a solution of the questions now at the very threshold. All must realize that the United States is slowly but surely forcing Indian government to the rear, and preparation to meet coming conditions cannot be begun too soon. The progressive element desires a man for chief in whom is found decision, capability and honesty, and with a reputation clean and pure, and whose past record is not, in the least, smirched with suspicion of being connected in any way with any of the reported 'deals'. Rev. J. F. Thompson has been suggested by men from different parts of the nation, as the real, logical candidate, and a worthy representative of progression. The nomination and election of such an able, honest and capable man as Mr. Thompson for chief, at the present time, would speak volumes in favor of the Cherokees.

Again on May 4, 1899, the *Sallisaw Star* added the following comment:

There is much talk of nominating Rev. Joseph F. Thompson for chief by the Downing Convention which meets the 22nd of this month.⁶ Those who know Mr. Thompson say he is far superior in intellect, education and general attainments, to any of the candidates heretofore mentioned. He is a college graduate, and a man in whom the people have the greatest confidence. His honesty and integrity cannot be doubted in the least. He is generous, liberal and progressive and a gentleman of the highest Christian type. He is capable in every way, of meeting any official of the great government of the United States and discussing, intelligently and with force, any subject, local, national or otherwise. His record is clean. The Cherokees need such a man for chief, right now.

⁶ The Downing Convention commonly met at Double Springs about six miles northwest of Tahlequah.

Politics, however, is frequently not directed by sane reasoning. Mr. Thompson was not nominated.

On January 19, 1914, the Reverend Joseph F. Thompson delivered the address for the William Penn Adair Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, at the dedication of the Confederate memorial drinking fountain on the square at Tahlequah. In this address he referred to the Northern soldier with no malice nor hatred but with a generous spirit of reconciliation. He even contended that good would come to the nation out of the bloody conflict; and suggested that⁷

"the impartial historian may pronounce a verdict which shall exonerate both parties to it of any serious blame. . . . When we remember that the free government founded on this continent was itself born in the throes of revolution and also that questions of tremendous import were left unsettled when that government was established there is small cause to wonder, although much for regret, that resort was later had to so terrible an arbitrament. The disputants on both sides came of the blood that is 'slower to bless than to ban', prompter to strike than to parley; and a resort to arms to settle once for all issues which seemed otherwise insoluble . . . was only the instinct of that blood manifesting itself along traditional lines."

His address was closed with an original ode to his comrades illustrative of sublime pathos as well as mild humor:

I'm thinking of you today, boys,
And the boys we used to know,
Way back in eighteen and sixty-one,
Some firty-three years ago.
And through the hazy vista
I see the camp fires glow,
And all the boys a singing
The songs of long ago.

Old songs, like "Annie Laurle",
"Ben Bolt" and "Bonnie Jean"
And "Way Down South in Dixie"
And "The Girl I Left Behind."
Ah, where are all those jolly lads,
That sang those songs now rare?
I listen for an answer,
An echo answers, "Where?"

Some have crossed the river
And sleep beneath the trees,
Where thousands now are camping
With the Johnsons and the Lees,
Some of us are straggling yet,
Loitering on the way,
But time has marked us for his own
And we are old and gray.

⁷ Tahlequah *Telegram*.

We had some rough old times boys,
No matter where we'd go,
Sometimes we bunked in some old barn,
Sometimes out in the snow.
From Baxter Springs to Carriage Point,
From Neosho to Webbers Falls,
These pesky Yankees chased us
With energy and speed.
Never strong enough to make a stand,
And make a decent fight,
The only way we whipped them
Was by strategy and flight.

Many years have passed since then boys,
And we have never met.
But some of our adventures still
Are lingering with me yet.
May your lives be long and useful boys
And your hearts remain as true,
As when in eighteen sixty-four,
We skedaddled from the Blue.

In his declining years Joseph F. Thompson was familiarly known to his many friends as "Uncle Joe". He was respected and admired by all who knew him. Although he ranks high both as a soldier and an educator, in the judgment of his many friends he possibly ranks highest as one of the prominent founders and promoters of Methodism in the Indian Territory. Living through those trying pioneer days when life was lived in the raw he never failed to hold aloft the Christian banner and to use his influence toward the general betterment of all people with whom he came in contact. He lived an active and full life with never an idle moment. In his funeral eulogy Professor L. M. Logan said of Mr. Thompson: "He is one man whose Christianity dominated his thoughts; his thoughts resulted in action; his actions into habits; his habits into character; and his character into great work."

He passed to his reward November 9, 1922 and his remains were laid to rest in the Tahlequah cemetery. His best monument is the remembrance of him that lives in the hearts of the people.

THE ARMSTRONGS OF INDIAN TERRITORY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

INTRODUCTION

The Armstrong family was represented in Oklahoma by three generations of men bearing that name and all of them added to the fine reputation their ancestors had borne in the East and South in colonial days.

There is only one other case, as far as the writer has discovered, in the annals of the Indian Territory where three men of the same family held important positions under the jurisdiction of the United States government, and exercised the good influence among the Five Civilized Tribes that the three Armstrongs did for many years.

It is gratifying to learn that all of these officials were held in high esteem in Washington and their humanity to the Indians under their charge caused them to be loved by the red men.

Colonel James Armstrong, familiarly known as "Trooper" Armstrong, the founder of the family in America, was first mentioned in United States history in 1777, in Abingdon, Virginia. Before emigrating to America Colonel Armstrong had been an officer in the Enniskillen Dragoons from whence he derived his soubriquet "Trooper." He "had seen service in Europe, and was familiar with foreign equitette" and when he appeared at Governor Blount's council with the Cherokees at White's Fort, now Knoxville, July 1791, he was "arbiter elegantarium." The treaty ground was at the foot of Water Street and Governor Blount appeared in full dress. "He wore a sword and military hat and acted throughout the occasion the polite and accomplished gentleman, the dignified officer and courteous negotiator. He remained seated near his marquee, under and surrounded by tall trees which shaded the banks of the Holston, One of the interpreters introduced each chief to Armstrong, who then presented him to the governor, announcing each chief by his aboriginal name." He presented forty-one Cherokee chiefs in the order of age and not by their rank. There were 1200 other Indians on the ground and the braves were decorated with eagle feathers on their heads. All were unarmed.¹

Colonel Armstrong married about 1782, Susan Wells, daughter of Charles Wells, founder of Wellsburg, West Virginia. Her mother was probably Ann Tevis. The Colonel and his wife died about 1817 and were buried on what is now known as the Brice Farm in Knox County, on Flat Creek, about fifteen miles from Knoxville. Colonel

¹J. G. M. Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 555.

Armstrong bought the property from Francis Maybury of Knox County, January 22, 1801, paying "twenty hundred pounds current money of Virginia." The estate aggregated 2,180 acres. In deeding this property on December 5, 1818, the heirs of James Armstrong signed their names as follows, though the names are not given in order of birth:² (1) Francis Armstrong (2) Nancy (Ann) Tevis Armstrong; (3) Jane Crozier Armstrong; (4) Robert Armstrong; (5) William Armstrong; (6) Joshua Armstrong; (7) John Armstrong.

"Trooper" Armstrong was the father of General Robert Armstrong, the hero of Emuckfaw,³ who was born in East Tennessee in 1790. He commanded a company of the Tennessee artillery under Jackson in the Creek War of 1813-1814, and was distinguished for bravery. At the battle of Talladege, Alabama on January 24, 1814 he was dangerously wounded, but recovered, and again distinguished himself in the Battle of New Orleans, and on November 21, 1836, as a brigadier general he commanded the Tennessee mounted volunteers at the Battle of Wahoo Swamp, Florida.

He was postmaster of Nashville from 1829 to 1845 when he was appointed United States consul to Liverpool, remaining in England until 1852. Subsequently he became owner and editor of the *Washington Union*, and he was the confidential adviser of President Polk. General Jackson bequeathed him his sword.⁴

Francis W. Armstrong

Francis W. Armstrong was born in Virginia and appointed to the army from Tennessee. He became a captain of the Twenty-fourth Infantry on March 12, 1812; major June 26, 1813; honorably discharged June 15, 1815; reinstated December 2, 1815 as captain Seventh Infantry with a brevet of major from June 26, 1813; resigned April 30, 1817.⁵

² Zella Armstrong, compiler, *Notable Southern Families* (Chattanooga, 1926), Vol. 3, pp. 4-6.

³ The battle of Emuckfau was fought by General Jackson on January 22, 1814, at six o'clock in the morning on Emuckfau Creek which runs south into the Tallapoosa River. Under him were nine hundred soldiers and two hundred Cherokees and Creeks. He was attacked by five hundred Indians, and after fighting all day he drove them off and returned to Fort Strother (H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814* (Montgomery, 1893), pp. 273-74; Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Birmingham, 1900), p. 581 note). Lieutenant Armstrong was wounded in the battle (*ibid.*, pp. 582-83).

⁴ *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American History* (New York, 1888), Vol. I, p. 91. The *Washington Union* was founded in 1845 by Thomas Ritchie, known locally as Father Ritchie. He had previously edited the *Richmond Enquirer* for forty years (*Washington City and Capital* [Washington, 1937], p. 175).

⁵ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I, p. 169.

According to *Notable Families of the South*, compiled by Zella Armstrong, Francis Wells Armstrong was born about 1783. He was a son of Colonel James Armstrong and Susan Wells Armstrong. It is reported that Francis Armstrong was the inventor of the Derringer pistol. William Park (husband of Jane Crozier Armstrong), a brother-in-law of Armstrong and Hugh L. McClung were with the officer when he gave the pattern of the pistol to Derringer.⁶

Francis W. Armstrong married Anne Willard of Baltimore and Washington, and they had at least one son. Her second husband was General Persifer Smith.⁷ After the death of General Smith, his widow, who was a Catholic, entered a convent and became a Mother Superior.⁸

The following statement sheds light on Francis W. Armstrong's activities during the campaign for the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1829:

"Majr. F. W. Armstrong was a clever man & was brother to Genl. Armstrong a pet of the President had served with credit in the army . . . had after the war entered into business in Mobile *supported by my friends*—had been unsuccessful & had turned politician. He had talked loudly in the Presidential canvass in Alabama (where by the bye there was no need for it) for General Jackson had by his services, on our soil, entrenched himself firmly in the hearts of the people: But Majr Armstrong wanted office; and Genl. Cass⁹ wanted Tennessee; & was looking out to secure that state & an office for the Major. . . .

Major F. W. Armstrong, of Tennessee, was appointed on April 26, 1831, to take a census of the Choctaw tribe in Mississippi, before their removal west to the Indian Territory. George S. Gaines, a licensed trader and friend of the Choctaws, was expecting orders from the War Department to commence removal of the Choctaws in May, 1831, when Major Armstrong called upon him and asked Gaines to introduce him "to some of the most influential chiefs; having been sent by the Secy. of War to prepare them for removal. He appeared to be entirely ignorant of the actual state of things:

⁶ According to Webster's Dictionary the Derringer pistol was named after the American inventor. It is a short-barreled pocket pistol, of large caliber. See *Appendix*.

⁷ Persifer Frazer Smith was born in Pennsylvania and entered the service as colonel of the Louisiana Volunteers February 2, 1836. He became colonel of the Mounted Rifle May 27, 1846 and on September 23 he was brevetted brigadier general in several conflicts at Monterrey, Mexico; the following year he became a major general for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. He died May 17, 1858.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 902.

⁸ Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

⁹ Lewis Cass, a native of New Hampshire, held many distinguished positions in the United States. He was a celebrated officer in the Army, governor of Michigan Territory, secretary of war in 1831-1836, minister plenipotentiary to France, United States senator from Michigan, candidate for president in 1848. He died in his home in Detroit June 17, 1866.—L. D. Ingersoll, *A History of the War Department of the United States* (Washington, 1880), pp. 476-80; *A Biographical Congressional Dictionary 1774 to 1903* (Washington, 1903), p. 444.

& I am satisfied had no knowledge of my expectations. . . . I rode with him several days, introducing him as my friend, & desiring the chiefs to confide in him as they had always confided in me, and aid him in preparing for their removal." The Choctaws told Armstrong that they would be ready for removal when Gaines was ready. Armstrong reported this to the War Department and Gaines was appointed "Superintendent of Subsistence and Removal of the Indians" east of the Mississippi on August 12, 1831, a position he reluctantly accepted. Major F. W. Armstrong had begun his work on the Choctaw census early in July and completed it on September 7, 1831.¹⁰ On this same day, he was appointed as Choctaw Agent West of the Mississippi, the agency headquarters to be established in the Choctaw country west of and near Fort Smith.

Soon afterward (September, 1831), Captain William McClellan, sub-agent for the Choctaws, located the new Agency about fifteen miles west of Fort Smith. The building he planned and had erected consisted of two large rooms of hewed logs connected by a "runway." There was a porch across the entire front of the house which faced east. Major Armstrong brought his family to live at the Choctaw Agency on September 11, 1833.¹¹ His son, Frank C. Armstrong, was born there in 1835, the same year that Major Armstrong died. He was succeeded by his brother, William Armstrong, who occupied the agency building until his death on June 12, 1847.

Major Francis W. Armstrong requested Commissioner Herring on September 25, 1834, to see that he was sent \$362.00 to complete the Choctaw Agency:¹²

"The fact is that when I came here, there was nothing but the body of a double log house. I found the roof and porches rotten; and the Agency in a most dilapidated state; with but one chimney.

"With the additional sum now asked for, all will be under an entire new roof; with good stone under-pinning, new floors, chimneys, &c. The Agency will then be comfortable, plain and substantial; and nothing more will be required as long as the roof lasts. . . . The comfort of my family, makes it necessary that the work should be done before the winter sets in. . . ."

During the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi to their new home in the west, beginning with the arrival of the first parties in 1832, a village grew around the Agency. The location was healthful and a group of springs supplied all the water necessary for the

¹⁰ Muriel H. Wright, "The Removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (March, 1928), pp. 111-19.

¹¹ Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 58 and note 8.

¹² Office of Indian Affairs. Retired Classified Files. 1834 Choctaw West (Agency), F. W. Armstrong asks for funds for repairs.

small town that became well known as Skullyville.¹³ Major Francis W. Armstrong undoubtedly made necessary improvements on the Agency building since it has been described as containing three hewn log rooms with a stone foundation of four feet and a roof covered with red cedar shingles which lasted for sixty years before it was necessary to replace them. This was one of the oldest buildings in the state of Oklahoma, and it is regrettable that it was destroyed by fire in the recent past.¹⁴

The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek authorizing the removal of the Choctaw tribe of Indians from the East was executed in Mississippi, on September 27, 1830. On November 21, 1831, after his appointment as Agent to the Choctaws in the West, Major Francis W. Armstrong was given \$50,000 to supply emigrating agents with funds for which they were clamoring to be able to perform their duties. He left Washington with the funds for Captain Jacob Brown at Little Rock and Lieutenant J. R. Stephenson at Fort Towson. Armstrong arrived in Little Rock on January 22, 1832 and then journeyed on to Fort Towson which he reached on February 20.

Armstrong attributed his delay in remaining at his home in Nashville until January 1 to the¹⁵

" unexampled severity of the winter, such as has never been felt in the country before. . . . I have prevailed on my brother William to go to Arkansas with me. The truth is, I preferred confidential company, because the small sized notes, in the proportion directed in your letter, makes the money quite a bundle, and the rapidity of the Mississippi settling about the swamps makes me feel the risk greater than I thought it was when in Washington. You see a few days ago a set of villians boarded, while aground, the steamboat Favorite, and plundered and burnt her. Two Armstrongs are better than any insurance office."

Major Armstrong obtained from the government at Washington an order calling on the commanding officer at Cantonment Gibson to furnish a detail of soldiers to construct a wagon road from Fort Smith to Red River over which the emigrants could pass. Lieutenant Colonel James B. Many in command at Fort Gibson, ordered Captain John Stuart on March 22, 1832, to begin construction of the road.

Armstrong had written Colonel Many that he had made the necessary examination for the purpose of ascertaining the utility and practicability of the contemplated road and that he was fully satis-

¹³ The Agency building later was purchased and became the home of the well known Governor Tandy Walker, of the Choctaw Nation. He maintained a stage stand at the old Agency building for the Overland Mail Route to California in 1858. —W. B. Morrison, "The Saga of Skullyville," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June, 1938), pp. 234-5; Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River," *ibid.*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), p. 810.

¹⁴ Muriel H. Wright, "Old Choctaw Agency, Oldest Building in Oklahoma Burned in 1947," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1948), p. 90.

¹⁵ F. W. Armstrong to Gen. George Gibson, January 3, 1832, Office of Indian Affairs," 1832 Choctaw Emigration; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

fied of its importance to the public. He selected "Colonel" Robert Bean to accompany the command "to point out the precise ground over which the Road will run." The work was executed under the command of Captain Stuart accompanied by Bean, and the road completed in the spring of 1832.¹⁶

Sub-Agent D. McClellan wrote to Major Armstrong from the Western Choctaw Agency on May 23, 1832 regarding affairs under his jurisdiction:¹⁷

... We are getting along tolerable smoothly the greatest difficulty with me at this time is the want of money, it will require nearly five thousand Dollars, to defray the expences that has and will accrue at this agency up to the last of June which amount you will please have forwarded as early as practicable as I have strained my credit by borrowing money to enable me to get on with the business of this agency. The Steam Boats claim pay at this place for transportation of Choctaw Rifles and stores to Fort Smith.

I have been obliged to buy Powder, Lead, and steel; there is not Lead to be had, at this place to make an Issue. The two Pounds of Powder and Lead per man is much needed, it will be found to be very troublesome to make half Issues.

I have made one trip with the Public waggons to Red River and am now on the way with the second loads, the weather being so warm and the flies getting bad, I fear that I will not be able to make any more this season, for that reason I have hired two private teams to take one load each at four Dollars per hundred pounds, Should the flies not prove bad I will try another load in July.

The Troops have not yet completed the Road. I will travel the new rout this time as far as Kiamesha (*sic*) and then fall into the old Road.

Col. Bean is here with me and will set off to join the Road cutters on tomorrow, Lieut Rains and myself will accompany him back to Cavanole mountain and to the mouth of Frish (*sic*) Maline for the purpose of looking out a Road from that place to intersect the one the Troops are now opening, back to the Cavanole mountain I will then proceed on after the waggons to Towson.

Col. Bean said the Road from Fort Smith to Red River can be made an excellent one, but that Capt. Stewart [Stuart] said his orders will not suffer him to Causeway any of the marshes it will be of great importance to have all the Boggy places causewayed, without I fear waggons will not be able to pass at certain seasons of the year, When I return from Red River, I will be better able to give you information on this subject as I will travel that Road on my return. Col. Bean said the navigation of Kiamesha will be good from the mouth of Jacks fork to the Red River, and Jacks Fork I think a good situation for a ware house.

¹⁶ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of Captain John Stuart on the Construction of the Road from Fort Smith to Horse Prairie on Red River," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 3 (September, 1927, pp. 33-47); Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Colonel James B. Many," *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (June, 1941), p. 123; Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Sites in the Vicinity of Tuskahoma," *ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March, 1931), p. 27.

¹⁷ National Archives. Office of Indian Affairs: Choctaw (Emigr.) F. W. Armstrong. D. McClellan Re. to Choctaw cattle, etc.

The Choctaws are very anxious to get the number of cattle they turned over to the Government in the old nation, and money for the lands they relinquished please instruct me on that subject.

Enclosed is a petition from Nittuccachee and his captains

I have heard it mentioned by some of the merchants below the line that they would petition to have Lieut Rains removed from fort Smith, they can have no other objection to him only that he watches them closely and tries to suppress the vending of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and adheres to his duty strictly. suffice it to say that there could not be an officer, sent to that post that would do it the same justice that Lieut Rains has and will do.

When Major Armstrong arrived in the Indian Territory for the first time on February 20, 1832, he set up his headquarters in the store of Josiah H. Doaks near Fort Towson and called a meeting of the head men of the Choctaws recently arrived. That was probably the first meeting of the emigrants of this nation west of the Mississippi. Nitakechi was present and the Indians wished to organize their government and enact laws, but Armstrong informed them that as only one-fourth of the tribe had arrived in the west, "the government would not approve any laws enacted by them, and advised them to wait until a majority of the tribe was represented."

The Agent issued a notice to all fugitives from justice and all other persons not belonging to the Choctaw tribe to remove from their country. On March 1, 1832 he reported that there were 4,500 Choctaws west of the Mississippi, and on the fourth of that month he appointed Israel Folsom official interpreter for the United States, requiring him to live at the Agency near the Arkansas River.

Major Armstrong as Agent was confronted with a situation new in his experience when he learned that a party of Shawnee Indians living in the Choctaw country on Red River had lately killed a Choctaw woman, claiming that she was a witch. The agent ordered them captured and handed over to the military authorities. He learned that the Choctaws had also executed two of their own people on the same charge so he convened the chiefs in council and threatened death upon any one committing such a crime in the future, and a whipping to any person making a charge of witchcraft against a member of the tribe.

Armstrong delivered to his charges 225 blankets, 106 axes, 196 hoes, twenty-nine ploughs, fifty-five pounds of powder, 110 pounds of lead, as well as flintlocks, rifles, iron and steel. When he returned to Fort Smith, he found a party of Choctaws camped in the vicinity, and he rebuked the special agent for leaving them where white men could furnish them with whisky so that many of them were constantly drunk.

A new set of regulations for carrying on the Choctaw removal was issued by the War Department in May, 1832. On July 2,

Francis W. Armstrong was appointed Special Agent and Superintendent for the removal and subsistence of the Choctaws from the Mississippi River to their new home west of Arkansas. He also continued in his duties as Agent at the Choctaw Agency, of Skullyville. Also, on July 2, his brother, Captain William Armstrong, of Tennessee, was appointed Special Agent and Superintendent for the removal of the Choctaws from their old homes to the Mississippi River. With these appointments, George S. Gaines was succeeded in his position in the Choctaw removal. He was a brother of Edward Pendleton Gaines.¹⁸

Late in November, 1832, Armstrong ordered Lieutenant Jefferson Van Horne to join him at Little Rock to take charge of 1,800 Choctaws who were approaching that place from Rock Roe. The Lieutenant conducted his party to four miles east of Clear Creek (in present McCurtain County) where a final encampment was made on December 18.

When the Folsom party arrived at Memphis on October 31, they were terrified by the presence of cholera in the city. On all of the steamboats coming down the Mississippi had occurred deaths from that disease and F. W. Armstrong reported from Nashville in June that his wife had just recovered from it and that business in Tennessee had been entirely suspended because of it. Cholera added to the hardships of emigrants and their conductors and there were many deaths among the Choctaws. Major Armstrong wrote to General Gibson: "In some cases the people refused to come near us, or to sell us anything we wanted. . . . In ascending the river the woodyards were abandoned; and they had cause for alarm, for scarce a boat landed without burying some person."

Armstrong later wrote:

"No man but one who was present can form any idea of the difficulties that we have encountered owing to the cholera, and the influence occasioned by its dreadful effects. It is true, we have been obliged to keep everything to ourselves, and to browbeat the idea of disease, although death was hourly among us and the road lined with the sick . . . fortunately they are people that will walk to the last, or I do not know how we could get on."¹⁹

Major Armstrong in his new assignment as Superintendent of the Choctaw removal west of the Mississippi arrived at Little Rock, Arkansas, on January 22, 1833. Shortly thereafter, a boat arrived which brought a quantity of rifles, ammunition, hoes, axes intended

¹⁸ State Department of Archives and History, Birmingham, 1928. Historical and Patriotic Series No. 10. "Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty." This pamphlet is a reprint of an article entitled "The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek between the United States and the Choctaw Indians in 1830," by Anthony Winston Dillard, pp. 15-16.

¹⁹ Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 66, 67, 75, 87, 91, 93.

for the Indians. Some of these supplies were issued by the Agent to Chief Nitakechi's party of 1,400 at Little Rock.

In March, 1834 a Choctaw warrior was murdered while out hunting at the mouth of the Washita River. The Choctaw chiefs addressed a petition to Armstrong, asking the government to erect a fort for their protection as promised in their treaty. Before the agent set out for Washington he was visited by some of the Indians who urged him to impress upon the government the importance of keeping the promise made to them four years before, to protect them from the hostile red men living on the Arkansas and Red Rivers.²⁰

Choctaw Agent F. W. Armstrong, Washington City, April 6, 1833, wrote to Secretary of War Lewis Cass that under his order of July last arrangements had been made to vaccinate the Choctaws:

"It was expected that this humane object would be performed when they assembled for the purpose of taking up their march for their new country. This turned out to be impracticable because the Physician failed to attend after having been notified, as I understand from Superintendent East of the Mississippi; and if he had made his appearance at the time, I doubt whether they would have availed themselves of his services, when on the eve of setting out on their march. I confess that, for one, I was fearful of commencing it at that time, and under the existing circumstances; for many of them would have been unable, for at least some days, to travel. . . ."

Armstrong advised Commissioner Indian Affairs Elbert Herring on November 8, 1833, from the Choctaw Agency, of the death of Dr. M. Curry who had been employed to vaccinate the Indians; he was a native of Tennessee, only about twenty-five years old and he left a wife and one child. The Indians of the neighborhood continued in ill health.

Agent Armstrong encouraged the Choctaws to build log school houses and organize the schools as provided for in the treaty annuities.²¹

"The removal of the Choctaws to the country assigned to them west of the Mississippi river, having been effected, the investment of the large portion of their annuities which the chiefs have devoted to the purposes of education, has engaged the attention of the department and of the tribe, aided by the suggestions of the agent for the Choctaws, Major F. W. Armstrong, who has applied the energies of an active and disciplined mind to their improvement. . . ."²²

When a majority of the Choctaws had arrived in the West, Agent Armstrong in April, 1833 was instructed to carry out the terms of the treaty. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated to build a council

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7.

²¹ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, (Norman, 1934), p. 60.

²² *Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1833*, p. 187.

house for the nation, homes for the chiefs of the three districts, a church in each district to be used for a school house until others were built. Armstrong decided on the plans for the buildings, and let contracts for their construction.

In spite of great internal strife and jealousy, Major Armstrong, in December, at Doaksville, directed the Choctaws to organize their government and to take over their internal affairs heretofore exercised by the war department. The Indians decided to meet at Turnbull's on the Kiamichi River on February 1, 1834, to hold their first general council and form a constitution. Unfortunately the meeting was attended by only part of the tribe; the representatives from Nitakechi's district prepared and adopted a constitution, but the citizens of Pushmataha District, with no constitution or laws selected a chief for the entire nation.

Naturally such actions increased the discord in the nation and Armstrong declined to recognize chiefs chosen in such a manner and he directed them to assemble all of their chiefs and ninety-nine treaty captains into council and set up a government before electing officers.

Another matter in which Francis W. Armstrong was engaged in 1833, was making a treaty with the Osages. Montfort Stokes wrote to Secretary of War Poinsett that "Major Armstrong who was a good man, with the aid of Genl. Arbuckle, Genl. Dodge, Col. Chouteau and myself made a good Treaty with the Osages, which would have preserved that nation from the ruin that now threatens them. . . ." ²³

It was charged in 1833 that Choctaw hunting parties were crossing into Arkansas and depredating on the live stock of the white people, but Choctaw Agent F. W. Armstrong was in Little Rock when a memorial was circulated to have the Seventh Infantry returned there, and he wrote to the officials in Washington on October 16, 1833, ". . . to a man here looking on, this is a ridiculous farce." It appears from contemporary records that the movement was so Captain John Rogers could sell his land to the government for an army post. ²⁴

The introduction of whiskey into the Indian country by way of the Arkansas River had become such a menace to the welfare of the arriving emigrants that Major Francis W. Armstrong asked for troops to police the river; Captain John Stuart, with his Company C. of the Seventh Infantry, was ordered from Fort Gibson to the abandoned Fort Smith to intercept shipments of liquor. The outfit arrived on March 22, 1833, and the Captain and his fifty-one men took up quarters in the old buildings. Captain Stuart published a notice warning masters of boats in the transportation of merchandise west

²³ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 25, 26, 165.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

of Fort Smith to touch at the landing at that town, and show that they were not carrying liquor to the Indians. The owners of Fort Smith groggeries became so incensed that one of them assaulted Captain Stuart with a club and almost killed him.

On September 12, 1833, Lieutenant G. J. Rains wrote to General George Gibson from the Choctaw Agency West that Major Armstrong and his family had arrived there the previous evening.²⁵

It was finally decided to move the troops up the river where they would have a better chance to outwit the whiskey dealers. In June, 1834 the soldiers occupied Swallow Rock, ten miles above Fort Smith, where the high bluff gave them an unobstructed view of the river. The new military post was called Fort Coffee.

By Act of Congress of June 30, 1834, all of the territory west of the Mississippi River, except the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas, was made "the Indian country" and the whole Indian service was reorganized. At that time Francis W. Armstrong was appointed acting superintendent of Indian affairs in the "Western Territory" with particular jurisdiction over the Choctaw Indians and their country. Subagencies under his jurisdiction were organized for the Osage, western Cherokees, western Creeks, and immigrant Senecas, Shawnees, and Quapaws.

This appointment gave Major Armstrong authority over a large area occupied by Indians of different tribes and it must have increased his difficulties in managing them and their affairs.²⁶

Superintendent Armstrong in February, 1834, asked Colonel Arbuckle for the loan of 500 bushels of corn to relieve the distress of the Choctaws who were in a deplorable situation; many of them had been from four to six days without food. Some of them had acorn meal and Lieutenant Rains had a quantity of damaged pork which he was issuing to them.²⁷

The spring of 1834 was a time of great distress for the Choctaw Indians, many of them were destitute and Agent Armstrong was issuing a pint of corn to each individual. The water was so low that the boats could not get up the river and the agent wrote Commissioner Elbert Herring that he feared some of them would perish of hunger.²⁸

Armstrong made a contract with Robert Baker of Nashville to make spinning wheels for four dollars each and looms for \$17.50

²⁵ *Document* 512, Vol. I, p. 850. The index in Vol. I gives 54 references to Francis W. Armstrong and 52 to William Armstrong.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29 (and note 31), 185.

²⁷ National Archives. Office Indian Affairs, February 25, 1834. "Choctaw West."

²⁸ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (December, 1931), p. 402.

each for the Choctaws. "The contractor Mr. Baker . . . is a worthy man and is now with a number of hands engaged near my agency in this work."²⁹

A treaty concluded May 24, 1834 between the United States and the Chickasaw Nation was signed in Mississippi, by George Colbert, Isaac Albertson by mark, and Martin Colbert, Henry Love and Benjamin Love on the part of the Chickasaws. F. W. Armstrong, Choctaw agent was one of the nine white witnesses, and his name also appears on the supplementary articles under the same date.³⁰

Major Francis W. Armstrong returned from Washington in time to attend the great Indian council at Fort Gibson in September, 1834, and he had been commissioned to wind up the affairs of the United States commissioners. Colonel Dodge and Armstrong attempted to explain to the wild Indians the object of bringing them together and the benefits that would accrue to them under the protection of the United States. They were successful in creating a friendly feeling so that at the end of the meeting the different chiefs and warriors embraced each other.³¹

In 1834 took place the important expedition to the western Indians, commanded by General Henry Leavenworth and Major Henry Dodge. A meeting took place in the summer of this year, at the Wichita village on the North Fork of Red River at which the officers were successful in inducing a delegation of Indians to go to Fort Gibson where they arrived the middle of August. Runners were sent out to summon members of the Creeks, Osages, Choctaw, Cherokees, Wichitas, Wacoos, and Comanches and then began one of the most important and picturesque councils ever held in the west. Among the speakers were Colonel Dodge and Superintendent Armstrong, as well as chiefs of the various nations present. The president had appointed Governor Montfort Stokes, General Matthew Arbuckle and Major Francis W. Armstrong as commissioners to negotiate with the Indians who had never before made a treaty.³²

Colonel Henry Dodge and Major F. W. Armstrong dispatched a message to the Committee on Indian Affairs September 7, 1834 regarding the Indian council at Fort Gibson in which they wrote: "We feel confident that this meeting will have a most happy effect upon the wild tribes residing on the head waters of our water courses.

²⁹ Office Indian Affairs. "Choctaw Emigration" Letter from Armstrong to Cass May 18, 1834.

³⁰ *Constitution, Laws, and Treaties of the Chickasaws* (Tishomingo City, 1860), pp. 199, 202.

³¹ Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), pp. 29 (and note 31), 131-32.

³² Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942), pp. 19-20; George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), p. 1-41.

The Indians brought from the villages by the colonel and his command, appear to be much gratified. We have no fears but the intercourse is now sufficiently established to enable the government to convene the tribes hereafter and form a lasting peace between all parties on this frontier." The army officers suggested the use of presents as "The Indians do not understand friendship to be words alone—they want something tangible that they can carry with them and show to each other."³³

Secretary of War Lewis Cass on March 23, 1835, appointed Montfort Stokes, General Matthew Arbuckle and Agent Francis W. Armstrong to negotiate a treaty with the Comanches and other wandering tribes of Indians west of Missouri and Arkansas Territory for the purpose of perpetuating peace and friendship between the United States and the Comanche and Wichita nations, and their associated bands.³⁴ It proved impossible to hold the meeting at Fort Gibson as the Comanches had sent a war party into Texas, and the other tribes were on a hunting expedition.³⁵

Head Quarters S. W. Frontier
Fort Gibson, July 8, 1835

Sir, [Maj. F. W. ARMSTRONG, (A.S.W.T.) Choctaw Agency]

I received your letter of yesterday's date at half past ten o'clock A.M. this day. —It is my belief that your presence here at this time, however desirable, may be dispensed with for the present. If the general meeting with the Comanches and other western tribes takes place at all, it must take place in the course of the next month, and I request that you will notify the Choctaws of this, who you say are now in council, in order that they may be in readiness to attend.—

I greatly hope that your health will have sufficiently recovered to ensure your attend. here also, as it is feared that the delicate health of Gov Stokes will prevent his attendance should the council be held at Mason's Camp or near the Cross Timbers.—Major Mason's command will be immediately reinforced by a command of the 7th Infy. which it is believed will supercede the necessity of any call on the friendly Indians at present.—

Major Mason will be notified that it is proper that he should distrust the reports he may receive from the Osages as it is not doubted they take but little or no interest in the proposed treaty, for the reason that they are not to receive a share of the presents which it is probable will be made to the Western Indians at the proposed council and it is believed that some of the Delawares or others have been tampering with the Western Indians. The Maj. has also been directed to ascertain from the Comanchis such effects he can in relation to this point.

I am Sir, Very respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.

M. Arbuckle
Brig. Gen. Comdg.

[Mason was at Camp Holmes]

³³ Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Box 194.

³⁴ Berlin B. Chapman, "Establishment of the Wichita Reservation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1933), p. 1044; Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, (Cleveland, 1926), p. 159.

³⁵ Howard F. Van Zandt, "History of Camp Holmes and Chouteau's Trading Houses," Vol. XIII, No. 3, (September, 1935), p. 317.

Fort Gibson July 11th 1835

Sir, (To Maj. F. W. Armstrong, A.S.W.T. Choctaw Agency)

You will herewith receive a copy of a letter from Maj. Mason Comdg. a Squadron of the Regt. of Dragoons on the Western border of the Cross Timbers.—We have fully considered of the contents of this letter and have come to the conclusion that the commissioners in order to meet the wishes of the government and to ensure a general meeting between the Red people on this frontier & those farther west, that it is necessary that a time and place for such meeting should be determined on by the commissioners, and as it is necessary that the Western tribes should immediately have this information, we have regarded it our duty to instruct Maj Mason to notify the Western tribes, that we will be at his camp on the 20th of the next month, as a longer delay we believe might disappoint the expectations of the Western tribes and prevent their attendance.

Mr. Chouteau Sub Agent to the Osages is here and will remain until the return of the express, to receive your instructions.—We are of the opinion that you ought to require his presence at the genl. meeting where we have no doubt he will be of much service to the commissioners, and on his way to the upper bands of Osages he can have the Senecas, Quapaws &—notified of the time of the genl meeting & that deputations from their bands are expected to attend.

We hope it will be convenient for you to attend here in a few days, that such measures in relation to presents and other expenses & matters connected with the treaty may be decided on. . . .

We are Sir, With sentiments of high respect

M. Stokes
M. Arbuckle

From Fort Gibson on July 1, 1836, General Matthew Arbuckle addressed a long letter to Major Armstrong relating that he had received a communication from Major Richard B. Mason in which he wrote that the Western Indians who had assembled at and near his camp, were very restless, and that it would be difficult for him to induce them to remain until the middle of August.

Governor Montfort Stokes and General Arbuckle had written to Mason to urge him to induce the Indians to remain near his camp until the time appointed for the general meeting. They could not meet those red men sooner as it would require some time to assemble a deputation from all of the tribes on the frontier near Fort Gibson, and to provide a means of transporting “the articles the president of the U. States wishes to present to them. . . .”

Major Mason was further urged to endeavor to induce the western Indians to send delegates from their tribes to meet the commissioners at Fort Gibson; that was urgent because of the serious illness of two of the commissioners. “Governor Stoke is now too feeble and unwell to attend to business of any kind, and it is my decided opinion that his ill health will prevent him attending the General Council. . . .” Mason told Agent Armstrong:

"You will therefore see the great importance of your attendance at this post in one week from this time, provided your health will possibly permit, as it would be impossible for me to act alone, at the General Council, or at least without the outlines of the Treaty the commissioners may regard proper to offer to the tribes having been agreed on, by all provided the Governor and yourself may be unable to attend or at least two, of the commissioners as well as everything concerned with the purchase and distribution of the presents. . . ."

Mr. [John] Dillard wished to take out some supplies for the troops, and a small quantity of goods to trade with the Indians provided Major Armstrong was willing to grant him a license. Arbuckle was in favor of that plan as it would probably amuse and employ the Indians until the time for the meeting.³⁶

When the removal of the Choctaws had been effected, the investment of a large part of their annuities engaged the attention of the War Department and Choctaw Agent Major Francis W. Armstrong, "who has applied the energies of an active and disciplined mind to their improvement." Twelve log school houses were to be built, books bought and for teachers steady, sober married men were to be selected.³⁷

Governor Stokes and General Arbuckle concluded a treaty with the "Wichetas" and Comanches, with the co-operation of Major Armstrong. "He had left home to attend the council, but was suddenly arrested by disease, which ended in death before he could reach his destination. By this unhappy event the Government lost a meritorious and efficient officer, and the Choctaws were deprived of a faithful and devoted agent."

Francis W. Armstrong encouraged the Choctaws to build schools, and in 1833-1834 some of them were opened during the winter.³⁸

While the commissioners were arranging to go to Fort Holmes for the conference, Major Armstrong was taken seriously ill, and he died on August 6, 1835, in his home at the Choctaw Agency.³⁹

³⁶ National Archives, War Department, *Fort Gibson Letter Book*, 139, 40.

³⁷ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian affairs, 1834, p. 187.

³⁸ Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³⁹ Grant Foreman (ed), "Journal of the Proceedings of Our First Treaty with the Wild Indians", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (December, 1936), p. 396. The neglected grave of Major Armstrong is a few miles north of Spiro, Oklahoma, near the site of Fort Coffee. "The name of Francis W. Armstrong is closely associated with Fort Coffee. An iron gate to a lot of one of the three cemeteries at Fort Coffee bears his name. . . This gate was recently broken by vandals. Part of the rock wall around the lot remains as do the two stone posts between which the gate was swung. . . ." (*Oklahoma School Journal*, "Fort Coffee: Choctaw Monument" by Thomas H. McMurtrey, Spiro, Oklahoma, 3 [date missing], p. 31).

The September 17, 1835 edition of the *Army and Navy Chronicle* (page 301) described a meeting at Fort Coffee in honor of the late Major Armstrong at which Captain John Stuart was called to the chair and Lieutenant H. McKavett was appointed secretary.

Richard Peters (ed.), *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston, 1846), Vol. 7, p. 474.

Part II, *William Armstrong*, to be continued)

APPENDIX

MAJOR FRANCIS W. ARMSTRONG, DESIGNER OF THE "DERINGER PISTOL."

In his fascinating account of *Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol* (New York, 1952),¹ Mr. John E. Parsons states that Deringer, "though lacking patent protection," supplied the pioneers with single-shot pistols.

"Perhaps it was the name 'Deringer,' like 'Shrapnel,' conveyed no other meaning in English that it passed into the language to signify the invention of its possessor. . . .

"Henry Deringer, Jr. . . . was born in Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1786, his father being a German settler . . . who came to America prior to the Revolution. . . ." Under the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 Deringer supplied the warriors emigrants with flintlock and percussion rifles at \$12.50 each and he wrote the Commissary General of the Army in 1833, "I can assure you that a better set of rifles the Indians never got, and as good as any that were sent to the United States' arsenal. There never was a better rifle made for the Indians than we make at present for the Indians on Major Armstrong's pattern." The last reference was to Major Armstrong a veteran of the War of 1812, whom President Jackson had appointed agent to the Choctaws in Indian Territory.

Deringer wrote that he made the Deringer Pistol since 1825 at Philadelphia and that it first came into notice when he made a pair for Major Armstrong who was so pleased with them that he introduced them among the Indian chiefs.²

New York 5, N.Y.
May 2, 1952

Mrs. Grant Foreman
1419 West Okmulgee Avenue
Muskogee, Oklahoma
Dear Mrs. Foreman,

Thank you for sending me a copy of the review in the *Tulsa Daily World* of my new book, *Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol*. Deringer spelled his name with one r in the middle, and at first this was the orthography of the pistol. However, for various reasons, the double r was used too and dictionaries have often adopted it, even for the gunmaker himself. As my book points out, I think they are in error.

¹ See Book Review in this issue of *The Chronicles*, p. 361.

² John E. Parsons, *Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol* (New York, 1952), pp. 16, 17, 18, 25, 93. See Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), p. 28, for a full account of the Deringer pistols shipped on September 21, 1831, from Philadelphia to Fort Smith for the Indians.

I did come across Major Armstrong in Deringer's own correspondence. He designed a rifle that Deringer made for Indians being removed to the Territory, and also was one of the first officers for whom Deringer made pistols. The maker reported that "He was much pleased with the weapons and introduced them among the Indian Chiefs, and subsequently among the heads of Departments at Washington, the members of Cabinet, etc., and they soon acquired a high reputation. Major Armstrong gave the pistols the name of the 'Deringer Pistol,' and by it they have ever been known."

I found references to Major Armstrong in "Journey to Indian Territory, 1833-1835" (letters of Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood), *Journal of Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, December, Cong., 1st sess. (Serial 244, pp. 125, 1165, Serial 512, 23rd 256, 268, 273); Report to Sec'y of War, 1835 (Serial 286, pp. 49, 262)

I think that Armstrong helped popularize the pistol, but that the design was essentially Deringer's own. The famous pocket size was a later development from the duelling type which Armstrong undoubtedly ordered.

I shall look forward to your article in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, and hope that my book will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,
John E. Parsons

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE CONFEDERACY

By George H. Shirk

The area of present Oklahoma occupied a special place in the history of the Confederacy, and the special significance given this western region by the Confederate government was reflected in many ways. It is generally recognized that the last surrender of an organized Confederate force was by General Stand Watie at Fort Towson, Indian Territory. By the same token the story of the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America is worthy of being told in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.¹

Miss Annie P. Pillow, daughter of Brig.-General Pillow of the Confederate Army, published about 1912, an illustrated booklet on the Seal of the Confederate States, and much of the present information on the subject is derived from her account of the romantic story of this Great Seal.

Since from immemorial times a formal seal or signet has been the accepted evidence of sovereignty, the architects of the Southern Confederacy in keeping with this tradition at once turned their attention to providing the needed device. Several individuals made contributions to the design. Thomas J. Semmes of Louisiana suggested the wreath; Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, proposed an equestrian statue of Washington as the central device. Alexander R. Boteler, a representative to the Confederate Congress from Virginia, combined these suggestions with some of his own and introduced *House Joint Resolution 13*, approved by the Confederate Congress on April 30, 1863. The resolution read:

Resolved by the Confederate States of America, that the Seal of the Confederate States shall consist of a device representing an equestrian portrait of Washington, after the statue which surmounts his monument in the Capitol Square at Richmond, surrounded with a wreath composed of the principal agricultural products of the Confederacy, Cotton, Tobacco, Sugar, Cane, Corn, Wheat and Rice, and having around its margin the words 'The Confederate States of America, Twenty-second February, Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-two,' with the following motto, 'Deo Vindice'.

The date "22 February 1862" was placed upon the Great Seal because it was on that date that the provisional government ceased and the permanent government of the Confederate States of America was established. This date was Washington's birthday which gave another reason for the selection of his likeness as the central device.

¹ The material for this article was furnished through the courtesy of Van Dyk MacBride, of Newark, New Jersey, General Vice-President of the Confederate Stamp Alliance, a national philatelic organization. He is a member of other leading national philatelic societies, and of the Civil Round Table of New York. Mr. MacBride has made a special study of the history of the Confederate States, and has written extensively on Confederate postal history.

The equestrian portrait is very similar to Washington's monument in Capitol Square at Richmond. The Latin motto *Deo Vindice* may be translated "God will Judge." The House Joint Resolution of the Confederate Congress shows the date in words, but the Great Seal contains arabic numbers. This change was made under instructions of the Secretary of State J. P. Benjamin, as he felt that the many words would needlessly reduce the size of the lettering.

The arrangements for the actual casting and execution of the Great Seal were entrusted to James M. Mason, the Confederate States Commissioner to the Court of St. James. He was instructed that all work must be of the finest possible character and cost was not to be a consideration. Mason employed J. F. Foley, a member of the Royal Academy and a renowned British sculptor, to execute the actual design. The completed model was engraved on silver by Joseph S. Wyon, Chief Engraver to Her Majesty's Seals. The completed seal cost about \$700.00.

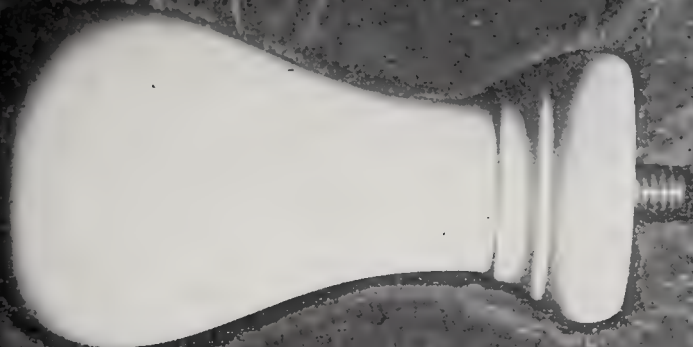
The seal was cast in massive solid silver, about 3½ inches in diameter and bears on its margin the word "engraved by J. S. Wyon 287 Regent Street London." Appropriate solid silver hall mark, as appears on all English silver marking the year and details of manufacture, was included, along with the initials JSW.

Then came the task of transmitting the precious article safely to America. Lieutenant Robert C. Chapman, C.S.N., was entrusted with this most important mission. He was instructed that under no circumstances should the seal be captured and if such became likely he was authorized to throw the Great Seal into the ocean. He placed the seal in a small box and secreted it among his personal effects; and in this manner, he was able to make the crossing without difficulty. On August 4, 1864, Lieutenant Chapman delivered the Great Seal to the Confederate Secretary of State at Richmond.²

The iron press and gear for the operation of the seal, being bulky, were shipped separately. These articles left Liverpool consigned to Major Walker at Bermuda. They were lost in route, and in fact never reached the Confederacy. This circumstance required a change in the use of the seal, for without the mounting and press it could be affixed only with great difficulty. A small ivory handle was improvised which permitted its use by hand; but this arrangement was unsatisfactory and the seal was therefore seldom officially used.

Upon the evacuation of Richmond on April 2, 1865, the Secretary of State entrusted the important records of the Department of State to a Clerk in his office, William J. Bromwell. Included in the effects

² A bronze replica of the Great Seal of the Confederate States is in the Historical Society's Confederate Memorial Hall, as a part of the collection of the late Gen. R. A. Sneed, of Oklahoma, Commander in Chief of the Confederate Veterans of the South, 1929 (Information from Mrs. Helen Gorman, Curator of the Confederate Memorial Hall).—Ed.



(Photo by courtesy of Van Dyk MacBride)

Great Seal of the Confederacy, now in museum at Richmond,
Shown in box with improvised ivory handle.



was the Great Seal. All of the papers were boxed by him and labeled as personal effects; and tradition has it that Mrs. Bromwell concealed the seal in her clothing, and in that manner escaped with the precious article. Later these records were taken to Charlotte, North Carolina, and stored in the county court house. With the final dissolution of the Confederate government, Bromwell found himself still in possession of the records of the Department of State. He employed an attorney, John T. Pickett, to negotiate for proper disposition of the material. In 1872, through the efforts of Colonel Pickett and others, the United States government purchased all available records of the Confederate Secretary of State for \$75,000.00. The United States was represented in the negotiations by Lieutenant, later Admiral, Thomas O. Selfridge.

Colonel Pickett, however, officially retained the Great Seal as a portion of the fee for his services. The money from the sale of the documents was deposited in a Washington bank and was used to relieve widows and orphans of the Confederate cause. Colonel Pickett, for his own part, augmented the fund by selling reproductions from the Great Seal. And eventually in recognition of the service to the project by Lieutenant Selfridge, he gave the seal itself to Selfridge. True to a promise to Pickett, Selfridge kept this information private and for many years the whereabouts of the Seal was unknown.

Soon after the evacuation of Richmond there was considerable speculation as to the whereabouts of the Seal. B. J. Lossing, a contemporary historian, wrote that he was unable to locate an impression of the Seal, and had no reply to an advertisement for the purchase of one. A story that received considerable belief at the time was that the seal never actually reached America but was in Bermuda. The reproductions distributed prior to the Seal's coming into the possession of Admiral Selfridge did little to off-set the increased mystery due to Selfridge's silence.

In 1912 after a long search, Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, discovered that Admiral Selfridge still had in his possession the Great Seal, and secured from the Admiral permission to reveal its whereabouts. As soon as the information was known three public spirited citizens of Richmond on May 14, 1912 were able to purchase the seal from Admiral Selfridge for \$3,000. It was then presented by the purchasers to the Confederate Museum at Richmond.³ The Museum occupies the former official residence of President Davis and was the "White House of the Confederacy." The Great Seal is there now in its leather case, and remains inviolate testimony to the great cause it served.

³ It has been stated that at the time of this purchase the Confederate Seal was returned to London for inspection. Its authenticity was fully confirmed as the original silver model cast by Wyon. (Allen Tankersley, "The Great Seal of the Confederate States of America," *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*, Vol. XV, No's. 5 and 6, May and June, 1952).—Ed.

FIRST OIL AND GAS WELL IN TULSA COUNTY

By Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.

Educational institutions, historical societies and many individuals have requested a documented story of the Bland-Clinton oil and gas well opened at Red Fork, June 25, 1901, on the Sue A. Bland homestead.

In 1901, a group of persons were endeavoring to secure a large oil and gas lease in the Creek Nation, extending north to the Arkansas River, and have it approved by the Secretary of the Interior before allotments were completed. Citizens of the Creek Nation had enough carpetbagger rule and did not want an absentee landlord substituted. This problem had to be met at once. Here we Creek citizens applied a new technique in oil pioneering development. Finding the oil and giving it nation wide publicity. No honest and qualified Secretary of the Interior would cloud the land title of an allottee by approving a lease on it without the authority of law. If these parties seeking large holdings had not wasted their time trying to claim the Red Fork well as their lease and had drilled southeast of Sapulpa, as first planned, they could have hit the Glenn Pool sand, and the story would have been different.

We citizens at Red Fork were always on the alert for some industry to aid in the development of this section and the coming state. One fine May morning Dr. J. C. W. Bland sent for me for a consultation at Red Fork about a 500,000 acre oil and gas lease said to have been passed by the Creek Council, at Okmulgee, subject to the approval by the Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock. Doctor Bland also told me of a drilling rig on a flat-car nearby. He said it could not be unloaded until the freight and demurrage were paid. He also said the owner, P. L. Crossman, and crew were short of money. Doctor Bland and I did not have any ready money, so I reminded him of a thing he well knew. We were doctors and not oil men.

Many persons planned to drill for oil, and some had drilled wells in the hope of securing large approved oil leases in the Indian Territory. As these brought in no worthwhile returns to the Creek Nation or to citizens of the Nation, we decided on a rational development for community and state, with oil as the magic lure when we found and publicized it. It was my suggestion to Doctor Bland that we proceed immediately to initiate the oil development on the Sue A.

Bland homestead adjoining Red Fork,¹ and if we struck oil to give it the widest publicity; this would attract oil people and insure development. I told Doctor Bland that if he could get his wife's consent for us to drill on her homestead claim and get P. L. Crossman's consent to unload equipment and commence drilling immediately, I would agree to raise the money to pay freight and demurrage and get everything going until we both could arrange for the completion of the well. Doctor Bland attended to both assignments, getting his wife's consent and getting Mr. Crossman's agreement. Before returning to Tulsa, I went to H. H. Adams, Frisco Agent at Red Fork (1897-1902), and borrowed \$300, which was enough to free the equipment and to get the drilling started.

The land allotments to enrolled citizens in the Creek Nation were progressing rapidly. We Creek citizens were giving up our free range and our privileges of selecting any place on the public domain, establishing a home or business there. We were being confined to the 160 acre allotment established by the recent agreement with Government, so our minds turned to the immediate future.² We must develop industry to take the place of cattle and other live stock. Stock raising was still carried on in a big way by a few large stockmen. This produced more and finer stock in smaller quantities but more widely distributed over the territory.

¹ John C. W. Bland, M.D., was born in Centerville, Iowa, November 7, 1860. He graduated from Missouri Medical College in 1883, and located in Dodge City, Kansas, in 1884. Later in this same year, he moved to Tulsa, Creek Nation, Indian Territory. He opened an office for the practice of medicine in Tulsa, and was the first graduate physician to locate there. In 1887, Dr. Bland was united in marriage to Miss Sue A. Davis, daughter of W. T. Davis, of Tulsa, a well known family of the Creek Nation. They became the parents of seven children: Vera, Era, Owen, Hazel, Arlies, Davis and John. In 1895, he moved his family to Red Fork where he engaged in stock-raising and country practice.

Dr. Bland was a courageous citizen, a good neighbor and a distinguished physician and surgeon. He was appointed postmaster at Red Fork when James A. Parkinson's store was moved away from that place. In 1900, he established a large general store at Red Fork, and was successful in this business. He was a member of the first Board of Medical Examiners for the Creek Nation, which also included J. O. Callahan, M.D., of Muskogee, and G. R. Rucker, M.D., of Eufaula. Dr. Bland was also a member of the Indian Territory Medical Association and of the American Medical Association, and charter member and first president (1906) of the Tulsa County Medical Society. He was a member of the Oklahoma State Medical Association, a local surgeon for the Frisco Railway, and for many years, a member of the U. S. Board of Pension Examiners. He passed away on January 2, 1923, and was buried in Oak Lawn Cemetery, Tulsa, Oklahoma. For biographical sketch, see D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory, Descriptive, Biographical and Genealogical* (New York, 1901).—Ed.

² An agreement providing for allotment of lands in severalty was concluded between the Creek delegation and the Dawes Commission at Muskogee, on September 27, 1897, but was subsequently rejected by the Creek National Council through the opposition of Principal Chief Ispaihecher and his followers. This Creek Agreement in amended form was included in the Curtis Act passed by Congress and approved on June 28, 1898. (Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, pp. 656-62.)—Ed.

Everything worked out very well at Red Fork; drilling was slow but continued. Good food and drinking water were difficult to secure and very expensive. The only public eating places were temporary tents put up and run by fellows who followed the booms to reap what ready cash they could. Colonel Robinson's Hotel was the only hotel in Red Fork at that time. Many persons arriving with no place to stay were entertained in private homes. As I recollect, Dr. F. B. Fite, Chief Pleasant Porter, and J. H. Hill, all of Muskogee, were entertained in the Clinton home at Red Fork. Mrs. Vera Bland Stickles told me that Mr. Crossman and the other drillers frequently ate with them during the drilling period.

Doctor Bland paid the drillers considerable money and gave them blocks of land inside the townsite³ adjoining the Sue A. Bland allotment. This was the only land then available that could be sold and drilled for oil. This land properly managed would have brought more ready money than we could have secured for the lease of the Sue A. Bland homestead, because we could not, at that time, deliver title or get approval of leases. We had been offered \$40,000 for the lease by David R. Francis, former Secretary of the Interior. Frank O. Brown, residing in Red Fork since 1901, bought Blocks 11 and 12 in the townsite of Red Fork for \$1400 each and within twenty-four hours sold them for \$2800 apiece.

After being sick for three days, Doctor Bland sent for me and I found him confined to his bed and suffering from an acute attack of appendicitis. We decided that his chances were better at that critical moment without an operation. He asked me to take over. When the oil and gas well was drilled in on the Sue A. Bland homestead, (N.W., S.E., Sec. 22, T. 19 N., R. 12 E.), just after 1:00 a.m., June 25, 1901, he asked me to take full charge.

"Our decision to drill here was based upon our faith in the development of resources of the Indian Territory, the industrial activity and oil interests in Kansas and Texas, the allotment of Indian Lands, and the establishing of legal right of ownership of property which presented a golden opportunity for immediate progress if we could strike oil and secure national publicity without delay. We had no lease or leases when we decided to make a try by leaps and bounds for instant national publicity. *This was the first oil and gas well in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, which was nationally publicized, resulting in the rapid industrial development of Tulsa and Oklahoma, and finally to establishing Tulsa as the Oil Capital of the World with the great International Petroleum Exposition and Congress in this city.*"⁴

³ Under the terms of the Curtis Act, townsites in the Creek Nation were laid out, "to be restricted to their present limits, where towns are now located" (1898), by an appointed Commission, one member appointed by the Principal Chief of the Creek Nation and one member, by the President of the United States (*Ibid.*, p. 659). Red Fork was one of the townsites located by the Townsite Commission.—Ed.

⁴ Fred S. Clinton, "International Petroleum Exposition and Congress," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1948-49), p. 479.

Great excitement prevailed with discovery of the Red Fork well in 1901. Doctor Bland asked me to accept a power of attorney for the purpose of filing upon the above described property for Sue A. Bland, his wife, a Creek citizen. Those were the days of few automobiles and telephones in our part of the country. Armed with this power of attorney and a quart bottle of Red Fork oil, I traveled in my buggy across the river to Tulsa, and got to the railroad station just in time to drop the lines and jump onto the train. I asked a friend either to take my buggy home or to notify my wife. I went by way of Vinita on the Frisco, and to Muskogee on the Katy.

I arrived late in the evening at Muskogee and reported immediately to Doctor F. B. Fite's residence. On entering, I found him at home. We went into a huddle when I told him of my mission. He decided that we should test this oil and suggested we pour it on some shavings and set fire to it. After a conference we decided to go to the rear yard so there would be more room and less damage. We poured some oil on the shavings. The doctor then struck a match and lighted it. He was completely satisfied, and I suggested that he pour it into a new lantern. The wick was saturated and the bottom of the lantern was filled while in the house, but we decided to light it in the rear yard. When we touched a lighted match to it, a flame came up and burned like good kerosene. We were well pleased. We then extinguished the flame and got into the doctor's buggy and went out to the residence of Allison Aylesworth, the Dawes Commission Secretary.⁵ He had been ill for several days but was being released by Doctor Fite the next morning.

On being introduced and informed of my mission and of Doctor Bland's illness, he told us to be at the Dawes Commission office before eight o'clock the next morning, June 26, 1901, where we would receive prompt attention. We were there promptly. Mr. Aylesworth had made all proper preparations for filing my power of attorney for the Sue A. Bland's application for homestead allotment.⁶ When this was completed I immediately left the Commission's office and sought a private conveyance home. Before leaving Muskogee, I went to the office of Doctors F. B. Fite and J. L. Blakemore where I met Doctor Blakemore. He expressed a desire to visit Red Fork and see the well. He arranged about his practice, secured a hack, and we departed about 4:00 p.m. We traveled by course and by trail road toward Red Fork. Doctor Blakemore was the family physician of Captain F. B. Severs. He invited A. Z. English, son-in-law of Captain Severs to accompany us. Sometime in the night we missed the trail

⁵"By Act of Congress of March 2, 1895, the Dawes Commission was increased to five members: Henry L. Dawes, Archibald S. McKennon, Frank C. Armstrong, Thomas B. Cabaniss, and Alexander D. Montgomery were appointed to complete the Commission, with Allison Aylesworth as Secretary."—Grant Foreman, *Muskogee: Biography of an Oklahoma Town* (Norman, 1943).

⁶See Appendix A for "Power of Attorney" to Dr. Fred S. Clinton, June 25, 1901.

and ran into a barbed-wire fence, cutting one of the horses severely. This was near the "I.X. Ranch," owned by Bluford Miller, brother-in-law of Captain Severs. Doctor Blakemore was very fortunate in securing a new horse from Bluford Miller so we could continue our journey. We arrived at Red Fork, early in the morning of June 27th.

There was a seething mass of people over every portion of ground or space that could be occupied in the town of Red Fork. Food and water were extremely scarce. In the absence of Doctor Bland and myself, different people who felt at liberty assumed authority to run the business and give orders, but this was all gradually taken care of when Doctor Bland was up and able to attend to his own business. The following persons resided in Red Fork when the well came in and were most likely the first to see it in action: Mr. and Mrs. Lee Clinton, Dr. and Mrs. J. C. W. Bland, Owen Bland, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Adams, Lincoln Postoak, J. B. Hall, J. W. Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Frank O. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Bridges, Mr. and Mrs. John I. Yargee, Van and Pleas Yargee, C. M. Forsythe, Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Atkins, Miss Vera Bland and sister Era Bland, Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Lindsey, Robert and Thomas Hughes, Mrs. Robert Fry, May and Lena Sanger, Rena and Sammy Norman, Colonel Robinson and sons, Edward and George, Mrs. Louise Clinton and her two children, Vera and Paul.

In the early days Doctor Bland made long professional calls in his buckboard and it thrilled me to accompany him. He had a wonderful mind and memory, and could quote extensively from the classics, prose and poetry. He was our family physician from about 1887 or 1888. When I returned from school in 1893 Doctor Bland became my preceptor. I began the practice of medicine under him in Tulsa in 1895. From that time on our relationship was very close until his death in 1928.

My call to counsel and aid him, in the case of the oil well, was in line with our many efforts to find some self-supporting industry to develop our section of the country, and the coming state, and I did not expect to share his property. We were friends.⁷ So it may now

⁷ "Though he is not at present time actively identified with the oil and natural gas industry in Oklahoma, Dr. Clinton had the distinction of completing, in association with his professional conferee, Dr. J. C. W. Bland, the first oil well in the new celebrated Tulsa district, this well having been at Red Fork. Concerning this promotive and practical undertaking on the part of the two enterprising Oklahoma physicians the following pertinent statements have been made. They successfully promoted the drilling of the first well in the Tulsa district, and this attracted to the field eventually some of the most experienced oil men from the older fields and resulted in the opening of what is probably the greatest oil-producing territory in the world. The remarkable development of these natural resources, including the operations of the Glenn Pool, may be said to have originated with the work of these two doctors. Dr. Clinton is one of the leaders among the men of enterprise and initiative and constructive ability who have made Tulsa one of the most important centers of the oil and gas industry in the United States."—*Oklahoma, Special Limited Edition 1916*, American Historical Society (Chicago and New York).

be told, I never claimed or received one dime from the production of the well or wells drilled. It was understood that I did not even want to be reimbursed for money or any aid furnished.

Drilling wells and plugging them on large leases was too slow when you could sail to success on the wings of publicity from a producing or flowing oil well. Paul Clinton⁸ sent the first telegram to the *Kansas City Star* and received a check for nine dollars. The show was on. We sent for Fred Barde of Guthrie, *Kansas City Star* correspondent for this territory. Tulsa had no daily papers at that time. However they were numerous all over the United States, and many foreign countries were alerted by our vigilant citizens and amazed and astonished visitors.

The Red Fork well may have been like a mustard seed to some, but when one considers the time, the place, the lack of experience of the active, responsible paying participants, it was and is the considered opinion of the writer that this nationally publicized well was the spark-plug for the immediate statewide development of the greatest self-supporting industry in Oklahoma: OIL! Our dreams were to find oil and let the world know about it, believing it would be a magnet to attract oil men with associated industries.

After titles, the next problem at Red Fork was marketing the oil. The nearest refinery in 1901 was at Neodesha, Kansas. The refinery was willing to pay \$1 a barrel for crude but it took 90 cents to deliver it there, leaving only 10 cents a barrel for owner and operator. These problems had been solved elsewhere, and we knew they would be remedied by the type of substantial and experienced men arriving from older fields. F. O. Brown, who resided in Red Fork from June 25, 1901, practically all the time, later informed me that oil was shipped in barrels to the Prairie Oil and Gas Company, Independence, Kansas, at \$1.32 a barrel.

All kinds of people came from everywhere by every means of transportation then in use. Well-directed publicity attracted people,

⁸ Paul Clinton is the youngest brother of Dr. Fred S. Clinton. Their father, Charles Clinton, was a cowboy who abandoned life on the Chisholm Trail in 1872, and enroute back to Texas by way of Okmulgee, he stopped at this capital of the Creek Nation where he was soon employed in the large general store owned by Captain F. B. Severs. Here he met and married Miss Louise Atkins, a citizen of the Creek Nation and teacher in the community. They became the parents of Fred S. Clinton, Lee Clinton, Vera Clinton (Mrs. J. H. McBirney), and Paul Clinton, all of whom now reside in Tulsa. Soon after his marriage, Charles Clinton left the Sever's store to establish the "Half Circle S Ranch" ("S") on Duck Creek just south of present Mounds near the Creek-Okmulgee county line. Travelers called this ranch the "Last Chance Ranch." Charles Clinton was a ranchman and pioneer of prominence. He introduced thoroughbred livestock on an extensive scale in the Indian Territory of the early eighteen-seventies, and likewise took a leading part in introducing modern methods of farming and improved farm products in the Creek Nation. He predicted the finding of great mineral wealth along the 96th Meridian. The Charles Clinton family home was built in 1882 at Red Fork, on the site now occupied by Clinton Junior High School.

not only in Indian and Oklahoma Territories, but from all over the United States. Muskogee and Oklahoma City furnished the greatest number at the beginning, who began immediately to invest their time and money in development.

We also had the benefit of the great oil companies from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Kansas, Texas and other states. Guffey and Galey arrived within a few hours after the well came in. Many excursions were run on the Frisco Railroad. New companies were formed. Diligent efforts were made to secure leases or to buy land. Among those who came from Muskogee may here be mentioned: Doctor J. L. Blakemore, Doctor F. B. Fite, Mr. J. H. Hill, Attorney. From Oklahoma City came: Mr. Lee Van Winkle, Doctor Beard, William Petty, Usher Carson, Charles F. Colecord, and Robert Galbreath. Numerous other visitors included officials from the Indian Agency and the Dawes Commission at Muskogee. General Pleasant Porter, Chief of the Creek Nation, also visited the well.

Nathaniel Emmons once wrote that "Any fact is better established by two or three good testimonies than by a thousand arguments." The factual, documental quotations and citations in this article from responsible citizens in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, added to others over the nation, lay at rest the unsupported claims of those who challenge the drilling of the Bland-Clinton oil well at Red Fork, June 25, 1901 by Doctors J. C. W. Bland and Fred S. Clinton. The quotations in this article are from people who were in position to know, personally or from reliable sources. They were responsible persons; i.e., answerable legally and morally for the payment of the bills for drilling of the Bland-Clinton oil well. Even in that early day we were careful to be trustworthy in all our promotions.

A variety of documents is presented in the *Appendix* at the end of this article. A collection of diverse statements are cited in support of the Bland-Clinton well, by responsible persons.⁹ Identifying parts

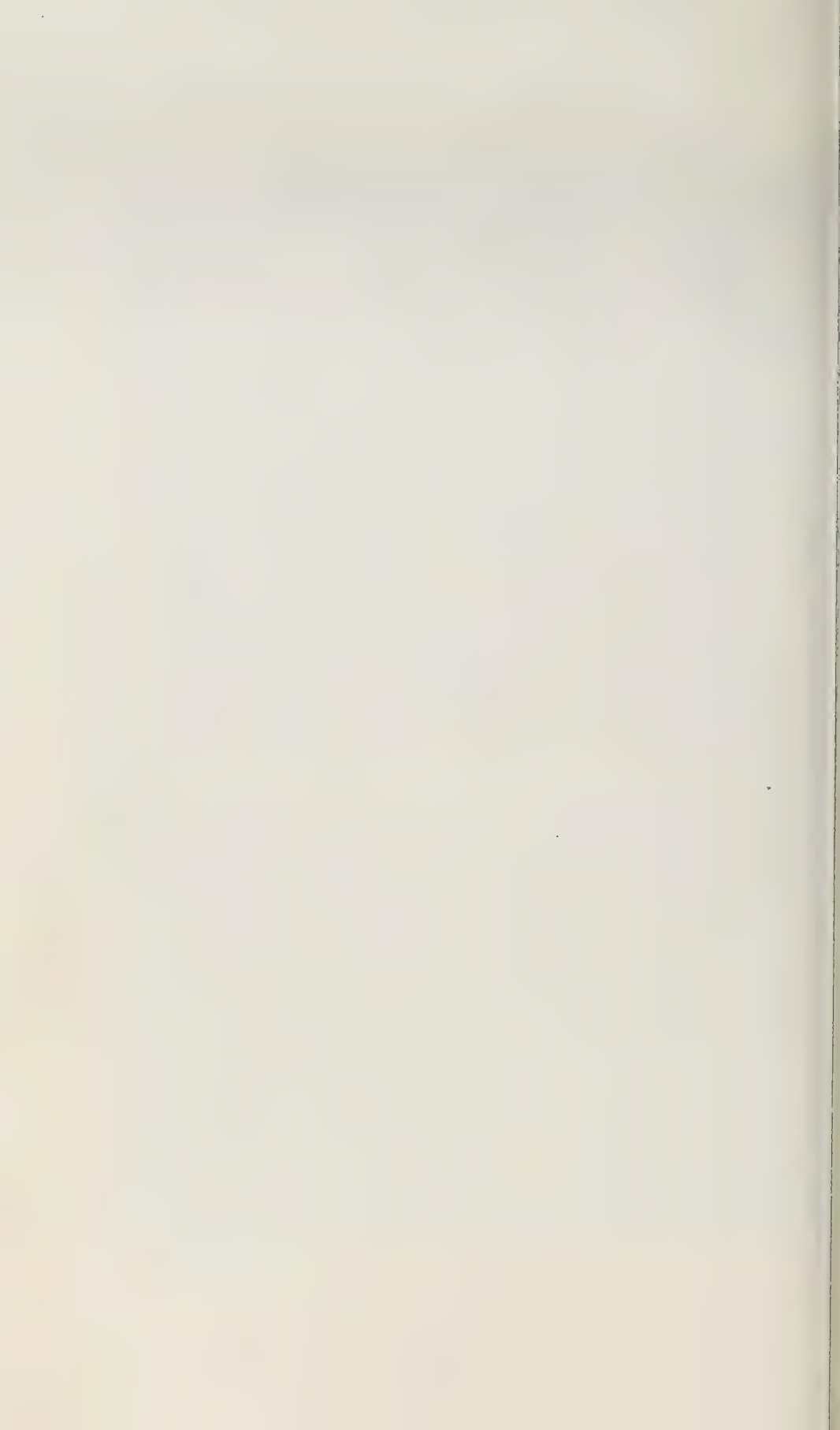
⁹ The writer wishes to express appreciation and acknowledgment to every person who has aided in any manner in the collecting or verifying of any information here used: George R. Cross, President University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.; Joseph A. Brandt, Chairman Graduate Dept. of Journalism, University of California, Los Angeles; Robert H. Dott, Director, State of Oklahoma Geological Survey, Norman; J. L. Rader, Librarian, University of Oklahoma, Norman; Angie Debo, Historian, Stillwater; Jeanne F. Frost, Technical Department, University of Tulsa; Earl S. Porter, Vice President, Amerada Petroleum Corporation, Tulsa; William S. Key, President, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City; Charles Evans, Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City; Mrs. L. L. Hutchinson, Tulsa; Robert H. Wood, Geologist, Tulsa; J. H. Hill, Attorney at Law, Tulsa; James E. Gourley, Librarian, Public Library, Tulsa; Jacques Cunningham, Oil Activities Department, Tulsa Chamber of Commerce; Glenn Condon, News Editor K.R.M.G., Tulsa; Wm. F. Latting, Chairman of Oil Forum Committee, Chamber of Commerce, Tulsa; Luther Williams, Editor of *Sunray News*, Tulsa; T. H. Broad, Principal, Webster High School, Tulsa; N. G. Henthorne, Editor, *Tulsa World*; Glade R. Kirkpatrick, Tulsa; Guaranty Abstract Company, Tulsa; Dr. C. I. Pontius, President, University of Tulsa; Clarel B. Mapes, Secretary, Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, Tulsa;

A black and white photograph of a historical marker. The marker is a dark, rectangular plaque with a decorative, arched top. It is mounted on a light-colored, possibly stone or concrete, base. The plaque is set against a background of bare tree branches. The text on the plaque is in a serif font. At the top, in a smaller font, it says "OKLAHOMA". Below that, in large, bold letters, is "FIRST OIL WELL" and "TULSA COUNTY". A horizontal line separates the title from the main text. The main text describes the well's completion on June 25, 1901, by Drs. J.C.W. Bland and Fred S. Clinton, and its significance in bringing oil to Indian Territory and making Tulsa the "Oil Capital of the World." At the bottom of the plaque, in very small letters, is "OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY" and "1950".

FIRST OIL WELL TULSA COUNTY

First oil well in Tulsa County, completed on June 25, 1901, drilled about 4 mi. west by Drs. J.C.W. Bland and Fred S. Clinton. This well brought first nation wide publicity and oil boom to Indian Ter. Rapid industrial development made Tulsa "Oil Capital of the World."

Historical Marker erected at Red Fork on U.S. Highway #66.
Dedicated March 23, 1950.



of many photostatic copies of important and official documents have been used, full copies of which are in my files and library, or may be found in the sources indicated.¹⁰

The object of this sketch and collection of related information is to blaze a trail for any one who may wish to search out and extend this compilation.¹¹ This basic documented historical sketch should lighten the burden of Librarians who are called upon for information about the first Oil and Gas well drilled in Tulsa County.¹²

Contemporary newspaper accounts are among the important citations in this historical sketch of the Red Fork oil well. The *Muskogee Phoenix*, Muskogee, Indian Territory, for Thursday, June 27, 1901 (Vol. 14, No. 24), carries this report:¹³

Leo Meyer, Tax Expert, Mid-Continent Petroleum Corporation, Tulsa; the late Rev. C. W. Kerr, Pastor and builder of First Presbyterian Church, Tulsa; Paul Clinton, Retired Oil Lease Broker, Tulsa; Lee Clinton, President, Tulsa Stockyards; Mr. and Mrs. Frank E. Stickle, Tulsa; Dean Trickett, Tulsa; W. A. Vandever, Tulsa; Louise Whitham, Founder Tulsa Historical Society, Tulsa; R. D. Atkins, Oakhurst, Oklahoma.

¹⁰ The deed to the homestead of Sue A. Bland from the Creek Nation was filed for record in the County Clerk's office, Tulsa, Indian Territory, May 4, 1904, Book 5, page 229. This land was clear of lease or any other encumbrance until the 5th day of July 1904 when Sue A. Bland of Red Fork, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, executed an oil and gas mining lease to the Indianola Oil and Gas Company of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory. This lease was recommended Oct. 24, 1904 by J. Blair Shoenfelt, U. S. Indian Agent to Acting Commissioner A. C. Tanner of the Department of the Interior who recommended November 22, 1904 that it be approved by the Secretary of Interior. It was approved in Washington, D. C. January 21, 1905 by Thomas Ryan, Acting Secretary of the Interior. On the 18th day of February, 1910 Sue A. Bland transferred her homestead to her seven children by Quit Claim Deed. See *Appendix B*.

¹¹ Owen Bland, brother of Dr. Bland, is quoted in the *Tulsa World* of October 14, 1927:

RED FORK PIONEERS RECALL DAYS WHEN TOWN WAS RIVAL OF SAPULPA AND TULSA

"Of course, Red Fork is not as old as Tulsa and never since I have lived here, permanently since 1897, have we hoped to surpass the Magic City, as has often been intimated in the press.

"One of the first booms, and the only one which amounted to any thing, was when Dr. Clinton and my brother, Dr. J. C. W. Bland, both of Tulsa, brought in the first oil well between Red Fork and the river."

Letters to the writer, dated 1950, from Dr. J. L. Blakemore, of Muskogee, and from J. H. Hill, Attorney of Tulsa, giving valuable data on the history of the Red Fork well are quoted in full in *Appendix C*. Transcripts of feature stories that appeared in the *Tulsa Tribune* and the *Tulsa World* in 1927, recounting early history of Red Fork and Tulsa are in *Appendix D*. Excerpts from historical volumes by Dr. Angie Debo, recounting the story of the Bland-Clinton oil well at Red Fork are given in *Appendix E*. Also, a letter to the writer, dated 1929, from the late John W. Flenner, of Muskogee, and excerpts from his manuscript on the history of the Oklahoma oil fields are quoted in *Appendix F*.

¹² The population of Tulsa in 1900 was 1,390. To-day, Tulsa is the second largest city in Oklahoma, with a population of 182,740 (1950 census).

¹³ Bound volumes in Newspaper Department, Mrs. Louise Cook, Curator, Oklahoma Historical Society.

GREAT DISCOVERY AT RED FORK

Oil gushed at Red Fork, excitement throughout the southwest and much speculation in land. Considerable excitement prevailed at this place and on west over the finding of oil at Red Fork, Indian Territory on the Frisco near the Osage Country. All day long little bunches of people could be seen together discussing the great find. The news came with Doctor Clinton of Tulsa who drove over-land and arrived in Muskogee early yesterday morning for the purpose of filing on land near the strike. He was followed by a number of others who had been keeping the commission busy ever since with applications for filings. The Red Fork well spouted up some 15 feet above the derrick.

* * * * *

A number of Muskogee people drove out to where the well is. It is thought there will be much litigation over the fact that a number are filing out there, and the Cudahy people who claim to have leases in this country will contest them. Mr. Givens who is interested with the Cudahy people along with other local parties, and who is attorney for the company in the Territory, stated they would undoubtedly contest for their rights in the matter. While it will work up great excitement it is liable to cause much litigation.

The Daily Chieftain of Vinita, Vinita, Indian Territory, for Thursday evening, June 27, 1901, p. 2 (Vol. III), gives this item: "Attorney J. M. Givens, and Inspector Cobb were here from Muskogee this morning enroute to Red Fork to inspect the oil well. They report Muskogee about to be depopulated on account of the oil strike." Reports in the same paper for Friday evening, June 28, 1901, were headed "Excited Crowds Swarm to the Scene of Oil Strike at Red Fork 1," and "Legal Tangles; Porter Speaks on Effects of Oil Discovery at the Present Time in the Creek Nation." General Pleasant Porter, Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, was called by President Cleveland, "The greatest living Indian."

The *Indian Republican* was one of the first, if not the first, weekly papers published in Tulsa, beginning about 1893.¹⁴ The paper carried the following article which was republished in the *Muskogee Phoenix* for Thursday, July 4, 1901 (Vol. 14. No. 23):

IT'S A GUSHER

The most remarkable event in the history of the country occurred Tuesday, June 25, 1901, when gas in the well being drilled by Doctor Bland and Clinton, broke loose and sent a stream of oil 15 feet into the air. The flow was struck at 540 feet and the oil was pronounced by experts to be of the very best quality. The well was made with a six inch drill and for several hours after the gas first broke loose the oil gushed in immense quantities. The flow has not yet been placed under control and the escaping fluid reduced to a very small fraction.

Oil men who have seen every phenomena in the oil world, say that this gusher is close in a well defined territory and that the strata of the oil bearing sand extends under thousands of acres of which Tulsa is the center. It is the general opinion that at a greater depth the supply of gas will be stronger and the out-put of oil more plentiful, and it has already

¹⁴ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), p. 216.

been intimated that they intend to solve this problem to their own satisfaction at an early date. Whether the magnets of this enterprise will reap greater by boring deeper remains yet to be seen, but the present well will be no losing investment and the profits occurring to the company will be exceeding great.

Hundreds of people are visiting the well today to see the wonder and it is reasonable to suppose that within the next ten days the number will be swelled to thousands.—*Tulsa Republican (Indian Republican)*.

Early reports of the Oklahoma Geological Survey are here cited on the 1901 oil development. *Preliminary Report on the Mineral Resources of Oklahoma* (1908) gives the following statement:¹⁵

The ninety-sixth Meridian region, consists of a large number of small fields or so-called pools, the most prominent of which are those near Copan, Bartlesville, Dewey, Ramona, Skiatook, Tulsa, Red Fork, and the world renowned Glenn Pool. The first wells were drilled prior to the year 1901, at which time there were five producing just beyond the Osage reservation line west of Bartlesville. The following year oil and gas were discovered at Red Fork, south of Tulsa. This gave impetus to prospecting from the Kansas line to Tulsa, and the attempts were so uniformly successful that in 1906 in driving from Caney, Kansas, to Beggs, Oklahoma, one need never be out of sight of producing wells for more than two hours together.

The Oklahoma Geological Survey's *Preliminary Report of the Rock Asphalt, Asphaltite, Petroleum and Natural Gas in Oklahoma* for 1911 makes the following statement:¹⁶ "The first development

¹⁵ Charles N. Gould, L. L. Hutchinson and Gaylord Nelson, *Bulletin No. 1, Preliminary Report on the Mineral Resources of Oklahoma*, (Norman, 1908), pp. 19-20, Oklahoma Geological Survey. Governor C. N. Haskell, State Superintendent E. D. Cameron, President A. Grant Evans, Commission. Charles N. Gould, Director. L. L. Hutchinson, Assistant Director.

¹⁶ L. L. Hutchinson, *Bulletin No. 2, Preliminary Report on the Rock Asphalt, Asphaltite, Petroleum and Natural Gas in Oklahoma* (Norman, 1911), p. 168. Oklahoma Geological Survey. Governor Lee Cruce, State Superintendent Wilson, President A. Grant Evans, Commission. Charles N. Gould, Director.

"The first development of consequence in the Creek Nation was near Red Fork in 1901, when Dr. Fred S. Clinton of Tulsa and Dr. J. C. W. Bland of Red Fork drilled in the first oil well of the Tulsa-Red Fork district. Since that time development has gone steadily on, with the exception of delays due to Department interference."—*History, Geology and Statistics of the Oklahoma Oil and Gas Fields*, by E. R. Perry, Secretary of Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Producers Association and L. L. Hutchison, Assistant Director, Oklahoma Geological Survey.

I hereby certify that this copy of the title page and the statement quoted from the publication as indicated on the title page are exact copies as quoted.

J. L. Rader
Librarian
(O.U.)

M. A. Maddley
Notary Public

My commission expires 8-2-'53

Under the sub-head "Oil and Gas Development History" appears this paragraph:

"The first oil produced in Tulsa County was at Red Fork on June 25, 1901 by Dr. Fred S. Clinton and associates on the Bland allotment in sec. 22, T. 19 N., R. 11 E. This well had an initial production of approximately 100 barrels from the Big Lime at about 600 feet in depth and is still producing. The Red Fork pool was responsible for the first commercial production of Oklahoma. Oil has been found in other places previous to 1901, but it had not been developed commercially."—W. F. Cloud, "Tulsa County," *Bulletin No. 40, Oil and Gas in Oklahoma*, (Norman, 1930), p. 641. Oklahoma Geological Survey, Charles N. Gould, Director.

of consequence in the Creek Nation was near Red Fork in 1901, when Dr. Fred S. Clinton of Tulsa and Dr. J. C. W. Bland of Red Fork 'drilled-in' the first oil well of the Tulsa-Red Fork district. Since that time development has gone steadily on, with the exception of delays due to Departmental interference, and poor markets."

APPENDIX A

POWER OF ATTORNEY

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That I the undersigned "Sue A. Bland a recognized and duly enrolled citizen of the Creek Nation, Indian Territory have this day and do by these presents, make, constitute, and appoint Doctor Fred S. Clinton as my attorney in fact for the purpose of filing upon my allotment, for me and in my stead which has been selected by me and is described as follows, to wit, The N.W. 1¼ of S.E.¼ Section 22, Township 19 N. Range 12 East, with full power to do and perform any and all things pertaining to said filing as I might myself do if personally present.

In witness whereof, I have hereto set my hand on this 25th day of June, 1901.

Sue A. Bland

United States of America
Indian Territory
Northern District

On this the 25th day of June personally appeared before me, L. M. Poe, a Notary Public within and for the above named territory and district Mrs. Sue A. Bland, to me personally well known to be the person whose name is subscribed to the above and foregoing power of attorney and acknowledged that she had subscribed and executed the same for the consideration and purposes therein mentioned and set forth and I do hereby so certify.

L. M. Poe

SEAL

Notary Public

My commission expires March 16, 1903

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF

SUPERINTENDENT FOR THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA

This is to certify that I am the officer having custody of the records pertaining to the enrollment of the members of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek and Seminole Tribes of Indians and the disposition of the lands of said tribes, and that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of "POWER OF ATTORNEY" dated June 25, 1901, from Sue A. Bland to Dr. Fred S. Clinton.

W. G. Roberts, Area Director

By: W. G. Roberts, Clerk

in charge Five Tribes Records

Date June 6, 1950

APPENDIX B

SUE A. BLAND—#19543

QUIT CLAIM DEED

Dated: February 18, 1910

—TO—

Vera Bland and Era Bland,
Owen W. Bland, Hazel M.
Bland, Arlies S. Bland
Davis M. Bland
and John C. Bland

Filed: February 19, 1910 at 1:05 P.M.

In the office of the Register of Deeds
within and for Tulsa County, Oklahoma

Recorded in Book 64, Page 551

GRANTING CLAUSE: Quit-claim, grant, bargain, sell and convey
Description The following described real estate situated in Tulsa County,
State of Oklahoma, to-wit:

Lots Number One (1) and Six (6), in Block Number Four (4), Lots
Number One (1), Two (2), Three (3), Five (5), and Six (6) of Block
Twenty-six (26), Lots Number One (1), Five (5), Six (6), and Seven (7),
of Block Twenty-seven (27), Lots Number One (1), Two (2), Three (3),
and Five (5) of Block Twenty-eight (28) and North Half of Lot Three (3),
of Block Thirty (30), Lots Number One (1) of Block Thirty-one (31) the
above described lots and blocks being in accordance with the official
survey of the town of Red Fork, Oklahoma, and said Lots and Blocks being
in the official Townsite of the said town of Red Fork, Oklahoma, also
the Northwest Quarter (NW¼) of the Southeast Quarter (SE¼). less Five
and 93/100 (5.93) acres occupied as right of way of the St. Louis and
San Francisco R. R. as Section Twenty-two (22), Township Nineteen (19)
North, and Range Twelve (12) East, containing Thirty-four (34) and 07/100
(34.07) acres more or less, the same being the Homestead allotment allowed
by the Government.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above granted premises unto the said
parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, forever.

Signed, sealed and delivered
in the presence of:

Sue A. Bland

R. D. Atkins
Minnie Offutt
Fred S. Clinton

19543

STATE OF OKLAHOMA

COUNTY OF TULSA

}
SS.

Before me, Samuel C. Davis, a Notary Public, in and for said County
and State, on this 18th day of February, 1910, personally appeared Sue A.
Bland to me known to be the identical person who executed the within and
foregoing instrument and acknowledged to me that she executed the same
as her free and voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein
set forth.

Samuel C. Davis
Notary Public

(SEAL)

My commission expires
March 29, 1910

EXTENSION OF LEASE

On the 5th day of July, 1904, Sue A. Bland executed a Departmental Oil and Gas mining lease covering her homestead, which lease was duly approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sue A. Bland died on the 19th day of February, 1910. This lease expired July 4th 1919. The minors and other children through J. C. W. Bland, Guardian, asked the court to grant an extension of the lease to the Indianola Oil and Gas Company, O. R. Howard, Secretary-Treasurer. "The court extended the lease for a term as long as oil or gas or either of them, is produced in paying quantities from said land." Part of the consideration for this was the drilling of an additional well.

For more complete information use following references to documents in the Office of County Clerk, Tulsa:

81050

Hazel Southern, nee Bland,

of Sedan, Kansas

to

The Indianola Oil and Gas
Company, a corporation,

AGREEMENT

Dated: June 3, 1916

Filed: June 8, 1916 at 3:15 P.M.

In the office of the County Clerk
within and for Tulsa County, Okla.

Recorded in Book 196, Page 4

81050 —2—

The Indianola Oil and Gas Company

By O. R. Howard

SS. Secretary-Treasurer

(NO SEAL)

STATE OF OKLAHOMA

COUNTY OF TULSA

82330

STIPULATION

Dated: June 17, 1916 Filed July 14, 1916 at 9:20 A.M. In the office of the County Clerk within and for Tulsa, County, Okla. Recorded in Book 197 Page 210

STATE OF OKLAHOMA

COUNTY OF TULSA

82330 —2—

The Indianola Oil and Gas Company

By O. R. Howard, Treasurer

82329

Order of Court Dated: June 17, 1916 Filed: July 14, 1916 at 9: A.M. In the office of the County Clerk within and for Tulsa County, Okla. Recorded in Book 197 Page 209

IN THE COUNTY COURT WITHIN AND FOR TULSA COUNTY,

STATE OF OKLAHOMA

In the matter of Guardianship of Arlie S. Bland, Davis M. Bland and John C. Bland, minors, J. C. W. Bland, Guardian

APPENDIX C

Dr. J. L. Blakemore
Muskogee, Oklahoma

Muskogee, Oklahoma
June 3, 1950

Fred S. Clinton
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Dear Doctor:

Well do I remember you coming to my office June 26, 1901, the day after Doctor J. C. W. Bland and you drilled in the Red Fork, I. T. oil well on the Sue A. Bland homestead, June 25, 1901.

I proposed to and did secure a hack, and with a companion, A. Z. English, we all returned to Fed Fork overland, June 26, 1901, where we saw the well in operation.

With best wishes,
Your truly,
(Signed) Jesse L. Blakemore

J. H. Hill
Attorney at Law
1633 E. 22nd St.
Tulsa 5, Oklahoma

July 5, 1950

Dr. Fred S. Clinton
230 E. Woodward Blvd.
Tulsa 5, Oklahoma
Dear Doctor:

On June 25, 1901 you arrived in Muskogee, where I then lived, and announced that oil had been discovered at Red Fork. At that time Muskogee was the largest town in this area with a population of about 4500 and was the site of the Indian Agency, the Dawes Commission, which was allotting the land to the Five Civilized Tribes, and the judicial headquarters of the Northern District, of the Indian Territory. The original Creek Treaty had just been ratified on May 25. This treaty confirmed all the allotments previously made under the Curtis bill and provided for the issuance of deed to the allottee. It was uncertain as to when title would vest in the allottee, whether upon the ratification of the treaty or upon the delivery of the deed.

All Allotments were restricted for five years and homesteads for twenty-one years. There was no provision in the Creek Treaty for making mineral leases covering the lands of the Creek Allottees.

The news of the discovery of oil at Red Fork, never-the-less created considerable excitement and many persons, including the writer, immediately went to Red Fork. I remained there several days. The well was swabbed from time to time to prove to the visitors that it did actually produce oil. I was present when it was swabbed and associated with the crowd, and while I had no direct information as to the promoters of the well, generally Bland and Clinton (Dr. J. C. W. Bland and Dr. Fred S. Clinton) were given credit for promoting the well and securing the drilling of it. The well was located on the homestead allotment of Sue A. Bland.

Together with many others who went to Red Fork, I discovered it was impossible under the state of the title to do any trading at that time, except within the townsite of Red Fork, and shortly returned to Muskogee.

Most of those who had been attracted to Red Fork by the discovery returned to their homes on account of these conditions.

It was more than a year later when the Creek Supplemental Treaty was ratified, providing for mineral leases of Indian lands and development in the Red Fork territory was secured.

The original Creek Treaty provided for the appraisement of land at actual value. The supplemental Treaty for appraisement at a maximum of \$6.50 per acre.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) J. H. Hill

APPENDIX D

Tulsa Tribune

November 6, 1927

HISTORY SHOWS RED FORK IS CLOSELY LINKED IN DEVELOPMENT OF GREATEST CITY IN OKLAHOMA

(*Tulsa Tribune* EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr. J. C. W. Bland, who, with Dr. Fred S. Clinton, brought in the first oil well at Red Fork, and so stimulated the growth of Tulsa and Red Fork, here has written for readers of *The Tribune* a fascinating story of early Red Fork and the old trails of this region. Doctor Bland still lives in Red Fork, but he was an enthusiastic supporter of the annexation to Tulsa plan, and Tulsans are glad to have as a new citizen one who helped open the door of opportunity for Tulsa.)

BY DR. J. C. W. BLAND

Red Fork, now Tulsa Town, by annexation, has contributed more than its quadrant share to the building of the greatest city in Oklahoma, the oil Capital of the world, and should have its designation in the magic metropolis of the domain. Red Fork's contribution will be briefly referred to after a short history of the Red Fork trail, for it was from this travel-path that the name came.

The Gano crossing of the Arkansas river, midway along the rim drive, later became the Star route trail from Vinita to New Mexico. This was in a general southwest direction. A trail led off from this more traveled throughfare to the mouth of the red fork of the Arkansas river, now wholly known as the Cimarron river. It was here that the trail forked, and the Frisco railroad was built to this point, the station taking its name from the trail. Although little traveled, this had been an important route to the Pawnee agency, and to the cattle country to the west and the northwest. Very early a trail was beaten out on the south of the Cimarron river on a rock crossing two miles above the present town of Oilton. This route had been followed to the gold fields of California, and by various Indians to the buffalo plains to the west. Near this crossing can be found many stone arrowheads, evidence of an early Indian settlement. It is not known what Indians these were. However, so much as to how the name of Red Fork came. Recollection of its history and sentiment connected with it, will make the name hard to give in.

RAILROAD WAS A BOOST

Aside from a small country store and a blacksmith shop there was nothing much at Red Fork until after the building of the railroad, when James H. Parkinson established a large general merchandise store. J. M. Hall and Co., later H. C. Hall and Co., soon established another general

store. Both made good frontier merchants; being liberal-minded, carrying some of all kinds of merchandise, including building material. A trade was soon established with Indian posts and overland stores, making this an important freighting point. By this time there were two blacksmith and wagon shops, three small hotels, two livery and feed stores, and a barber shop.

With the stock yards this soon became a cattle shipping point and a meeting place for stock men. Dreams of railroad extension took on action, and B. F. Parkinson, a son of the Pioneer merchant, conducted an engineering party over the Red Fork trail to the mouth of the river. This led over a rocky mountain country, and was considered impractical. Lucky it was for here were all the facilities required by the frontier to the west. Direct shipping connections with St. Louis attracted cattle shippers from the south to the Texas line, and from the west to the Cheyenne country. The sphere of freighting was less, yet the importance of the industry was great.

STARTED CATTLE BUSINESS

The first merchant had built a substantial home and branched successfully into the cattle business. Charles Clinton, a successful rancher, built a beautiful home on a selected site more than 42 years ago. With his coming followed the shipment of cattle by his friends and associates from Okmulgee, Eufaula, Mill Creek, and many now far a way points.

These opportunities remained for some time. The railroad extended to Sapulpa in 1885, but no enterprise except a blacksmith shop located there for the next five years, because of advantageous situation of Red Fork. When the settlement from Oklahoma began to come east into the Indian Territory, trade was attracted to Sapulpa, then the railroad terminal. In time Red Fork lost the pioneer store. With a faith in fitness the town was kept on the map. A new railroad scheme was worked out and a commissary store was established in one of the pioneer store buildings. The enterprise was backed by capital from Joplin and Nevada, Missouri.

Again Red Fork became a busy mart as Tulsa's interest grew keener. The latter had the only bank available. Dr. J. C. W. Bland and Fred S. Clinton enthusiastic if not affluent, helped start the enterprise and backed it to the last. No mention is made of any more active builders, because the enterprise failed in the Battle Axe grade. The oncoming war with Spain spoiled the plan, after many miles of grade had been built and paid for.

OIL EFFORT FAILS

An effort to find oil three miles west of Nickle creek failed but showed the sand. Sapulpa had become an important town, and through Charles (Grist Mill) Jones succeeded in extending the Frisco railroad to Oklahoma City. That was when Sapulpa became the Frisco division. Now the remaining pioneer store moved away from Red Fork. The town was still kept on the map by having Dr. Bland appointed postmaster and establishing a small store, soon followed by a store of J. B. Hall and Company.

Tulsa Tribune

October 10, 1927

JOINING RED FORK WITH TULSA RECALLS STORY OF RIVALRY

Smaller City at First Seemed Destined to Become Metropolis

Side by side they have stood, one growing as if responding to the magic wand of a genii, the other expanding with the slow sturdiness of an oak, for more than a quarter of a century.

Tuesday, one of those two towns, the one which had grown more slowly, may pass out of the ken of man and be welded into the great city it once sought to surpass.

Red Fork, one of the oldest communities in Tulsa county, is the smaller town, and Tuesday Tulsa voters will go to the polls to say whether it should be included in the limits of the oil capital.

From 1889, when historical records of the two towns show their existence, until 1903 destiny seemed to have paved the way for Red Fork to be the dominant city of the county.

"Tulsey Town" was a rude settlement with dusty, dirty streets, a center for wild cowboys and Indians. Red Fork, by contrast, was staid and settled.

RED FORK LURED CLINTON

When Charles Clinton moved from Mounds to this county, he came to Red Fork and not to Tulsa. Recently, the magnificent Clinton Home School at Red Fork was opened on the Clinton homesite.

The discovery of oil, curiously enough, was at Red Fork. On June 25, 1901, Dr. Fred S. Clinton and Dr. J. C. W. Bland were gratified by a showing of oil on their test at 600 feet.

Railroads chose Red Fork as the logical center of development, between Tulsa and Red Fork, with equal populations of 1,500 each, wisdom seemed to designate Red Fork as the city with a future.

But Tulsans brought the railroads to this city. They established a water works. They built an opera house, excavated for hotels and by 1906, the population had become more than 6,000.

Doctor Clinton moved to Tulsa. Doctor Bland remained in Red Fork. These two men unlocked the rich black treasury of oil on which both cities hoped to build into greatness and which formed a coping stone of Tulsa and not of Red Fork. Both want Red Fork annexed to Tulsa.

OTHER ADDITIONS LOOMING

Perhaps the day may not be distant when Tulsa, growing as it is, may have to rearrange its municipal system in the fashion of New York City, which expands through accretions of smaller and neighboring cities.

Red Fork is the first of Tulsa's immediate neighbors to seek union with Tulsa. Dawson, to the east, Turley to the north, and perhaps other communities, will soon be asking to share in the blessings of city life. Quen Sabe?

Thirty-five thousand ballots have been prepared, according to Mrs. Hal Turner, clerk of the county election board, and these will be at the various polling places by six Tuesday morning.

Voting will be simple, Mrs. Turner explained. The voter will be handed two ballots. One, on pink paper, will have stated the question of Red Fork annexation. The other, on white paper, will ask for approval of extra levy required for operation of the city government. The voter marks each either "yes" or "no".

While the city's voting strength is 35,000, officials believe it will not exceed 2,500. However, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has joined with the Senior Chamber in urging every member to vote "yes" on both issues

Tuesday and at the membership luncheon of the Junior Chamber Tuesday each member will be asked to go out and vote.

Tulsa World

Oct. 14, 1927

RED FORK PIONEERS RECALL DAYS WHEN TOWN WAS RIVAL
OF SAPULPA AND TULSA

Did you know Red Fork when.....?

Old man Harmon built the first house there; the Frisco railroad had its terminal there and ran a train once a week to Sapulpa just to hold its charter; Pleasant Porter was the last active chief of the Creeks and often visited there.

BATTLE AXE RAILROAD

When the country around was full of grazing herds; Jim Parkinson was the first postmaster and his first months business amounted to \$20.

And when the "Battle Axe" railroad was being boomed; the Frisco rails crossed the river bridge of pilings and Dr. J. C. W. Bland and Owen Bland were postmasters.

If you do, then you remember the very birth of Red Fork, Tulsa's newest protege just voted in as a part of greater Tulsa.

Today, in this little village nestling under the brow of protecting hills to the southwest of Tulsa, old timer's recall Red Fork as they knew it when.....

BEGAN 1884

The suburb dates back to 1884 the time when the Frisco stopped its rails there and made their point a terminal, using a huge "Y" on which to turn its engines, recalls Owen Bland, 65, twice postmaster of Red Fork for twenty years connected with the work of that office and probably the oldest consecutive resident now living there.

"I came here first in 1887, the year the Postoffice was established," said Bland. "Then one could see for miles and miles in every direction and this was a great cattle country."

"The stockyards were built along the Frisco right-of-way and ranchers drove their herds in here from long distances as the nearest shipping point to Chicago and St. Louis."

HOW TOWN WAS NAMED

Bland related the story of how Red Fork got its name as told to him by Chille Morgan, famed Creek interpreter, dead now some thirty years.

Morgan told me that when the Frisco received its charter to cross the Arkansas from Tulsa and build in to this place, the charter provided that the trackage was to cross near the Red Fork of the Arkansas. This Red Fork is the Cimarron which comes into the Arkansas at Keystone.

As the plans did not quite fit the letter of the charter the road just put the name of Red Fork to it to make a showing, according to Morgan.

FRISCO TO SAPULPA

In 1887 the Frisco extended its rails to Sapulpa and once a week ran a train over the weed grown tracks in order to live up to its charter, Bland recalls. G. E. Lowdermilk, of 720 S. Owasso, was one of the surveyors of road bed to Sapulpa.

"When I came here there were less than 50 people, two stores and a few houses," says Bland. "Stomp dances, round-ups and a few picnics were our recreations."

"This annexation is one of the greatest things we can ever hope for, for we are paying higher taxes right now than is Tulsa. This thing is going to give us fire and police protection, better improvements of all types and the prestige of being part of the great big city of Tulsa which we over here have watched growing steadily and majestically."

Bland is not for changing the name of Red Fork. He is emphatically against that. So is N. V. Yargee, 36 years a resident of the community and many other old timers.

APPENDIX E

BLAND-CLINTON OIL WELL—RED FORK

"Dr. Clinton had a partnership with Dr. J. C. W. Bland of Red Fork. Mrs. Bland was a Creek citizen, who held land under the occupancy title of tribal law, but had not yet applied to the Dawes Commission for her allotment. One day the two men happened to notice an oil-drilling rig that had been shipped into the territory by some promoters and was standing on the siding at Red Fork; and they managed to have a test started on Mrs. Bland's land. The location was just outside the townsite, in a field of wheat not far from the Bland house.

"Thus came the Red Fork strike, and the wild excitement that followed it. While promoters rushed to the well to pick up leases or form companies and sell shares, the partners worked as feverishly to confirm Mrs. Bland's title. It would have been inconvenient if some other Creek had filed on her land. Dr. Bland had taken that day of all others to be stricken with acute appendicitis, but Dr. Clinton secured a power of attorney from Mrs. Bland and took the train for Muskogee, headquarters of the Dawes Commission. He carried along a quart bottle of the liquid that spurted from the hole. He had to be sure—, he had never seen any crude oil before. Reaching Muskogee after dusk, he went to the home of another doctor friend, and the two went out to the woodshed. In dark secrecy they soaked a few shavings and struck a match. The blaze lighted up the yard. Then they tried the liquid in a lantern, and it burned with a clear, steady flame. It was oil all right—good oil with plenty of kerosene. The next morning long before the land office was open, Dr. Clinton made the head of the line. The rest was pure formality. The land became Mrs. Bland's allotment, and the No. 1 Sue A. Bland was the oil well that started Tulsa on its way."—Angie Debo, *Oklahoma Foot-loose and Fancy-free* (Norman, 1949), pp. 134-35.

"Tulsa's days as a cow town were over. It might have become simply a prosperous small town in the center of a good farming community, but just at this time came the oil strike at Red Fork.

"This development also had waited upon allotment. For some time oil men had been looking toward the Indian Territory as a rich potential field, and some tests had been drilled under leases from the Cherokee and

Creek governments, but individual ownership of land gave them their first real opportunity. The discovery well at Red Fork was drilled during the transition period on a farm held by Mrs. Bland under tribal tenure, but as soon as oil spouted from the hole Dr. Clinton made a dramatic trip to the office of the Dawes Commission at Muskogee to obtain it as her allotment. With a fee simple title she was protected against the possibility that other Creeks might be tempted to set up claims to the tract.

"Even then, oil development—except in the townsites—was halted by the restrictions on allotted land. But on July 19, 1903, the Secretary of the Interior issued regulations permitting leasing under Department supervision. Oil men from Pennsylvania and other states rushed to the Indian Territory and began to bid against each other for leases and to put down tests. Important fields developed very rapidly around Bartlesville and Chelsea—Coody's Bluff district, and additional wells were brought in around Red Fork."—Angie Debo, *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital*, (Norman, 1948), pp. 85-6.

"Oil in paying quantities was discovered in the Red Fork section of the Creek Nation in 1901, and great excitement resulted. By that time the Curtis Act had been superseded by the Creek Agreement. This compact provided for the individual ownership of minerals, but since it contained no regulations for leasing and forbade the allottee to alienate his land, the Department ruled that all leasing was illegal. The oil development was accordingly halted, but the town lots in Red Fork and Tulsa were appraised and sold in 1902 and drilling was resumed within the townsites.

"Just at that time the Department was given complete control of mineral leasing by the ratification of the Creek Supplemental and Cherokee Agreements. Detailed regulations were adopted in 1903, and leasing developed rapidly."—Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, (Princeton, 1940), pp. 86-7.

APPENDIX F

1501 Columbus Ave.,
Muskogee, Oklahoma
July 27, 1929

Dr. Fred S. Clinton
Tulsa, Oklahoma
My dear Dr. Clinton:—

I am deeply grateful to you for the kindly interest displayed in very materially assisting me in the preparation of the history of the Oklahoma Oil fields upon which I have been at work for six months. I have delayed thanking you until I had prepared a rough draft of the story in connection with the discovery of your well at Red Fork. I am enclosing it herewith. I may polish it up a bit later but there will be no material change in the copy. I am not preparing a newspaper story but a history of the oil fields and the men who made them possible for publication in book form. It will probably run 400 pages or more. I was engaged in newspaper work in Oklahoma and Washington for many years until my health failed when I turned to history as a hobby.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) John W. Flenner

The following quotes are from Flenner's manuscript:

"RED FORK DISCOVERY STARTS BOOM"

"In 1901, however, things had begun to happen in both Oklahoma and Indian Territories, and the bringing in of a flowing well at Red Fork on June 25, 1901, proved to be the needed stimulus that finally induced others to engage in the quest for the elusive and useful products of petroleum."

"In an altruistic spirit, uninspired by commercialism, the drilling of the first producing well at Red Fork, near Tulsa, in the Creek Nation, was begun. In the hope that, by means of the discovery of oil, the whole community might profit, and a speedier development of the industrial and latent natural resources of Indian Territory follow, thereby bringing to the attention of the world at large the rich possibilities of the as yet quiet, sparsely settled Indian country, preparatory to the ushering in of a new era of prosperity, Drs. J. C. W. Bland and Fred S. Clinton, two eminent physicians and surgeons who had settled in the little town of Tulsa, decided to try their luck in the oil business.

"The Kansas City and other outside newspapers, however, continued to play-up the Red Fork discovery, having sensed the importance of the industrial awakening of this section of the Indian Territory that was now becoming fully apparent, and which also meant much to Kansas City in the way of future growth. Dr. Bland and Dr. Clinton had during the interim accomplished the purpose that had animated them to launch their pioneering attempt to find oil near their home town. Their efforts had been crowned with success.

"The whole country rang with the news and became aroused to the opportunities the oil fields of the Territory presented. It had been proven that the oil trend extended southward from Bartlesville and northward from Muskogee, and that Tulsa and Red Fork were in the very heart and center of an immense potentially productive area that was some day to create millions of dollars of new wealth and make Tulsa the Oil Capital of the world."

"The stimulus that had been exerted by a pair of enterprising doctors, who had believed they were right and had gone ahead, led to further explorations and assured Oklahoma of its rightful place in the scheme of things. Their discovery had been freighted with great significance, and no more important oil strike was ever made than that which ushered in the remarkable development that was to follow. They had done their bit for humanity, and their pioneering achievement had gained for them an imperishable name in the annals of Oklahoma's oil history."

THE AMERICAN INDIAN AS CONSERVATIONIST

By N. B. Johnson*

Indians in our nation have played a vital role in forming our American character. The sound of indian words—Tulsa, Tahlequah, Okmulgee, Susquehanna, Mississippi—falls as a kind of music on American ears. Our military strategists early in our history adopted Indian tactics in battlefield maneuvering. Our preoccupation with outdoor camping, our boy and girl scout movements, all have drawn upon and been enriched by the lore of the Indians in wood and water craft.

Few people realize how completely the Indian people had spread over and occupied the new world. The Englishmen who landed on the Massachusetts coast encountered but a handful of native red men, and from that incident there grew up the impression that the whole of America was sparsely populated. After years of investigations of occupied sites, we have learned that population fluctuated greatly from area to area, and at different periods in the long history that preceded the coming of the white man. We now know that the Massachusetts area, just prior to the landing of the pilgrims, had been the

* N. B. Johnson, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, and President of the National Congress of American Indians, appeared on the program of the 30th Annual Convention of the Izaak Walton League of America, which convened in Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 7, 1952, and addressed the convention on the subject, "The American Indian's View of Conservation." This article is an adaptation of his address, excerpts from which were published in the July-August issue of the League's magazine, *Outdoor America*. Welcoming the League to Tulsa, Judge Johnson said:

"It is most appropriate that the Izaak Walton League of America, one of the foremost of our organizations devoted to the cause of conservation, should hold its 30th Annual Convention here in Indian Country in the homeland of our first conservators. I am most happy, as President of the National Congress of American Indians, to join with others in welcoming the League to Tulsa. The City of Tulsa, as some of you may know, stands within territory that once belonged to the Creek Nation. . . .

"The Creeks, along with the Cherokees, the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles, all of whom have lived over here in the Eastern side of our State for more than a century, lived originally in the Eastern Seaboard States. Their coming to this country was not a voluntary act. A number of other tribes were brought here to what was first called Indian Territory. The first Indian removals of 120 years ago was one of the first of many schemes to solve the problems of the Indian people by taking their lands which the United States had pledged to be theirs as long as grass grew and water ran.

"The creation of an Indian Territory did not solve any Indian problems, but it did solve the problem of the white settlers on our Eastern Coast who needed more land. More than thirty tribes—better than 180,000 of our Indian people—live today in Oklahoma. Though in most cases these first settlers came unwillingly, their presence here and the part they played in creating homes in the wilderness and establishing tribal government of a high order have added immeasurably to the wealth and stability of our state."—Ed.

scene of considerable inter-tribal fighting, and that possibly an epidemic disease had also spread through the area. The number of people living there just prior to 1620 was probably considerably less than it had been a generation earlier. In other areas, notably in the great mound-building centers of the Ohio River Valley, the aboriginal population of a thousand years ago was perhaps as dense as the rural population in the same region today. The enormous earthwork structures which abound all through those Ohio River States could only have been accomplished by the labor of large bodies of men.

This new continent was not an empty desert land. People of the Indian race had explored and settled in every climatic zone of the two continents. They ranged from sea level to the mountains and regions of the high Andes, from the Arctic ice to sweltering tropical jungles. They accomplished vast adjustments of bodily and technical economy. They learned to survive where many men after them perished. Their tools, it is true, were primitive. They lacked in power machinery and may be for this reason, the Indians did not spoil the earth they lived upon by making it over with great slag piles or by exposing the top soil to wind and water erosion. Lack of machinery may have saved them or may be it was a fundamentally different outlook upon life. Indians were content to live with and be one with nature. They were not ambitious to master the universe.

Great changes came to the Indian world following the arrival of white men from Europe. I have read somewhere that Indians were not real conservationists.¹ Many things were imported by Europeans which profoundly affected Indian hunting methods and attitudes toward game animals. The horse alone was enough to remake the living habits of a people who formerly traveled entirely on foot and had only the dog as a beast of burden. The coming of the horse meant greater mobility and made possible the great animal drives which in time would prove so destructive. The acquisition of the gun, later the rifle, which had killing power beyond anything dreamed of in bow-and-arrow days, offered a further temptation to kill in excess of the needs of the moment.

Perhaps the greatest change wrought in Indian economy resulted from the introduction of commercial hunting and trapping. Indians quickly learned to prize the guns, iron pots, steel axes and knives, and other tools of the Europeans. They found that they could obtain these articles in exchange for beaver and other pelts, buffalo hides

¹ In the preparation of this address, the writer has drawn on his many years of experience in visiting leaders of the various Indian Tribes, getting first hand information on the subject of Conservation. The writer is indebted to Mr. D'Arcy McNickle, a member of the Blackfeet tribe and author of *They Came Here First*, Tribal Relations Officer, Indian Office, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C. for valuable data furnished. Information was also obtained from the writings of Marius Barbeau, ethnologist and outstanding authority on Canadian Indians and Eskimos.

and meat. For years, thousands of buffaloes were slaughtered in the northern plains to make pemmican for the Hudson Bay Company posts in the far north. In time, the Indians discovered that by yielding so unrestrainedly to the lure of the trade goods, they had destroyed their own livelihood.

The fact that Indians were by nature conservationists can be demonstrated in other ways. A leading student and writer in the field of agriculture states that the practice of agriculture in the history of the world develops through three phases: first, is the exploitive phase, when men mine out the soil for what it is worth, then move on to new fields. This is obviously true under pioneering conditions when land is plentiful and people few. A second stage is reached when the pioneer farmers have gone their way and left a played-out and eroding land behind them, and men begin the slow and costly task of conserving and rebuilding what is left. Still a third stage of agricultural economy is entered upon when a people, pressed by great scarcity of land in a hostile environment, actually reclaim and bring under cultivation acres which nature left in a non-arable condition.

Indian civilization at its highest development was not only one of conservation but had advanced into the further stage of resourceful use and development by reclaiming land and making it fruitful. Thus, the Pima Indians of Arizona, half a millenium before Columbus, took water out of the Gila River in perfectly engineered canals and made many thousand acres of desert land to bear corn, beans, cotton, and other crops. Thus, too, the ancient Incas of Peru terraced whole mountainsides, carrying top soil in baskets when necessary to cover bare rock, and also brought irrigation canals through forbidding mountain fastnesses.

The Hopi tribe of northern Arizona, deep in the heart of the Enchanted Desert who were often threatened with starvation by drought, divided every crop of corn harvested into three parts: one for seed, another, for use as food and a third, for use in cases of emergency when lack of rain, storms or enemies destroyed the crops. In these exploits, and in others, the Indian people of long ago demonstrated true insight into the value of preserving while using the resources of nature. This insight has been slow in growing and taking hold in the consciousness of modern society.

We have moved far away from that ancient Indian world which conquered the wilderness yet lived as part of it. The early white settlers, in their eagerness to establish new homes and to develop wealth, thought these things could be accomplished sooner and more efficiently if the wilderness and the children of the wilderness were rooted out completely. So the forests fell, clean cut. Precious grass was plowed under in arid regions where only grass should grow. Our streams were polluted with the poisons of industrial activity.

Like the first farmers who farm exploitively, these first settlers mined out our resources with little regard for the generations that followed them in the land.

The day has finally come, however, when we begin to understand that it is economically unwise to harvest renewable resources without replacement, or to exhaust our non-renewable minerals, oils and gases at rates in excess of our actual needs. We begin to see the economic utility of a watershed still clothed with a cover of forest and humus.

Some years ago the Federal government adopted stringent measures in its treatment of the American Indian, particularly where his religion was concerned. The "white man's" mission in the West, in addition to acquiring the redman's lands, aimed at stamping out the aged culture which included pagan beliefs. Arts and crafts handed down from proud ancestors were ordered abolished. Several decades passed before administrators in Washington, D. C. realized that neither cannon nor gun powder will erase from the mind—no matter how primitive—the pattern of its religious convictions, however undesirable they may appear to the outsider.

The contributions made by our Indians to what we often refer to as the "American way of life," could be adequately listed only in encyclopedic form. They are that many. Few people know the important contributions of the Indians to white civilization and white culture. The Indians taught the white man how to cope with the wilderness of this new continent; taught him how to hunt, fish, trap and canoe. The Indians gave the white man the great gifts of cotton, corn, tomatoes, tobacco, peanuts, beans, squash, rubber, cocaine, cocoa and several types of melons and many other plants, and these have today become multi-billion dollar American industries. The story of how Squanto taught the colonists in Massachusetts to plant fish in the ground in order to fertilize their crops is often repeated in every school of the nation.

We would do well, in viewing the creditable record of the American Indians' past performances, to heed our red brothers, especially their spiritual convictions where a better understanding of natural life is involved. Indian religion, in both morality and practice, differed almost according to the tribe. Sometimes the variance was astonishing. The Apaches, for example, placed heavy emphasis upon masculine domination together with the development of fighting skills by the warrior. At the extreme opposite end of the pole the Zunis of New Mexico elevated femininity to a compelling position, and violence was regarded with extreme distaste.

Nevertheless the reverence for wildlife, among the many different tribes, was as one. The soul, they said, did not belong to the human alone but to all living things. Animals were endowed with feelings

nd intelligence. They survived death either to wander about as disembodied spirits or to be born again in animal or human form.

I do not propose that upon the conclusion of this conference we all don Indian blankets and retire to Skelly Stadium to practice our otem dances. But I do offer the conviction that from a deeper understanding of the Indians' strong spiritual affiliation with wildlife we can develop within ourselves, as well as in all other Americans, the attitude that our strength, both personal and national, rests heavily upon the perpetuation of the great outdoor life.

Each year statistics present a clearer picture of "citified" Americans learning to borrow from the forces of nature to give them balanced perspective. They are refugees from their own Frankensteinian asphalt highways and concrete jungles. Their lives yearn for the elemental expression found in tramping through brush with only the sky as a roof. Winged neighbors, bright and melodious, encourage the frustrations met in the world of competition, to slip away into the night. And souls become alive with conscious pleasure from the dance of a boat underfoot.

Unfortunately, added to these blessings freely given by nature, comes the ominous sounds of the worst carnivore in the animal kingdom, the human who is eager to destroy for destruction's sake or to indulge a whim. All of us have seen him, and many—at least partly—have been him. For big bags and heavy catches are common ambitions, whether or not the game and fish will ever be constructively used. This situation exists primarily because outdoor enthusiasts hold for wildlife conservation, but they do not agree remotely upon how far restrictions should be carried.

No better instance could be cited than the grumbling, even complaint, heard about the country when the Izaak Walton League had the foresight and courage to get the President of the United States to intercede in behalf of restraining air flight from traveling low over the American side of the Quetico-Superior National Forest, in Minnesota. We begin to appreciate what it can mean to a highly urbanized society to have within easy reach systems of state and national parks, monuments, and wilderness areas where men can for a little while find rest and spiritual renewal. Where the people of a busy work-a-day world can go and commune with nature and its visible forms.

I would like to make special mention at this time of the Quetico-Superior area in Northern Minnesota and the adjoining Ontario side of the International Border. Through the courtesy of the Department of Conservation of the State of Minnesota, I had the good fortune last year to be flown over a portion of this wonderful region of lakes, flashing streams, and primeval forest, which many people would like to see protected against commercialization and airplane traffic,

in order to maintain as nearly as possible the unadulterated wilderness character of some parts of the area. The Izaak Walton League has taken a leading part in this endeavor and has contributed many thousands of dollars in an effort to preserve it. In speak in general terms of the value of such a region. The day must never come when our American people lose contact entirely with the earth which supports us. What made our Nation great, I am convinced, was the long experience our forefathers had—and here I speak of our Indian as well as our European ancestors—in facing the basic issues of living, or winning food and shelter, and survival out of the wilderness. This was what taught us our inventiveness in meeting new situations. This was what taught us courage and self-reliance. And this was what taught us to respect the rights of others and to build a society of free men. Too many of us have moved away from the country and gone to the city. Too many of us have lost touch with the outdoors and all that can be learned from observing things growing and from solitude itself. We need our Quetico-Superior areas now and will need them even more desperately in the years and generations to come. I, as one member of our urbanized society, am most happy to join with an organization such as the Izaak Walton League in giving thought to the problems of conservation and the proper management of our natural resources.

It was no coincidence that the white man's arrival in Indian Territory brought also a steady decrease of animal life. As early as 1853, this was noted officially when Kit Carson, Indian Agent in New Mexico Territory, wrote to the Department of the Interior: "The game in the Utah country is becoming scarce and they (the Indians) are unable to support themselves by the chase and the hunt, and the Government has but one alternative, either to subsist and clothe them or exterminate them."

By this time hunters along the eastern coastline had clubbed the great auk, for its body oil, completely out of existence. The American bison, once counted to about fifty million, amounted, in 1890, to no more than five hundred. The passenger pigeon disappeared by 1913. We no longer have the famed Laborador duck or the Carolina parakeet, a bird with brilliant plumage, which was eliminated by commercial capture for domestic bird cages.

The same destiny was apparent for the American elk, the pronghorned antelope, the black and grizzly bears and the bighorn sheep, together with such notable birds as the trumpeter swan and the whooping crane. Fortunately, wild game refuges, established by both State and Federal government, were able to prevent any of them from becoming extinct. And gradually, through careful practice of conservation principles, both animals and birds alike are growing plentiful.

The American people were wise, indeed, when they allocated the proper authority to their State and Federal governments for the protection of their fish, animal and bird life. It has been since 1903 that the first Federal bird refuge was established at Pelican Island on the east coast of Florida. Today, we have close to 300 refuges for waterfowl and other species including big game. Over 18 million acres of land are retained in the United States, Hawaii, Alaska and Puerto Rico solely for conservation.

If such an expansive program were not in action to take care of our national fish supply, we soon would find ourselves without any water life at all. Consumer demand is tremendous. And as population and industry continue to grow the problem of maintaining game fish in our inland waters becomes more and more complex. The many reservoirs, ranging from small farm ponds to large lakes, still are not meeting the demands for pond fish used for stocking purposes. It is estimated on the basis of license statistics and other information that about 20 million engage in sport fishing each year. The annual catch of these fishermen probably amounts to at least 250 million pounds. On the inland waters the total yield amounts to about 85 million pounds.

Now that we are engaged in a national emergency many more problems have confronted wildlife conservation. Appropriation cuts in Federal expenditure normally allocated to this program will reduce the scope of services. Continued pressure is evident, therefore, to cut the stocks of fish and wildlife, to relax the standards necessary for their protection and to take untried short-cuts to management. And undoubtedly there will be certain special-interest groups seeking to exploit the situation by advancing projects for the use of a natural resource not actually associated with critical need.

Something obviously must be done. All of the American people have a direct interest in conservation, and they cannot afford to let their wildlife reserves become depleted. More specifically, for the commercial fishermen and trappers the interest is financial. For many others, the interest is recreation: hunting, fishing, photography, study and observation of wildlife. Others, still, enjoy more aesthetic aspects: painting and music based on the beauty of form in living nature. But no matter what the personal motivation may be, the importance of maintaining these reserves is there.

The responsibility necessarily rests upon the shoulders of the American people, not collectively as in tax collection but individually as John Smith and Mary Jones. Organizations dedicated to the outdoor life, such as the Izaak Walton League, should move to the front in putting across a popular movement among our people to help conserve their natural resources.

It is, of course, obvious that city people cannot put down their work and go out into the wilds to take care of wild life. But an immeasurable amount of good would be achieved were every citizen who ventured into those areas, to carry with him a true conservation attitude. That means, not self-denial, but rather self-restraint. Which is the more important to the sportsman, when the chips are really down: the number of animals he bagged or the amount of fish he caught, or the fact that he had been in the back woods to relax and get good exercise with plenty of fresh air.

We Americans are, truthfully speaking, a self-indulgent lot. Generous on the one hand, we throw away food and materials that peoples in other parts of the world would have given their eye-teeth to have. We do not conserve like the old pioneers who first crossed the Territory where we meet today. A wonderful industrial productivity and vast natural resources have let us become careless with a dollar or its equivalent. Once we have made up our mind to undertake a project, however, our enthusiasm is unquenchable. World War II proved this in many ways.

I propose, therefore, that we utilize this wonderful sense of effort, in maintaining our wild life by selling the public on cooperating with conservation ideals. As the man once said: "It pays to advertise." "Smokey Bear" has done much good in selling fire prevention.

It is the Indian attitude we want to put across, the almost spiritual concept of nature. The American farmer already understands. It is the city people who need re-education. Their mental barrier is steel and cement.

I recall a verse that goes as follows:

"The poet and ornithologist differ in ways absurd
One writes—'The bird is on the wing.'
The other answers—'No such thing!
The wing is on the bird.'"

More important yet, let us make every effort to keep the bird.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE FIRST TELEPHONE LINE IN OKLAHOMA

A few weeks after the first telephone equipment was received at Fort Sill on October 7, 1879—Phelps-Crown equipment, the best on the market—, the first telephone line in Oklahoma was put into operation between Fort Sill and Fort Reno. These telephones were operated by connecting them to the telegraph circuit between the two forts, with the office at each place in the Post Commander's Headquarters building. Soon afterward at Fort Reno, a wire was strung from the Post Headquarters to the commanding officer's residence where another telephone was installed to relay immediately any important telegraph message to the Commandant. A wire was also run to Darlington and telephone equipment installed for the relay of telegrams to the Indian Agency and business men at that point, for bad weather and high waters in the North Canadian often delayed the delivery of telegrams by messenger on horseback from Fort Reno. The following telegram relative to a telephone line at Anadarko, verifying the installation of the Fort Sill-Fort Reno line, was sent by Lieutenant C. A. Tingle, 2nd Artillery, at Cantonment, to P. B. Hunt, Indian Agent of the Wichita Agency, at Anadarko.

Cantonment, I.T.
Nov. 30, 1879

Col. Hunt:
Wichita Agency.

Would advise you to run telephone line from office to school building with wire I left you and test telephone before building permanent line.

Line is open today between Sill and Reno; please allow no one to hand line running into your office. Will order operator for Wichita Agency in a few days on my own responsibility and inform you when he will arrive.

Lt. Tingle

The first telegraph line to Fort Sill had been completed June 2, 1875, built from Fort Richardson, Texas, located a few miles north of Jacksboro, in Jack County, thence to Henryetta, Texas and north to the Indian Territory. The telegraph line was built to Fort Reno by 1879, and thence on to offices at the military camps of Cantonment and Supply many miles west in Oklahoma. This was known as the U. S. Military Telegraph Line, service furnished by Government subsidiary, the line having been constructed to Fort Sill in 1875, by soldiers of the 7th U. S. Infantry, under the direction of Captain W. C. Beach, with the technical installation in charge of Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greeley who some years later headed the famous Greeley Expedition to the arctic region of the Far North. The first telegraph and telephone operator at Fort Sill was J. G. Hewitt; and at Fort Reno, Major W. W. Neifert was in charge from 1886 to 1890.

Just before his assignment to Fort Reno, Neifert had been with the Signal Corps in the U. S. troops that had forced the surrender of the famous Geronimo and his Apache warriors.

Although the U. S. Military Telegraph line in Western Oklahoma, as well as the telephone, was operated as a private line, paid telegrams were also received or sent for business men and ranchers in the region, making it a great convenience.* Regularly at certain hours of the day, press dispatches from the outside world were sent in over the wire to the two forts, and posted at different places over the grounds. At Fort Reno, these bulletins were posted in the Barracks, giving news reports, including market reports from over the country. A noted Sullivan prize fight at New Orleans in the early 1880's was an exciting hour at Fort Reno: the fight was reported round by round over the telegraph wire, and the news relayed immediately to a waiting throng outside the Post Headquarters at Fort Reno where betting was high.

The fact that the Fort Sill—Fort Reno telephone line was installed in 1879, just three years after Bell's invention of the telephone had been patented, and two years after Edison's transmitter and receiver were patented (July, 1877), meant that the first operators of this line had to learn the mechanics of the Phelps-Crown equipment. As soon as the new line was in good working order, the operators agreed upon an hour on Sunday afternoons during which the telegraph was disconnected and unofficial conversation was carried on by telephone between Fort Sill and Fort Reno. The story is told that Hewitt at Fort Sill called in Quanah Parker and his Indian friends who listened in amazement over the telephone to a bugle call at Fort Reno. At another time in the early 1880's, it is said that a band at Fort Reno played for listeners over the telephone at Fort Sill, an event that has been referred to as the first broadcast over the air in Oklahoma.

The very day that the telegraph was completed at Fort Sill—June 2, 1875—saw the surrender of Quanah Parker's Comanche followers, the Quahadi band. The last Comanche raids in the Indian war on the Plains had taken place during the spring of 1875, and there was much excitement and troop activity at military posts in Western Indian Territory. Sending messages for troop movements in the field covering thousands of square miles had been done largely by visual signaling, an assignment usually performed by the Adjutant at Fort Sill in charge of a special signal corps. Visual signaling was done by means of flags, heliograph or signal lamps, or reflectors from a base station at the fort to a station on Medicine Bluff, and on to a blockhouse station on Signal Mountain or on Mount Scott, thence into the field. Messages were thus transmitted to troops in a

* This U. S. Military Telegraph Line should be classed as a commercial line in history since it soon was used more for commercial messages than for military messages.

wide region, as much as eighty miles away, and even to Fort Reno at times.¹

—M.H.W.

LITTLE ROBE TOWNSHIP, ELLIS COUNTY

The following notes on the history of Little Robe Township in Ellis County have been contributed by O. H. Richards, of Arnett, pioneer '89er,² who is well known in Western Oklahoma for his articles under the title "Reminiscences" published in the *Ellis County Capital*. In a letter to the Associate Editor, Mr. Richards told how Ellis County got its name: "Ellis County was named after Albert H. Ellis,³ Vice President of the Constitutional Convention. Mr. Ellis with the committee on county boundaries paid this section a visit to decide on the boundary lines of the new county. The late 'Cap' Mitchell, editor of the *Shattuck Monitor* and a friend of Mr. Ellis, gave a party at the hotel for Mr. Ellis and the committee. It was decided there to call the new county 'Ellis.' "

SOME EARLY HISTORY OF LITTLE ROBE TOWNSHIP

History is largely the recorded events of individuals, either singly or in groups. When we read history we are reading of the activities of some person or group of persons, whether it be the discovery of a continent, the founding of an empire, or the first settlers in the wilderness.

¹ William W. Neifert (advanced to rank of Major in the Signal Corps) in "Trailing Geronimo by Heliograph," *Winners of the West* for October 30, 1935 (Vol. XII, No. 11), St. Joseph, Missouri, described the operation of the heliograph: "The heliograph or 'sun-telegraph' as it was often spoken of on the frontier, is an instrument for signalling by sunlight reflected from a mirror. Metallic mirrors were originally used, but in service, they were hard to keep bright and hard to replace if broken in the open field. Consequently, glass mirrors were adopted . . . and it was the most valuable instrument for field signaling. We used two 5-inch mirrors, mounted on heavy wooden posts, that were firmly set between the rocks. Vertical and horizontal tangent screws are attached to the mirrors by which they can be turned to face any desired direction and keep mirrors in correct position with sun's movement. As flash increases about 45 times to a mile, it could be read with the naked eye for at least fifty miles.

"Equipped with a powerful telescope and field glasses, we made frequent observations of the surrounding country so that any moving body of troops, or other men, as well as any unusual smoke or dust, might be detected and at once reported by flashing to Headquarters. Troops in the field carried portable heliograph sets that were operated by specially trained and detailed soldiers, by this means communicating through the mountain stations with Headquarters."

Acknowledgment is due Mr. Claude Hensley, of Oklahoma City for his kindness in furnishing much of the data used in these notes on the Fort Sill-Fort Reno telephone line and the telegraph line. See, W. S. Nye's *Carbine and Lance* (Norman, 1937) for mention.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

² O. H. Richards, "Memories of an '89'er," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1948), pp. 2-12; . . . , "Early Days in Day County," *ibid.*, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 313-24.

³ Angie Debo, "Albert H. Ellis," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 382-89.

They go to make up the warp and woof in the fabric of our civilization. By the same token the history of Little Robe Township is a history of individuals.

Little Robe Township was the scene of some early historical activities. It is certain that this township lay in the path of Coronado when in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. In a book written by Mrs. George A. Custer called, *Boots and Saddles*, she described some of the Indian battles in which her distinguished husband General George A. Custer, was commander. In this book she tells of the battle of the Washita. There was a running fight with the Indians extending across the western Oklahoma down to the mouth of Commission creek, where it flows into the Canadian, thence across to the Antelope Hills. The fight was continued south to the Washita where the Indians made a last stand. It was here that was fought the memorable battle of the Washita.

I read that book years ago before I came to western Oklahoma, and little I thought then, that some of the places described would latter become my future home.

One of the first prominent persons to establish a temporary residence here was a gentleman by the name of Little Robe, a famous chieftain of the Cheyenne Indians. This locality was a favorite hunting ground of the Cheyennes, and Little Robe, Creek, their main camping ground, Little Robe, creek received its name from the Cheyenne chief and the township from that of the creek.

Frank Burnett was the first actual settler to locate in the township. He came in with the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands for settlement, May 1892. Mr. Burnett is still living on his original homestead. Mr. Burnett began at once to establish a home.

He planted an orchard and vineyard, and constructed irrigation ditches to irrigate his garden and orchard. Later he moved to Grand and established the first general mercantile store at that place and was twice elected County Treasurer. Returning to his farm he built a grist mill, manned by water power, put in a store, and cotton gin and established a post office called Little Robe.

In his younger days Mr. Burnett was the most active man in Day County and had more varied interests.

The next settler was George Griffis who located on the head of Little Robe creek, and the place now is known as the Tom Black ranch. Mr. Griffis built a house and planted an orchard and berry patch, and soon had one of the most attractive homes in the county.

Tom Russell arrived about that time and located on the land now owned by Austin Eggleston. A Mr. Covey located at the mouth of Little Robe, but was soon bought out by Perry Ewing father of Frank Ewing, Higgins Texas. It was here at the Ewing ranch, the late, Will Rogers drifted when he ran away from a military academy and came out here in western Oklahoma to become a cowboy. John Carr one of Mr. Ewing's cowhands informed me at the time that young Will was always practicing trick roping and playing practical jokes, and that he was ably assisted in the last pastime by Frank Ewing a youth of Wills own age. Will always insisted that Frank was funnier than he.

J. C. Haggard located in 1903 on what is known as the Ed. Eggleston farm. W. M. Hale about that time located just north of the Griffis ranch, C. V. Grace father of Veach Grace located on North Commission Creek. The place is now owned by Loyd Jones.

John Griffis located on his present homestead about the time his father James Griffis located on his. Mr. Griffis is still residing on his original homestead.

Austin Eggleston came in later and purchased the relinquishment of James Griffis. Mr. Eggleston proceeded to plant fruit trees, and has kept expanding until he has one of the largest commercial orchards in Oklahoma.

The first school house built in Little Robe township, was located on the north side of Commission Creek near the Texas Line. It was a log structure and was built by George Griffis, Josh Daniels and C. V. Grace. Mrs. Allenreed was the first teacher. The next school house erected was not far from the residence of Austin Eggleston. The first teacher was Reece Ewing now a District Judge in Texas.

The men I have mentioned here, are the bona fide settlers to locate in Little Robe township they were the trail blazers, and path finders for those who followed.

Little Robe township was originally included in that part of Old Day county known as Township Three. There was just three townships in the county, designated as One, Two and Three. Township one was all south of the Canadian river. Two, and Three that part laying north of the Canadian river. On April 6, 1903 Little Robe township was given a name, and layed out on its present boundary lines.

After statehood when Ellis county was created, the name and boundaries were never changed. Most of the townships have had their names and boundary lines changed from time to time but Little Robe still retains the same boundaries and name as when a part of Day county.

As Indians play an important part in the early history of Little Robe township there is an incident I will add that might be of interest. John Mcquigg was one of Day county's early cattleman. His ranch was located just across the river from Grand. Roving bands of Indians some times camped near his ranch. John was friendly with these Indians, and occasionally gave them a beef to butcher. One day when John was away from home, Mrs. Mcquigg had visitors. They were two Indian women. They came in without the formality of knocking and to say that Mrs. Mcquigg was frightened would be putting it mildly. She was alone with just her small daughter for company. The women began jabbering and making signs. Pointing to the frightened child clinging to her mother, They advanced to the little girl and began examining her feet. Finishing their examination the women silently departed.

In a few days the Indian women returned in the same manner, bearing a beautiful pair of tiny beaded moccasins. Handing their present to the little girl, they silently departed.

That little girl you all know. She is Mrs. Sam McConnell.

—O. H. Richards.

A RARE ITEM OFFERED BY THE '89ERS

Oklahoma—The Beautiful Land, a book published by '89ers in 1943, will soon be a collector's item of increasing value since it is a source for historical material not found elsewhere. It is a volume of unusual historical value for its reminiscent sketches of early day living by the pioneers who took part in the first opening of Oklahoma to white settlement in the Run of 1889.

A reviewer in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Spring, issue of 1944) stated: "This volume, filled with the interesting stories and sketches relating by men and women who came to this section in 1889, sheds light on an important period of State history. . . . This book will be valuable as a reference in the study of Oklahoma history as it throws additional light on a colorful era.

Oklahoma—The Beautiful Land is different from other books on Oklahoma history in that many persons contributed to its compilation. The reminiscent sketches are living, often humorous narratives of pioneer experiences and activities, including descriptions of recreational and social gatherings in early days beginning with the Run of 1889. Dennis Flynn, Dr. A. C. Scott, Frank Greer, E. E. Brown and Victor Murdock, all well known in the writing field on Oklahoma, are among those who contributed to this volume, the first and only edition of its kind in the state.

The book contains 145 separate sketches covering 352 pages with 24 illustrations. It is printed on high gloss paper, and is bound in a hard case vellum, deluxe washable cloth. There is only a limited number of the books on hand, and *The '89ers* are offering them to the readers of *The Chronicles*, at the original price of \$2.55 per copy. Orders can be made by addressing: Miss Golda B. Slief, Recording Secretary, *The '89ers*, 705 N. E. 16th St., Oklahoma City 4, Oklahoma.

INTERTRIBAL COUNCIL OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

The following notes on the organization of the intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes are contributed by Hon. N. B. Johnson, Justice of the State Supreme Court and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

On October 20, 1949, at Muskogee, Oklahoma, representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes, representing approximately 100,000 Indians residing in Eastern Oklahoma, organized an Inter-tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, and thereafter on February 3, 1950, unanimously adopted a constitution and by-laws. The Council consists of 25 members, 5 from each of the Five Civilized Tribes, to-wit: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole, to be selected and their tenure of office to be established by the respective tribes in a manner determined by said tribes and provides that the principal chief of the Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, Choctaws and the Governor of the Chickasaw nation shall be included in the membership of the Inter-tribal Council. The purpose of this organization, among other things, as stated in the Preamble of the Constitution is to secure to themselves and their descendants the rights and benefits to which they are entitled under the laws of the United States and the State of Oklahoma, to enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Indian race, to preserve Indian cultural values, to enhance and promote general educational opportunity among members of the Five Civilized Tribes, to seek an equitable adjustment of tribal affairs, to secure and to preserve rights under Indian treaties with the United States and otherwise to promote the common welfare of the American Indians.

The Inter-tribal Council holds regular meetings on the second Wednesday of the first month of each quarter of the year. The general purpose of the Inter-tribal Council is set forth in the Preamble mentioned above and need not be repeated. It is authorized to exercise such powers as may lawfully be exercised in order to carry out the aims and objectives of the organization such as recommending legislation to the Congress of the United States and to the State Legislature, consulting and advising with the President of the United States, the Governor of Oklahoma and Federal and State officers or agencies in respect to matters affecting the interests of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma.

Represented on the Council of the Five Civilized Tribes are such statesmen as Hon. Johnston Murray, Governor of the State of Oklahoma, a Chickasaw Indian; Hon. Earl Welch, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma, a Chickasaw Indian, and Hon. N. B. Johnson, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Oklahoma, a Cherokee Indian. The chief executives of the Five Civilized Tribes are also members: W. W. Keeler, of the Cherokee; Floyd Maytubby, of the Chickasaw; J. W. Belvin, of the Choctaw; John Davis, of the Creek, and George Harjo, of the Seminole. These tribal officers of the Five Civilized Tribes represent the professions of education, law, insurance and engineering.

Hon. Earl Welch, Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, was named first President of the Inter-tribal Council and was re-elected for a second term to serve during the calendar year 1951. Other offices are Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Secretary, Chaplain and Sgt.-at-Arms. Hon. N. B. Johnson, Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, was elected President of the Council for the year 1952.

The importance of Indian participation in planning and policy making in respect to Indian Affairs in Eastern Oklahoma has long been recognized by the Congress, the leaders of the tribes represented by the Council and the General Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes. It is felt that no program can be effective if it is superimposed on an unwilling or uninformed group and for some time public spirited Indians, willing to devote time, thought and energy in behalf of the Indian people have sought to bring to the attention of the Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the public the needs and problems of the Indian people of the Five Civilized Tribes.

The Five Civilized Tribes represent on the whole a noble experiment in race relations. Out of all the stress, trials and tribulations and experiences in a country new to both races the Indians have emerged with a high degree of progress.

Many of the State's leaders in the professions in public life and in the industries have been and now are Indians who have made a signal contribution to the social, economic and political life of the State. Notwithstanding this effective and worthwhile contribution, there is a large segment within each of the Five Tribes, living in isolated, rural communities, who because of historical factors, bad lands, bad health and lack of opportunity are submarginal socially and economically and have been prevented from becoming completely assimilated into the social and economic life of the State.

It is socially and economically unhealthy for the State to have so large a segment of its Indian citizens live below the minimum standards of health, education, economic productivity and general welfare.

The matter of welfare, education, economics and community development in Eastern Oklahoma are closely inter-related and there is a great need for a coordinated approach to these problems and a thorough study and fact finding in respect thereto should be made.

From time to time tribal officers and Indian leaders have met with W. O. Roberts, Area Director of Indian Affairs at Muskogee, Oklahoma for formal discussions and conferences in an effort to stimulate interest on the part of the Indian people in helping to solve their problems. As a result of these conferences over a three year period there has been formulated by the Area Director and his staff and Indian leaders, working through the Tribal Councils and Inter-tribal Council, a constructive program to ameliorate conditions among the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes.

It is felt that one of the reasons the Federal Government has failed to make greater progress in its dealings with the Indians is because Indian leadership in the past, for the most part, has been negative and effective only in resisting the Federal policy. The philosophy back of the organization of the Inter-tribal Council was that Indian leadership should contribute to the formulation of Federal policy and take a leading part in inquiring into the needs of Indians and make those needs vocal.

The Indian Service, as an administrative agency, is not always in the best position to influence Congressional policy.

It is believed that with the type of Indian leadership embodied in the Inter-tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes this Council, in cooperation with other agencies, charged with Indian Affairs, will be able to formulate a constructive Federal policy and a worthwhile program for the Indians of Eastern Oklahoma that will secure for them equal opportunities and hasten the day when they will be fully integrated into community life of the State.

DR. KARL SCHMITT FATALLY INJURED

As copy for the autumn number of *The Chronicles* was sent to press, the Editorial Department and friends were shocked and grieved to hear of the death of Dr. Karl Schmitt, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, on August 6, 1952, as the result of an automobile accident at Magdalena, New Mexico. Dr. Schmitt was a promising young writer on anthropological subjects in his work at the University, and had contributed a number of interesting articles to *The Chronicles*, including the summer number, 1952. His friends will want to see his necrology that is promised the Editorial Department for publication in a future issue of the magazine.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE REVEREND W.N.P. DAILEY, D.D.

Friends in the Oklahoma Historical Society and in the mission work of the Dutch Reformed Church in Oklahoma are saddened to hear of the death of the Reverend W.N.P. Dailey, D.D., in his 90th year on August 28, 1952, at his summer home in Pottersville, New York. Dr. Dailey, a retired minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in America, had long served as historian of his church, and was well known as a writer on New York State history for publications in the East. Dr. Dailey's interest in Oklahoma dated back to his college day friendship in the early 1880's, with the late Rev. Frank Hall Wright who with two brothers as well as the father, the Rev. Allen

Wright, of the Choctaw Nation, are counted among the alumni of Union College in Schenectady, New York, which was also Dr. Dailey's Alma Mater. He was a personal friend of the late Rev. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe, early missionaries to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, at Colony, Oklahoma. For many years an enthusiastic member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Dr. Dailey was a contributor to *The Chronicles*; it was through his special interest and efforts that the history of the Dutch Reformed Church missions in Oklahoma was written by the Rev. Richard H. Harper, D. D., and published in *Chronicles*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 and No. 4 (1940).

One of the last communications received by the Editorial Department, from Dr. Dailey brought an item on Indian history contributed for Notes and Documents in *The Chronicles*, a copy of a brief article on Brig. Gen. Ely S. Parker, the Seneca Indian who was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1869, by President Grant. Gen. Parker served in this position when President Grant appointed the western Indian agents from the Friends Society, the noted "Quaker Agents" in the history of Oklahoma. As a colonel on General Grant's staff in the War between the States, Parker had been appointed and served as one of the U. S. commissioners on the "Southern Treaty Commission" at the Fort Smith Council in September, 1865, that met with delegations of each of the Five Civilized Tribes and other tribes of the Indian Territory, lately in alliance with the Confederate States.⁴ The Fort Smith Council that met on September 8, 1865, continuing to September 21 was one of the most important events in the history of the tribes in the Indian Territory. Indian delegations present included Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Seneca, Shawnee, Osage and Quapaw.

The recent contribution from Dr. Dailey is presented here, a brief article from the *Grand Lodge Bulletin*, Grand Lodge of Iowa, A.F. & A.M., for June, 1951, page 208:

RED JACKET AND GEORGE WASHINGTON

By H. I. Haywood

In his own fashion, and according to the circumstances of his time, Eli Samuel Parker (born in 1828) was one of the greatest of all American Indians; certainly that would be true of the State of New York in which he was born and where more Indian history was made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than any where else.

Brother Parker (a zealous Mason) attended school until eighteen, then read law but was refused admittance to the bar because he was an Indian, and therefore not a citizen of the land of his fathers (his own land too). He then attended Rennselaer Polytechnic Institute and became a civil engineer.

Even in those early days this young Indian began to become an outstanding man. He was a friend, and more, than once a dinner companion of President and Brother James K. Polk. While superintending engineering works in Galena, Illinois, he became a close friend of Ulysses S. Grant.

⁴ Report, 1865, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, pp. 296-358.

In 1863 he became Grant's military secretary, and in that capacity was present at Lee's surrender. Lee raised his brows to see an Indian on Grant's staff. And then occurred one of the most romantic moments in the whole history of the Indian peoples! Adjutant General T. S. Bowers was too nervous to write the terms of capitulation (he felt history breathing down his neck) therefore Grant ordered Parker to write out the official document Lee signed!

In 1867 he [Parker] was made Brigadier General of the Regular Army, after having continued to be Grant's military secretary. In the meantime, and as the following quotation from Parker himself will show, which tells its own story, and which adds a memorable episode to the history of George Washington's Masonic career, is from Volume I, page 231, of *History of the Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons in New York* by Charles T. McClenachan, published by the Grand Lodge of New York, 1888:

Eli S. Parker, a full-blooded chief of the Six Nations, and grandson of the renowned Red Jacket, was a highly educated and eloquent speaker with charming action. In alluding to himself at a banquet in a Western city (remarked an earnest Masonic Brother who was present) he said:

"I am almost the sole remnant of what was once a noble race, which is rapidly disappearing as the dew before the morning sun. I found my race wasting away, and I asked myself, where shall I find home and sympathy, when our last council fire is extinguished? I said, I will knock at the door of Masonry, and see if the white race will recognize me, as they did my ancestors when we were strong and the white man weak. I knocked at the door of the Blue Lodge, and found brotherhood around its altar; I went before the great light in the Chapter, and found companionship beneath the Royal Arch. I entered the Encampment, and found there valiant Sir Knights willing to shield me without regard to race or nation. I am happy to meet you in the grand councils of the gathering, and to share these greetings and hospitalities. I feel assured that when my glass is run out, and I shall follow the footsteps of my departed race, Masonic sympathizers will cluster around my coffin, and drop in my lonely grave the evergreen acacia, sweet emblem of a better meeting. If my race shall disappear from the continent, I have a consoling hope that our memory shall not perish. If the deeds of my ancestors shall not live in stories, their memories will remain in the names of our lakes and rivers, your towns and cities, and will call up memories otherwise forgotten."

Few eyes could withhold the tears, as he poured forth in words like these the utterance of a full heart. Silence for a time prevailed after he had sat down, when he [again] arose and said, "I have in my possession a memento which I highly prize. I wear it near my heart. It came from my ancestors to me as their successor in office. It was a present from Washington to my grandfather, RED JACKET, when our nation was in its infancy. You will be glad to see and handle it, and I should do wrong not to give you the opportunity."

As he spoke thus he removed the wampum from his neck, and drew from his bosom a large massive medal, in oval form, about seven inches by five, and it passed from hand to hand along the tables. On one side of this medal were engraved, in full length, the figures of two chiefs, RED JACKET, in costume, presenting the pipe of peace, and WASHINGTON with right hand extended, as in the act of receiving it. On the other side the Masonic emblems, with the date, 1792.

—M.H.W.

RECENT ACCESSIONS IN THE LIBRARY.

The following list of books (450 volumes) was accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1951 to July 1, 1952, and compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger:

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- Bradford, Ralph. *Heritage*. Washington, D. C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1950. 145 pp.
- Bradley, Omar N. *A Soldier's Story*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1951. 618 pp.
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- Brown, Henry D. *Our Community Heritage . . .* Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Historical Commission, 1950. 16 pp.

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BOOK REVIEW

Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol by John E. Parsons, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1952.

John E. Parsons, an attorney in New York is such an authority on guns that he could travel under the pseudonym of "Two Gun Pete." Although the Deringer pistol is known to thousands of citizens in the United States probably comparatively few have any knowledge of the origin of the name.

Deringer was a manufacturer of guns but his own life is not well known as is that of Bowie of the famous knife, or Captain Edmund Zalinski who invented the dynamite gun. Remington and Colt have had more or less publicity, but Deringer has only recently been rescued from oblivion by Parsons in his *Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol*.

It is an interesting fact that Deringer was connected with Oklahoma history as far back as 1835 when he made guns for the Choctaw Indians to bring with them when they were forced from their peaceful homes in Mississippi to the wilds west of the Mississippi River. Major Francis W. Armstrong examined the weapon at the factory in Philadelphia and found it very suitable for the red men and he was authorized to order Deringers for the chiefs and headmen of the nation. He also introduced the gun to army officers and members of the Cabinet who found it a most useful weapon. It was Armstrong who gave the gun its name—Deringer's Pistol.

Parson's fascinating volume will be full of interest for countless readers and the copious illustrations are valuable for collectors of guns. The format of the book is handsome and the contents will prove of interest as long as men carry pistols or watch wild western movies.

—Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Muskogee, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

MRS. LEE CLINTON

1876—1951

Susan Merrill Clinton, wife of Lee Clinton of 1322 South Guthrie Avenue, Tulsa, Oklahoma, passed away on December 17, 1951.

Mrs. Clinton's early home was in Jasper, Georgia. She was born on January, 1876, the daughter of Major and Mrs. Sherman Morton Merrill. Her father was a chaplain in the United States Army.

She was educated in Georgia, at Young Harris College. While in school there she met and married Lee Clinton who was also attending college in Georgia. Together they came to Indian Territory, the native home of Mr. Clinton, and together they have given Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma one of its outstanding pioneer families.

Mrs. Clinton is survived by her husband; a son, Walton S. Clinton; a daughter, Mrs. William K. Kellam; a grand-daughter Sally Merrill Kellam; and two sisters, Mrs. Leo A. O'Brien and Mrs. Fred Damman, all of Tulsa. She is also survived by five nieces, Mrs. G. E. Bruner, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Robt. C. Ports, Coronado, California; Miss Alice O'Brien, New York City; Mrs. Robt. M. Hardy, Yakima, Washington; Mrs. David M. Bradly, Evergreen, Colorado; and one nephew, Mr. J. Donald McBirney of Tulsa. There are also three great nieces surviving; Mrs. John H. Heller, Miss Alice Brunder, and Susan Merrill Ports; and one great-great niece Carolyn Flake Heller.

Mrs. Clinton, a woman of culture and eminence, came to Oklahoma before statehood and from that time until her passing she was an influential figure in all of the social, cultural and civic events of Tulsa. Not only in her home, but throughout the state and nationally her personality and influence were brought to bear upon all the many organizations to which she lent her interest and endeavor.

She was a charter member of most of the educational and social clubs organized in Tulsa in early days: The Tuesday Book Club, the Thimble Club, Shakespeare Club and Ruskin Art Club which later became Tulsa Art Association of today. She held a trusteeship in the Philbrook Art Center which she was influential in helping to establish. Hyeckka, Tulsa's first music club, recently made her an honorary member in Tribute to many years of her active and efficient service.

Mrs. Clinton's chief interest in organizations and the one which was outstanding throughout the State and Nation was that in the Daughters of the American Revolution. She was a founder of the Tulsa Chapter which was organized in her home at Fifth Street and Houston Avenue. She was twice elected to the regency of the Tulsa Chapter, and once was State Regent of Oklahoma D.A.R. It was during her state regency and owing to her untiring work and efficiency that the Hugo Chapter of D. A. R. was organized. She was chairman of the Insignia Committee and a member of the American Indian Committee of the National D.A.R. It was under her leadership as chairman of the Memorials and Historical Spots committee in 1937 that the marker on East 41 Street was placed to mark the site of Tulsa's first U. S. Postoffice. Her devotion and Loyalty to D.A.R. was recognized throughout the organization, and her loss is mourned by all of its members.



SUSAN MERRILL CLINTON
Wife of Lee Clinton, Tulsa, Okla.

In 1947 Mrs. Clinton was chosen to preside over the ceremonies dedicating the Oklahoma state bell in the carillon of the Geo. Washington Memorial Chapel at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. She was a promoter of the Priscilla Mullins Society of Children of the American Revolution in Tulsa, and was named a national promoter of the parent society of D.A.R.

Mrs. Clinton was a member of the National Society of Colonial Dames, and was on the Oklahoma City board of the organization. She was a charter member of the Daughters of the American Colonists, and was honorary state regent of its Oklahoma chapter.

Her name is inscribed on the corner stone of the main Library building at Cheyenne Avenue and Third Street, as a member of the original board of the Tulsa Public Library which was formed in 1914. She remained on this board for twenty-seven years. In 1917 she was appointed treasurer of the War Library Fund, and received wide recognition for her services to the W.L.F. during World War I. One of her most notable contributions to the Tulsa Library system was the Clinton Family gift of the large plot of ground upon which the Red Fork library is located.

Mrs. Clinton's civic activities also included long service to Y.W.C.A., and membership in the Tulsa Pioneer Association. She had the true pioneer spirit, and gave herself unstintingly to the betterment of her chosen home city and its people. She had a broad and sympathetic understanding of the needs in early days when the foundations of things to come were being laid in her beloved Oklahoma.

Mrs. Clinton's funeral service was held in Boston Avenue Methodist church where she had held membership for most of the fifty years she had lived in Tulsa. Officiating in the service were Dr. Paul V. Galloway, pastor of Boston Avenue Church, Dr. H. Bascom Watts, District Superintendent, and Rev. J. H. Ball, one of her former pastors there. During the service which was at three o'clock on the afternoon of December 19, 1951, the sun came through the many colored glass windows, centering its rays on the blanket of beautiful pink carnations covering the casket. To the mourning friends, this seemed a benediction straight from heaven to mark the passing of one of God's great, noble women. Everyone there will remember the feeling of gentle awe which enveloped those present at the sight of God's apparent sanction and approval of her life on earth. Stanley's Funeral Service was in charge, and burial was in Oak Lawn Cemetery, the pioneer cemetery of Tulsa.

Mrs. Clinton had a warmth of personality, a gentle dignity, and sympathetic understanding of people which made for her a host of friends. In her home life, her love and loyalty endeared her to her family. Her life is exemplified in the following lines from Bailey: "We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths; in feelings, not figures on the dial; we should count time by heart throbs"; and "He most lives who thinks most, Feels the noblest, acts the best."

—Fred S. Clinton, M.D.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 28, 1952.

The last regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held on April 25, 1952, in the City of Durant, Oklahoma. This Durant meeting grew out of the decision of the Board of Directors to accept the invitation of the City of Durant to hold its annual or birthday session in that city, and after its acceptance it was decided that the Society would develop an Historical Tour throughout the southeastern section of the State and a few other points, which was carried out in a very large and successful manner.

It was voted by the Board of Directors at this Durant meeting that since this annual session of the Board was so near the meeting of July 26 and so many members of the Board being absent on vacation that there would be no regular meeting held until October 23, 1952. Therefore, the minutes here offered are those developed by a special session of the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society on May 28, 1952.

A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MAY 28, 1952.

General William S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Chairman of the Executive Committee, called all members of the Committee to meet at the Oklahoma Club in Oklahoma City, at noon on May 28, 1952.

The following were present when the roll was called: General William S. Key, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Dr. E. E. Dale and the Secretary, Dr. Charles Evans.

The meeting was called to order and the Chairman stated that this call was made in chief for the purpose of passing upon the proposed budget of the Society for presentation to the next Legislature meeting in January 1953. It was pointed out by him that the Office of the Budget desired the State departments to present to it in September or early October the proposed budgets, and since the regular session of the Board of Directors would not meet until October 23, 1952, it was essential to have this meeting of the Executive Committee.

The first item presented pertained to "Operating Expense and Equipment". After discussion of each item, such as, travel, drayage, postage, telephone, printing and binding, repairs to equipment, office supplies, other supplies and materials, premium on bond for Secretary, office equipment, books and periodicals, and household supplies, it was unanimously agreed that the Board of Directors would request \$19,910.00 for "Operating Expense and Equipment" for each year of the biennium beginning July 1, 1953, to July 1, 1955. It should be pointed out that the increase of \$5100.00 annually over the last biennium is brought about by increasing of the appropriations for the printing, binding, cuts, etc., of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The appropriations for *The Chronicles* in the last biennium was \$4500.00 annually. With higher prices for paper, for labor, for cuts, etc., it was essential that the Society ask for \$6000.00 annually for the next two years. *The Chronicles* was greatly beautified and improved through the last year by an increased expenditure of \$400.00 for a more beautiful and appropriate cover. For like reasons the appropriations for books and periodicals and for office

equipment were raised from \$2200.00 to \$3500.00 annually. Other items of the budget remain at or about the same level as found in the preceding biennium.

The subject of "Salaries" was next taken up and after a full discussion on the part of every member of the Committee it was agreed unanimously that due to a great need in these times for severe economy that the Board would not ask for any increase in salaries.

Chairman Key presented, after this, a plan for securing more room for the Newspaper Department and such other departments as might be served by the development of the two floors in the uncompleted stack room. The Secretary presented a letter from Mr. George Forsythe, one of the original architects of the Society building, who inspected the stack room on May 19, 1952, at the request of the Secretary. This letter is made a part of these Minutes and is herewith attached. After thorough discussion it was agreed to ask the Legislature for an appropriation sufficient to install the steel flooring and proper shelving for the floors.

The essential need of repairing the Indian murals along the wall on the fourth floor of the Society building was discussed. It was unanimously voted that these repairs must be made and the Secretary was requested to secure bids. After the bids are properly evaluated it was voted that these repairs should be carried out.

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore pointed out that in the development of the Indian murals on the fourth floor, a mural relative to the Chickasaws was omitted. After discussion, it was unanimously agreed that this defect should be remedied and requested that Mrs. Moore should obtain estimates which would include costs, etc., whereby a proper mural representing the Chickasaws could be placed.

The Secretary presented a letter from the Western Bank & Office Supply. This letter revealed that it would require an appropriation of \$2700.00 to complete the steel shelving on the mezzanine floor in the newspaper file room. It was unanimously agreed that a petition would be offered to the Legislature for the amount needed.

Dr. Evans stated that Dr. Divonis Worten, a Life member of the Society, who had been an eminent physician of the City of Pawhuska for over forty years, offered to the Society a mahogany museum case in honor of the Secretary of the Society who had been his close friend from earliest childhood, both being born in the same locality, Livingston County, Kentucky, for the special purpose of placing such papers, books, relics, etc., pertaining to the life of Dr. Evans. The Committee, upon the motion of Dr. E. E. Dale, seconded by Hon. Baxter Taylor, voted to receive Dr. Worten's gift.

The motion for adjournment by E. E. Dale, seconded by Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, was carried.

GENERAL W. S. KEY, President

DR. CHARLES EVANS, Secretary

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

R. G. MILLER

H. MILT PHILLIPS

GEORGE H. SHIRK

THE SECRETARY

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A HIGH POINT IN AMERICA'S THINKING

By Charles Evans

In taking up the work of Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society more than eight years ago, I found two rooms in the Historical Building given over to emphasizing the history of the War Between the States, 1861-1865. Perhaps no period of American history reveals the fundamental issues, the hidden compromises, and finally the flaming differences involved in the founding and growth of the American Union than did these four years of civil strife. So these rooms, one designated as the Union Memorial Room and the other as the Confederate Memorial Room grew out of a noble desire of a large group of Oklahoma citizenship devoted to the ideals and traditions of the Old South in the four year contest, and a great sentiment and loyalty of many people in the State who wished to pay tribute to, and preserve the teachings of their ancestors in their loyalty to the Northern cause.

It should be said that perhaps Oklahoma, the forty-sixth state, coming into the Union on November 16, 1907, is likely the most cosmopolitan in the American Union. Situated in the heart of the United States it has been a reservoir into which north and south, east and west, have poured their peoples. When the Oklahoma Territory and the Indian Territory were joined to make one state the population of Indian Territory, composed largely from inhabitants receiving their origin from the South, was 733,062. The Territory of Oklahoma, then possessing a population of 681,115 was composed of settlers from the northern states and of course was saturated with Northern sentiment. So those who planned a liberal, unbiased, and lofty-thinking institution, devoted to all of Oklahoma's people, proceeded with high and prophetic insight developed under law two departments embracing and visualizing the principles and glory of the Confederate and Union cause. To keep the atmosphere free of historical bias, and in accordance with state law, the Board of Directors through the years have ruled that the custodians of these rooms should be scions of Union and Confederate soldiers, respectively.

Observing that visitors entering these rooms are composed of thousands of school children and thousands more of adult Oklahomans and Americans (more than 125,000 entered the Oklahoma Historical Society building in 1951), I discovered there were evidences of false judgments originating from old-time prejudicial influences.



(Painting by Francis B. Carpenter, in the White House)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Born 1809—Died 1865

He grows greater through the years.



(Painting by Sidney E. Dickinson, at West Point)

ROBERT EDWARD LEE

Born 1807—Died 1870

Lord Wolseley, Chief Marshal of England, said: "I have seen all the great men of my time. In none have I found so many virtues as in Robert Edward Lee."

Heroism in Great Struggle Accented

That something might be done that would concentrate the splendid positive values disclosed to the visitors coming to visualize and study this period, and at the same time, challenge the negative thinking which was too often apparent, I had fashioned two electrically illuminated panels measuring some 3 x 7 feet.

On the panel in the Union Memorial Room the visitor reads the following:

VISITOR, YOU ARE IN A ROOM OF PUREST THOUGHT AND HIGHEST HONOR. READ THE WORDS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

"WITH MALICE TOWARDS NONE, CHARITY FOR ALL, WITH FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT, AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT, LET US STRIVE ON TO FINISH THE WORK WE ARE IN; TO BIND UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS; TO CARE FOR HIM WHO SHALL HAVE BORNE THE BATTLE, AND FOR HIS WIDOW, AND HIS ORPHANS; TO DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE AND CHERISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS."

In the Confederate Memorial Room, the illuminated panel bears these words:

"VISITOR, YOU ARE IN A ROOM OF HIGHEST HONOR AND PUREST THOUGHT. READ THE WORDS OF GENERAL ROBERT EDWARD LEE:

"I LOOK FORWARD TO BETTER DAYS AND TRUST THAT TIME AND EXPERIENCE THE GREAT TEACHERS OF MEN, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF AN EVER MERICIFUL GOD, MAY SAVE US FROM THE DESTRUCTION AND RESTORE TO US THE BRIGHT HOPES AND PROSPECTS OF THE PAST."

The Event Around Which This Article Centers

As America has grown strong and mighty, the sectionalism and bitterness occasioned by differences of honest opinion more than ninety years ago, is fast disappearing. One of the most remarkable proofs of this, and pleasing beyond measure to every thinking American was an event that took place in the United States Military Academy at West Point on the birthday of General Robert E. Lee, January 19, 1952. It is one of the climactic points in the evolution of American life because it reveals this country can and does lift itself through agencies of civilization until it embraces great elemental truths which bring a higher and nobler freedom.

In order that this event may be recorded with as much accuracy and point as possible, some paragraphs from the New York Times of Sunday, January 20, 1952, are here given:

A portrait of Gen. Robert Lee, wearing the grey uniform of the Confederacy, was unveiled in the post library at the United States Military Academy this afternoon.

The portrait, hung as a companion piece to a painting of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, Union leader in the War Between the States, was presented to the Academy by a committee headed by Gordon Gray, former secretary of the Army and now president of the University of North Carolina. The portrait was painted by Sidney E. Dickinson.

General Lee, who resigned from the United States Army in April, 1861, to command first the military forces of his native Virginia and later all the Confederate armies, was honored and welcomed "home" at the unveiling ceremonies as a famous son and distinguished graduate of the academy. General Lee, after his surrender, was indicted on a charge of treason but never was tried.

The portraits of the two West Point graduates who fought against each other have been placed on either side of a gothic-type window that stretches from the floor to the ceiling on the main rotunda of the library. The Lee portrait is the first picture of a graduate of the academy in a Confederate uniform to be hung at West Point. Although other portraits of the General and of other Confederate officers are hung here, all portray them in the uniform they wore as officers in the United States army.

General Grant, commander in chief of the Union Forces, accepted General Lee's sword in surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, Va., on April 9, 1865—and then returned the sword. Neither of the generals is wearing a sword in the portraits hanging in the post library.

The unveiling ceremony took place on the 145th anniversary of General Lee's birth in Westmoreland County, Va., on Jan. 19, 1807, and on the 100th anniversary of his appointment as the eighth superintendent of the United States Military Academy in 1852. The painting was unveiled by his great grandchildren, Hanson E. Ely, III, and Ann Carter Ely, both of New York.

Lieut. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former superintendent of the academy, in a speech in connection with the unveiling ceremonies, "welcomed" General Lee back into the fold of the West Point graduates. "To some, this delay in acknowledging our Confederate graduates may seem excessive prudence, or indeed a concession to the bugbear of sectionalism long since departed from the land" said General Taylor in a talk before a distinguished gathering of West Pointers. "In spite of the sight of the stars and bars flying from the radio masts of occasional automobiles coming out of Dixie, few fair-minded men can feel today that the issues which divided the North and the South in 1861 have any real meaning in our present generation. By the same token, there has ceased to be any justification for maintaining the fiction at West Point that General Lee's military life ended in 1861 when he declined the command of the Northern army and presented his sword to the State of Virginia. To most of us it appears high time to lay aside such historical blinders in viewing our graduates, and to acclaim with pride the fact which every school boy knows—that Robert Lee was not only a distinguished graduate of West Point, a superintendent who contributed notably to the development of the academy, a brilliant officer of the United States army worthy to be offered the supreme command, but also the immortal battle leader of the Confederacy whose deeds will stir men's soul as long as future generations find time to read the history of this country."

General Taylor asked West Pointers to rejoice in the symbolism of unity that the unveiling ceremony offered. "Today there is no North or South, no East or West, but one people, proud to honor two such leaders as Lee and Grant," he said.

"It is true that we have other divisions, other troubles which distract and distress. But when our burdens seem heavy, let us draw strength and

inspiration from the fortitude which Lee and Grant displayed in the terrible days of the Civil War when the country was in greater danger than at any time in our history."

The Lee painting was commissioned by a committee composed of Mr. Gray, Wharton Weems, Dr. Douglas Southhall Freeman, Wm. Clayton, Wm. Randolph Hearst, Jr., and General Taylor. Maj. Gen. Frederick A. Irving, present superintendent, accepted the portrait on behalf of the institution.

West Point* graduates were represented at the ceremonies by Brig. Gen. Chauncey L. Fenton, retired, president of the association of the graduates, and a representative of each of the academy's classes having living graduates.

So on the hundredth anniversary of Robert Edward Lee's appointment as the eighth superintendent of the United States Military Academy in 1852, he was welcomed home to West Point. This is one of those rare and quiet events born of racial wisdom that move up through the decades. Although it is not surrounded by the clamor, tumult and shoutings of men, still it is the most genuine mark of human progress. Eighty-seven years have gone by since Appomattox. The sectional bitterness that has occasioned so much weakness and sorrow has almost been erased. The youth in our homes and schools need beyond measure the lessons of the noblest heroes found in the Lincoln's, Lee's, Grant's and Jackson's.

It is the hope of this writer that some of these paragraphs may be read by some teachers of aspiring youth in the Oklahoma and American schools. Curricula, courses of study, teachers, come and go. Heroes and hero-worship never die.

MRS. JOHN R. WILLIAMS: A PIONEER OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Muriel H. Wright**

Much has been written about the opening of the Oklahoma Country in the run of 1889 yet whenever another record that touches on this exciting event in Oklahoma history is brought to light, there is always a new story to tell.

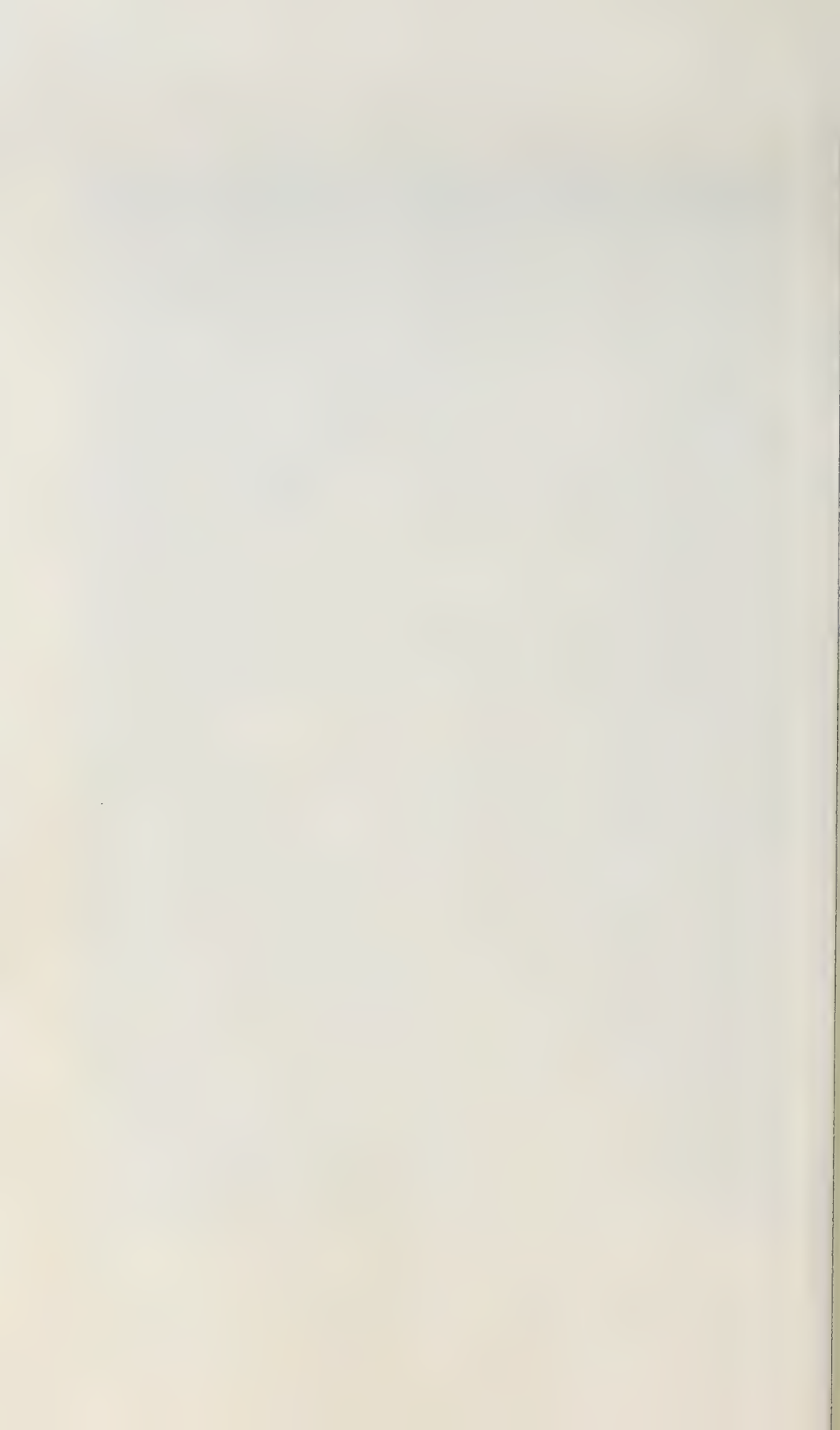
Among the well remembered throng that took part in this historic run was one who had lived most of her life in the Indian Territory, a circumstance that makes the story of this young daughter different from that of others who would lay claim to the title of "pioneer." At the time of her passing sixty years later, Mrs. John R. Williams as she was best known in public life was held in affection and esteem by a host of friends in Oklahoma City and elsewhere throughout the state. Born Mary Elizabeth Prescott DeLesdernier at Lawrence, Kansas, on January 6, 1877, her mother brought her home when she was a month old to the Sac and Fox Agency where her father, William Prescott DeLesdernier, was employed by Alexander Rankin, licensed trader on the Sac and Fox Reservation. Mr. DeLesdernier later was superintendent of Kickapoo Station near Shawneetown on the Potawatomi-Shawnee Reservation. Still later, he was employed at different periods at Oto Indian Agency, Chilocco Indian School and Darlington Indian Agency, first as the bookkeeper for the stage line company owned by Henry A. Todd.¹ When the Oklahoma Country was opened by Presidential proclamation to homestead settlement, on April 22, 1889, Mr. DeLesdernier made the "run" from the line near Fort Reno but found later that he could not prove up and hold his land claim for a Government ruling debarred anyone employed at Darlington from staking a claim on the land opened

* The writer presents this sketch in tribute to the memory of her friend, Mrs. John R. Williams, who was also the friend of Dr. Frank H. Wright and family during Oklahoma territorial days. The story is based on notes made by the writer during the many days spent in Mrs. Williams' home, as well as from original manuscript notes, newspaper clippings and original documents kindly loaned by her sons, Allan D. Williams and William H. Williams, of Oklahoma City.

¹ Henry A. Todd, a well known pioneer in Western Oklahoma for forty years, first came to Darlington Indian Agency as the owner of a stage line in 1874. His was the most dependable stage line on the trail overland from Caldwell to Fort Sill and points beyond, operating two-team (mules) stage coaches carrying 8 passengers, 6 inside and 2 on top. Mr. Todd had formerly operated stage lines in Kansas and Missouri. He moved the headquarters of the Southwest Stage Company to Darlington in 1882, and founded Calumet in Canadian County after the opening of the Oklahoma Country. He died at his home in Calumet on June 13, 1913, survived by his wife and two sons, James A. Todd of Calumet, and Beauford E. Todd of Okeene.—Clipping loaned by Mr. Claude Hensley, from *The El Reno American* for March 26, 1936.



MRS. JOHN R. WILLIAMS
(née Mary Elizabeth Prescott DeLesdernier)



for settlement at this time. Before the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation in 1892, Mr. DeLesdernier moved his family to Colony, then known as Seger Indian Colony where he became the owner of a general store and carried on ranching interests for many years.

Elizabeth DeLesdernier went to school at Darlington and at Colony, and later studied in Omaha, Nebraska, where she lived with relatives while attending school. When she returned home to Colony, she helped her father in his store, and later taught at Rainy Mountain School.² She married John R. Williams in 1902, in the Kiowa-Comanche country after the opening of this region where he was engaged in ranching near Gotebo, and later, in the abstract business at Hobart. They became the parents of three sons: John R., Jr., Allan D., and William H. Williams.³ In 1910, the family came to make their home in Oklahoma City where Mr. Williams headed the campaign as manager for Lee Cruce who was elected second Governor of Oklahoma in this year.⁴

Later during a period of twenty-five years, Mrs. Williams held positions in the State Highway Department and in the State Tax Commission. She was Chief Clerk in the Engineering Department of the State Highway for several years, and was highly regarded and commended for her efficiency in keeping accurate records in the expenditure of many millions of dollars in highway construction. As an active member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for nearly thirty years, Mrs. Williams was Chairman

² Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, "Kiowa-Rainy Mountain School" (Dec. 6, 1901 and March 10, 1902). Rainy Mountain School was established among the Kiowa in 1891.

References to William DeLesdernier's service at different Indian agencies are found in volumes on "Sac & Fox," on "C & A" (Vol. 30—Cheyenne-Arapaho) and on "Kiowa-Cattle & Pastures," Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

³ The eldest son, John R. Williams, Jr., a talented singer, died while still in his college days at the University of Oklahoma. Allan D. Williams married Gladys Henson, and they are the parents of two children: Allan D., II, and Cynthia. William H. Williams married Elizabeth Burns, and they are the parents of two children, Diana D. and Steven. Both families have their homes in Oklahoma City.

⁴ John Robert Williams, a native of Texas born on October 30, 1866, was the son of William Allan and Elizabeth (née Murphy) Williams. The father, a native of Texas and descendant of old southern families of North Carolina and Alabama, was a well known banker of Greenville, Texas, and owner of large interests in lands and cattle. The son, John R. Williams, first entered the cattle business on his father's "Block Bar Ranch" near Doan's Crossing on Red River, in 1884, and later had large ranching interests in what is now Caddo County. During the Cleveland administration, he was appointed United States Commissioner under Judge C. B. Kilgore, and held Commissioner's Court from Chickasha south to Red River. He drew a homestead claim at the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in 1901, and made his home about two miles from Gotebo. He served as Treasurer of Kiowa County before statehood, and during Governor Cruce's administration, as Secretary of the State Land Commission. He was appointed member of the State Board of Affairs in 1929, serving until a short time before his death at his home in Oklahoma City, on February 26, 1931.—Dan Peery, "John Robert Williams," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (June, 1935), pp. 244-6.

of the Committee that brought back the U.S.S. *Oklahoma* silver service set to the State in 1947. After World War II, she carried on correspondence with the War and the Navy departments for two years in regard to this matter for the Society. She was present when the shipment was received from the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, and supervised placing the handsome sterling silver set of fifty-seven pieces in the Museum of the Historical Society where it is still on exhibit.⁵

Mrs. Williams was a member of the Business and Professional Women's Club, and of the State Poetry Society. She had been elected and served as President of *The '89ers*, and was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church in Oklahoma City. After Mr. William's passing, she maintained her home in Oklahoma City until a short time before her death from paralysis on September 23, 1949.⁶ Burial was in Fairlawn Cemetery in Oklahoma City by the grave of her husband, and the graves of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. DeLesdernier.

This summary has touched briefly on Mrs. Williams' life yet her own family name and her girlhood experiences make a longer story that reveals something of the part some of the DeLesderniers had as pioneers in the building of the Southwest and of what living was like here when the name of Oklahoma as that of a wonderful country was first appearing in the halls of Congress.

The origin of the family name *DeLesdernier* was in France, a name that endowed those who bore it with a certain charm of personality as well as with a flair for adventure that played a part in the romantic story of the Southwest. Elizabeth's paternal grandfather was John DeLesdernier, the son of a French soldier who had taken the name *De Les Dernier*—"the last call"—when as a young man he was called into the service of the French army by Napoleon. An original document in the family papers is one signed at New York City on November 25, 1838, as "Agreed between Master and Seamen, or Mariners" acknowledging John DeLesdernier as "Master" of the Schooner *Caribou* "now bound from the Port of New Orleans and from thence to be Employed In the Freighting Businefs to Such Parts and Places as the Master Shall direct, for the Term of Six Months." The next year he was Harbor Master or Inspector for the port at Galveston. Another very interesting document is the original commission written by E. W. Moore, Captain Commanding, "Aboard the Texas Sloop of War Austin, at Sea July 21, 1840," appointing "Mr. John Delestinier (*sic*) . . . Acting Master in the Navy of Texas."

⁵ "Minutes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947).

⁶ *Oklahoma City Times* for September 23, 1949.

John DeLesdernier married Miss Mary Newmarch Prescott⁷ of New England, and they were the parents of William Joseph Prescott DeLesdernier who was born at Galveston, Texas, on August 7, 1844. The DeLesdernier family left Galveston for Kansas about 1856, and a few years later, William went to Boston to live with an aunt while he attended school. During a visit in Kansas, he gave Boston as his home when he was enrolled and mustered into the United States military service as a private in Company A, Second Regiment of Kansas Cavalry, on January 28, 1862. Although he was born in Texas, he served in the Federal Army throughout the War between the States, either in Kansas, Arkansas or Indian Territory, while his brother who was born in New Hampshire served in the Confederate Army. He treasured among some mementos of the War the last copy of the *Herald for Freedom* that came off the newspaper press at Lawrence, Kansas, just before the town was burned by Quantrell and his men. The next morning William DeLesdernier was with the Kansas Cavalry in Lawrence, and saw the smoldering ruins and the dead still lying in the streets of the town. He was detailed for recruiting service at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1863, and was shortly afterward recommended to command a company of either cavalry or infantry in the Federal forces at Dardenelle, Arkansas. He subsequently was with the Federal forces in the Indian Territory, and was honorably discharged from military service at Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation, on June 22, 1865.⁸

Three years later, DeLesdernier was enlisted and appointed Ordnance Sergeant in the Nineteenth Regiment of Kansas Cavalry Volunteers, under orders of the War Department for six month's military service against the Plains Indians south of the Arkansas River, in Western Indian Territory.⁹ He was with the Kansas companies that marched southwest in the midst of a winter storm to the "Depot on the North Canadian," an encampment later best known in Oklahoma history as *Camp Supply*. On the way, their horses either gave out from exposure and lack of feed or were driven off by hostile Indians, forcing the soldiers to travel on foot in bitter cold and snow to this new camp located where Wolf and Beaver creeks meet to form the North Canadian River in present Woodward

⁷ Henry Prescott, grandfather of Mary Newmarch Prescott, was a merchant of Concord, Massachusetts (b. 1737, d. 1816), and he and members of his family were prominent in colonial affairs and in the service of their country during the American Revolution. Other prominent New England families related to the Prescotts included the names of Pepperrell, Hoar, Platt and Standish.

⁸ "Discharge" certificate of William J. P. DeLesdernier, Sergeant Major, B(art), Second Regiment of Kansas Cavalry, described as 5 feet, 5 inches high, fair complexion, black eyes, dark hair, occupation when enrolled-clerk, signed at Fort Gibson, C.N., 22 June 1865, by Fred W. Schuarte, 1st Lieut., 2nd U. S. Cavalry and A.C.M., 4th Div. 7th A.C.

⁹ The original Commission was signed at Camp Crawford, Kansas, 5 June 1868, by S. J. Crawford, Colonel Commanding 19th Regiment, Kansas Cavalry, who had recently resigned as Governor of Kansas to organize the Regiment of Cavalry Volunteers.

County. DeLesdernier often told about the excitement at the Depot, soon after the arrival of the Kansas companies, when they saw the return of the Seventh Cavalry troops, under the command of Colonel George Custer, from the "Battle of the Washita" in which (November 28, 1868) some of the officers and troopers of the Seventh Cavalry had been killed.

"Special Orders No 17" signed by Colonel Crawford, commanding at the "Depot on North Canadian River, Dec. 6, 1868," included the name of William DeLesdernier of Company D among the enlisted men relieved from duty and ordered to report to their respective troops for further duty in the war against the Indians. At the end of this term of military service, he was employed in the Indian trading business, and went to the new Sac and Fox Agency in the Indian Territory about 1870, with Alexander Rankin, the licensed trader. For 1874, his name is listed as a clerk among the employees of the Sac and Fox Agency.

Mr. DeLesdernier brought his bride, née Mary Jane Critzer,¹⁰ to the Sac and Fox Agency from Lawrence, Kansas, where they had been married on February 21, 1872. Their first child, John Prescott DeLesdernier, was born at the Agency during the first snow storm of the next winter season, for which the Indians gave him the name "Weseca" or "Snow Spirit." Relating her early experiences on the Sac and Fox Reservation, Mrs. DeLesdernier told how she had to take her small son and hide in a corn field on several occasions when reports spread fear of an attack on the Agency by marauding Osages. Another time immediately after General Custer's last fight on the Little Big Horn in Montana, in June, 1876, the Indians brought word to Rankin's store that there had been a "Big Fight and many white soldiers killed," a report confirmed by letter and newspapers several days later. Other important happenings on the frontier were known to the Indians on the Sac and Fox Reservation before the reports came through the regular channels to the Agency.

Among Mrs. Williams' papers, there are several pages of random notes that she jotted down from time to time about her life as a girl in the Indian Territory. Her first recollection was of living at Kickapoo Station near Shawneetown about 1881. Mr. and Mrs. DeLesdernier and their two children, John and Betsy (she rarely heard the name "Elizabeth") moved down from the Sac and Fox Agency to the vicinity of Shawneetown where Mr. DeLesdernier was Superintendent of Kickapoo Station. The only available building that the family found to live in was the deserted school building at

¹⁰ Mary Jane Critzer DeLesdernier was born in Upper Sandusky, Ohio, on February 27, 1856, the daughter of William Emmet Critzer and Helena (née Sterner) Critzer. After the death of Mr. Critzer at Union City, Indiana, Mrs. Critzer moved to Lawrence, Kansas, where her daughter, Mary Jane attended the University of Kansas before her marriage to William J. P. DeLesdernier. Mrs. DeLesdernier died in Oklahoma City, on November 9, 1934.

Kickapoo Station about six miles west of Shawneetown. This school-house was an unfinished frame building of one large room built high off the ground, and while it offered a shelter, it took a lot of planning and labor to make the place livable yet Mrs. DeLesdernier with her fine spirit and ingenuity set to work to make it as homelike as possible. Flour sacks were sewed together and tacked up on wooden frames for partitions to divide the house space into four rooms: a front room, two small bedrooms and a kitchen-dining room. The most important was the kitchen-dining room occupying the raised platform at one end of the schoolroom.

Kickapoo Station was a lonely place with no one living near so whenever a buckboard or wagon came in sight off on the prairie road, there was much interest in the possibility of approaching visitors. Usually, they arrived in time to cook and serve them a good meal for Mrs. DeLesdernier had learned to utilize everything palatable to supplement the rather regular diet of beans, salt meat and bread. There was an abundance of wild strawberries, dewberries, plums and grapes in the growing season. The Indians living in their reservation settlements and villages were thoughtful, helpful and kind often bringing in buckets full—even tubs full—of berries and fruits in spring and summer, and in the fall, quantities of walnuts and pecans. The smoke house generally had a supply of cured meat—dried venison and salt pork though the latter was not in quantity as fresh pork was hard to get for curing. There was always fresh meat in fall and winter since game was plentiful as a rule—deer, turkey, duck, quail. Beef, however, was always scarce since everyone was trying to build up his herd of cattle. It was strange that raising cattle in the vicinity of Shawneetown was not very successful though pasturage on the open range was ideal in late spring and early summer. In the early 1880's, the main trail through the Indian Territory by way of Shawneetown on to the Sac and Fox Agency saw heavy travel back and forth from the States, by white movers who were notoriously careless about fires. From late summer on, a spark falling or a tiny flame creeping out from a camp fire into the heavy dry grass would soon be a blaze out of control. Wide strips of ground were kept plowed at some distance around houses and barns as fire guards, of course, but if the country was swept by fire cattle and animals of all kinds, even small game and birds, would leave in search of food.

After fire swept the prairie and woods near Kickapoo Station late one fall, Mr. DeLesdernier opened the door early one morning to see the barnyard full of wild turkeys picking up the few grains of feed lying around. He quietly reached for his gun, and succeeded in shooting several of the poor birds. They were really "poor" for they had had so little to eat recently that the legs had practically no meat on them. Even the dogs did not have much of a meal though they were given all except the turkey breast and tender parts.

A prairie fire was a dreaded thing that made everybody rush about: one working at the well filling barrels and tubs with water so old sacks and pieces of cloth could be kept wet for use to beat out the flames; another running to open the gates of the corral and the fenced pasture nearby so the cattle and horses could escape from the blaze.

One time a big black cloud of smoke billowed up toward the sky from a prairie fire heading toward Kickapoo Station. Mr. DeLesdernier hurried to hitch the team of horses to the wagon, loaded it with two big barrels of water and drove off in the direction of the smoke, with John and Betsy on the seat beside him. Before long when some men suddenly appeared ahead and stood watching the oncoming fire, the wagon was stopped with the team headed toward the house, and John was left in charge with the reins in his hands while his father went to direct volunteers in fighting the fire. All at once, the team of horses took a notion to get back to the corral, starting out in a trot and then breaking into a wild run toward the house, with little John pulling on the reins by might and main, and Betsy clinging desperately to the back of the wagon seat, the water from the barrels sloshing over them. Mr. DeLesdernier was almost paralyzed in view of two horrors—his children about to die in a wreck on one hand, and a roaring fire sweeping toward his home, on the other. The mad race of the team and wagon only ended at the corral gate, the children safe but soaked to the skin. Betsy, however, had maintained her chief objective in life: that was to stay right along by the side of her father and her brother wherever they went.

There were other memories of life and good times at Kickapoo Station. Betsy always managed to lose her sunbonnet even though her hair had been tied through a hole in the top of her bonnet. This troubled her mother who did her best to keep her child's complexion fair and creamy, away from dark suntan. As for her father, he wisely tried to instill Betsy with the thought never to harm anything wild that would not harm her. It was a delight to find luscious wild strawberries in the angles of the rail fence and, in their midst, green garter snakes that she and John caught and treasured as pets. In playing ranch, horned toads were caught and herded for cattle.

There were wonderful sights on the road to Shawneetown through the river bottom lands. On both sides in springtime was a carpet of "dog tooth violets," and later, there were wild roses, blue spiderwort and scarlet "standing cypress." And near Shawneetown by the side of the road lived the two Elliott children with whom John and Betsy played many an afternoon. Off toward the river, the children discovered a bank of fine red clay where they spent hours molding all kinds of little figures that held their shape when dry and then served as herds of cattle and horses and other animals for play farms and ranches.



(Williams Collection)

KICKAPOO STATION
Schoolhouse erected by Quakers 1875
(Photo taken late 1870's)



(Old tintype picture
Williams Collection)

John and "Betsy" DeLesdernier

About 1882, Mr. DeLesdernier moved his family north to the Oto-Missouri Indian Reservation, now northeastern Noble County, and was employed for a time at Oto Agency about seven miles northeast of present Red Rock. The outstanding event that Betsy remembered while living here was the time that Captain David Payne and a large band of his "Oklahoma boomers" came by on the road on the way to Kansas, under military escort of officers and soldiers from Fort Reno. As the cavalcade came in sight of the Agency, one of the teachers at the Indian school ran out to the bell rope in front of the building and tolled the bell.

Later, there was one year when Mr. DeLesdernier was stationed at Chilocco Indian School, with his family staying at Arkansas City a few miles away over the line in Kansas. John and Betsy attended public school, and the new baby, Helena DeLesdernier, was born at Arkansas City. Then came another venture, this time the family going to Darlington Indian Agency near Fort Reno, on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation. Betsy now had her first train ride from Arkansas City to "Oklahoma Station" (now Oklahoma City) on the new Santa Fe railroad. The train arrived early in the morning at the new red depot, and nearby was a house built of cedar pickets where meals were served. Just inside the house on the wall by the side of the door hung a long roller towel, and a low stand stood near furnished with a pail of water and a tin wash basin for the use of the public, one and all. Over two or three tables fly brushes were much in evidence, wire contraptions with long paper streamers hanging from the ceiling. Even though it was early in the day, a helper kept one of the fly brushes moving over the table all during the meal where Mrs. DeLesdernier and the children were seated. The stage was soon loading for the trip to Darlington Agency about thirty miles farther up the North Canadian River, thence on to Fort Reno, or the "Post" as it was called in those days. It seemed there would hardly be room enough in the stage coach for all booked for the trip from Oklahoma Station. Young John was placed with the luggage in the boot of the stage. Mrs. DeLesdernier holding the baby sat inside with Betsy on an upturned valise, wedged between her knees and the knees of the Army officer facing her; two other officers were inside the coach, and two, on the box with the driver, and a couple more sitting on top with their feet hanging over the side. The driver urged the mule teams into a fast trot down the road, and everyone finally made the trip safely in the swaying, lurching conveyance to Darlington.

In her reminiscent notes at this point many years later, Mrs. Williams paid tribute to her mother: Mrs. DeLesdernier knew privation and loneliness, and yet the contentment of a useful and helpful life was hers for her pioneering experiences were accepted as a matter of course. She was always ready to give assistance at any and all times, spending days and nights with the sick and af-

flicted, giving generously of her time and sympathy, and following dutifully and willingly wherever her husband's work called. The baby, Helena, lived only for a short time after the move to Darlington, and was buried near the Mennonite school about a half mile from the Agency.

Darlington was a busy place on the Military Trail to Fort Sill that branched off some miles north of the Agency from the old Chisholm Cattle Trail that lay about ten or twelve miles east. Freight wagons passed back and forth through Darlington from Oklahoma Station after the building of the Santa Fe Railroad, and regular stages carried passengers and mail to new post offices and army posts west. Indian families were always on hand having come to see the Government Agent or visit their children in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Boarding School. Emigrants traveled by in covered wagons to and from Texas. Cattlemen and cowboys were seen every day in the business of stocking new ranches, watching their cattle on the range or driving herds to shipping stations on the railroad. One of the memorable and exciting events at Darlington was the opening of the Oklahoma Country. At this time Mr. DeLesdernier was chief clerk at the Agency.

The morning of the opening day, April 22, 1889, Mr. DeLesdernier saddled his fat bay horse, "Jim" preparatory to making the run at noon. He also arranged for one of the Indian police to drive a team and lumber wagon so that Mrs. DeLesdernier and some of the ladies and their children at Darlington might ride over to the line some miles away to witness the "opening race." It was a beautiful day, and the outing was something of a picnic for the crowd from Darlington. Betsy and two other little girls were assigned a board seat at the end of the wagon but they were soon sitting down on the floor at the end-gate, with their shoes and stockings off, and trailing their feet in the dust of the high center in the road. They had a wonderful time taking turn about jumping down from their seat and running barefoot along the soft sandy ground in the road while their mothers were occupied visiting in the front of the wagon as it rumbled along.

Their destination was at a point on the boundary of the Oklahoma Country, in the second bottom of the North Canadian River, about five miles from what is now El Reno. When the Darlington visitors drew near, there was noise and excitement among the people who were stirring around like "ants in an ant hill," and shifting about trying to get a good place for the run. They were jockeying and backing their horses and filling in to get a toe on the line designated by the mounted soldiers in charge who had been detailed from the Post to keep order until the "twelve o'clock gun." As far as eye could see, there was one continuous line of horsemen and people in wagons and buggies waiting impatiently at the boundary. The three little girls taking advantage of their supposed immunity from the

law since they were from the Agency soon dared to go over the forbidden line beyond the crowd. In a few minutes with the noon hour approaching, Mrs. DeLesdernier called them back. However, Betsy who always had to be tagging along in every activity grabbed the stirrup of her father's saddle and clung on until he had to scold her to loosen her hold. A sharp command from someone and the three girls were quickly back in their wagon where they belonged.

During this time, the blue clad soldiers had been riding back and forth keeping the line of the impatient throng straight and enjoying their brief authority. The shots came at last and within the next minute, the line of men and horses on the boundary was broken, the better animals going up front while those that had been on the front surged forward. In almost a breath's time, they were all far and away. Mr. DeLesdernier was no laggard in the midst of it all, going full tilt ahead, a heavy set man with his legs sticking out over Jim's generous fat sides. Betsy eagerly watched her father until she could no longer see him. Afterward he said that with his horse soon panting and about to give out he stopped him suddenly and literally "fell" from the saddle. Immediately, he tossed some earth into the air with the spade that he had been clutching over his saddle horn, and then carefully drove down a stake that he had brought along. He had started the race in a spirit of adventure but when he actually jumped to the ground, the feeling of "this is mine" was strong within him. The DeLesderniers at once began planning the new home, one that they could have for all time to come. And "Old Jim" would have a good pasture to the end of his days for his part. He was gentle and a favorite pet, Mr. DeLesdernier having bought him from officers on the reservation who had condemned him as a part of the holdings of a "whiskey peddler" and sold him for \$5.00 to help defray the cost of the trial. By late afternoon on April 22, the noon crowd had vanished, and just the few people from Darlington were on the way back to the Agency, the food gone, the team tired and the children worn out.

Mr. DeLesdernier filed a contest to prove his land title, of course, when another claim for the same property appeared. There were few who made the run in this part of the country that did not have "to go to court" to get title to their land. When the Government issued the ruling that debarred anyone employed at Darlington Agency to "prove up" his land staked in the run, Mr. and Mrs. DeLesdernier knew that it would take a long time and be too expensive for them to prove up their land claim in the courts. So ended their dream of a home in the part of Oklahoma that became Canadian County.

The move to Seger Indian Colony two years before the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation was opened (1892) to homestead settlement brought new ways of life. This was far west in the cattle country where ranching was the order of the day for the Cheyenne

and Arapaho tribes leased large areas of their reservation lands to cattlemen for grazing purposes. Elizabeth DeLesdernier grew up to be a crack shot and an expert horsewoman. Some old-timers of El Reno remember meeting her for the first time while she was at target practice throwing pieces of coal and shooting them to bits in mid-air. In her reminiscent notes, she tells about the first time that she handled a gun:

"My first effort at shooting was soon after we had arrived the Seger Colony. We were living in a rock house that belonged to Wahtan, one of the Indian Police. It was quite an imposing place for there were two rooms, and that was the only place that one could inhabit until the store and its little back room and annex were completed where we lived just as soon as it was ready for occupancy. It was while the store was under construction when I was watching the work on the building that I saw a flock of prairie chickens settle on a straw stack which had been practically torn down by the hungry cattle but grain could still be picked up near it, and many flocks of birds came to feed there. That they were starved would account for them coming so near where people were at work, for the country had been burned off by vandals, and not only the birds but cattle suffered for feed. When I saw the flock of prairie chickens settle, I got my father's 10 gage shot gun which he left propped by the fence, and crawling under the fence, I started dragging the gun after me. Of course it was as dangerous a thing as one could do. For fear of startling me and causing an accident after I was spied crawling away with the gun, everyone held his breath until I had gotten near enough, and raising the gun which felt like a ton of brick, I took sight and shot getting two birds with one shot. Of course that was pure, good luck, for I am not even sure that I even saw but one of the birds yet that did not lessen my delight nor my father's pleasure in my bringing in two prairie chickens for mother to cook for our supper that night. At once my father decided that if I was to use the gun, he had better school me in its danger as well as its usefulness. . . .

"Later when the country had begun to settle up, the few young people that were there had fine times fishing in the little streams and hunting or just practicing shooting. One time when I was trying specially hard for a score to better the one that my brother had made, a friend of his put a shell into the gun with a special, heavy charge of powder, and when I shot that gun, it laid me flat on my back. That seemed to be a rotten thing to do even in fun, for it was hard enough to nearly break my shoulder. In fact, it was sore for several days, and father was quite angry about it. We were accustomed to joking but practical jokes must be without danger, and many did not know that could be done."

Then came the time at the beginning of the Spanish-American War that Miss Elizabeth DeLesdernier and the country around Colony in Western Oklahoma had nation-wide publicity from "what was begun in a spirit of fun" although the beginning had its moment of near tragedy, too. One Sunday afternoon, Elizabeth and some girl friends, all mounted on their favorite horses and accompanied by a visiting girl, Camar, on a half broken young horse, were riding rapidly up an old road that was washed out and rough in places. Suddenly when one of the girls started a race, some of the others immediately urged their horses to take the lead. At that, Camar's half broken horse plunged, pulled on the bit and bolted. Running with head high and fighting to run, he stumbled across a bad place in the road.



(Photo taken at El Reno about 1895)

MARY ELIZABETH PRESCOTT DELESDERNIER



For a moment, it looked as if he could not keep on his feet but range horses are sure footed and he soon settled down to a swift run despite the fact that the other horses had been drawn back by their riders for fear of crowding him too much. But Camar was able to manage him and brought him down though she could have been thrown and seriously injured. The few moments of strain and fear for her safety brought a reaction of exuberant spirits on the part of the girls, someone making the laughing remark, "I'll say, we're rough riders!" This was followed by other remarks and laughter about offering their services to Teddy Roosevelt and asking him to enlist them in the "Rough Riders" to go with him to the Spanish-American War.

A few days later, Elizabeth and her friend, Florence, rode over to the County Seat, then Cloud Chief, where they visited the wife and family of the Postmaster and Editor of the little weekly newspaper, Frank Cook. The girls told about Camar's near tragedy and then their fun about Elizabeth's organizing the "Rough Riders." No one thought anything about this until for want of a space filler, the item appeared in the next issue of the Cloud Chief paper that a new company of "Rough Riders" was to be organized by "Miss DeLesdernier" among the girls in Oklahoma Territory who would offer their services to President McKinley in the War. All the friends around Cloud Chief understood and treated the item as a joke which it was. Outside papers carried the story, however, and one of Elizabeth's friends sent her several clippings with this news from the West.

These were some of the reports (July, 1898):

"A 'GAL' COMPANY"

"Miss Lizzie DeLesdernier[*sic*], a beautiful young lady of Cloud Chief has organized a company of girl Rough Riders. Miss Lizzie DeLesdernier is a fine shot. She can shoot as well on horse back when the horse is running at full speed as when standing still. The lady captain will offer her company to the president and will vie with the other Rough Riders for honors."—*Perry Democrat*

"REPUBLIC SPECIAL"

"Perry, Ok., July 17.—Oklahoma is to have a company of Rough Riders consisting of young women who are called 'cowboys.' Miss Lizzie DeLesdernier, a young woman living at Colony, who has acted the cowboy for years and who can kill a sparrow while riding at full speed, has organized a company of young girls who can ride and shoot as well as she. Miss DeLesdernier will offer the company to President McKinley."—*St. Louis Republic*

"GIRL REGIMENT"

"Girl Near Perry Would Organize One"

"Perry, O. T., July 20.—Miss Lizzie DeLesdernier, a lady raised on a cow ranch west of here, has organized a company of girls to go to war. She will offer the company to the president." —(*Wichita Beacon*)

Elizabeth's spirits went down when any implied criticism came to her notice in these reports. *The Dallas News* had its artist depict a company of mounted girls in military dress, charging furiously across a page devoted to the story of the girl "Rough Riders" from Oklahoma. Elizabeth received letters from eastern papers requesting her "life story" but her humiliation from all the fabricated news crushed her. She felt as if she had struck the depths of disgrace since *only* items of social interest were *ever* in a newspaper in Western Oklahoma, any other mention was considered "fast." Then clippings began coming in correcting the story. *McMasters Magazine* made a statement following the report in the *New York Herald*: "If the *Herald* correspondent will visit Cloud Cliff (*sic*) he will meet a warm reception with the probable ending that his scalp will adorn the wigwam center table at the next church social." Among other notices was this:

"CORRECT"

"Miss De Lesdernier, who is reported to be organizing Lady Rough Riders in western Oklahoma, is the great granddaughter of an officer under Napoleon. He called himself "The Last Call" (*de les dernier*), as he was a very young man when Napoleon called on him. Miss De Lesdernier is one of the prettiest girls not alone of Oklahoma but of the entire west. Her organization of women rough riders is merely a pleasantry, which no one but eastern papers take seriously."—*Wichita Eagle*

Editors who had visited the DeLesdernier home were unanimous in saying nice things, some extravagantly, especially Victor Murdock, of the *Wichita Beacon*, who had recently been to Colony:

"We spent a pleasant evening at Col. W. J. P. DeLesdernier's who keeps an Indian trading store and a wayside tavern, just beyond the Segar Indian school. The colonel is likewise an old settler and has spent most of his life on the frontier. He has traveled extensively and his years have been rich in experience and adventure. His wife is of French descent and is a most charming hostess. Their daughter, Miss Elizabeth, is a typical wild flower of the prairies. She rides like a Centaur, is umpire for the Indian school base ball nine, is a good shot, and Diana-like, many an antlered monarch of the plains has regretted her unerring aim. But this plains-blossom has not been neglected and left to bloom unseen. She was educated in one of the best schools of the east and has just returned from a finishing term in Europe under the instruction of the masters of music.

"The DeLesdernier home contains many curious odds and ends picked up in remote corners of the earth. Among others is the fine collection of Indian relics which was awarded first medal at the World's Fair. In this is a silver medallion, one of the four and the only one now in existence, struck by act of congress in 1793, and presented to the assembly of chiefs and head men of the Indian tribes.

"There are so many things of interest along that journey it will pay any one to take it, and he will come back with a fuller sense of the size and importance of Oklahoma."

With the DeLesdernier home on the changing frontier of the Indian Territory, the family friends included Indians, ranchers,

Indian agents, missionaries and teachers, visiting government officials, cowboys, trail drivers and plain farm folk among early day settlers. Elizabeth grew up in the atmosphere of generosity and friendliness of this home where her father was always the jovial, genial host and the mother, the kind, efficient hostess. The reminiscent notes mention Elizabeth's piano—gift from her father—, the neighborhood school and plays and dances, with the names of friends and neighbors: the Segers, the Fred Thompsons, the Frank Cooks, Dr. J. D. Ballard (physician), the Zack Kings, the Rewleys and the Kliewers and other Mennonite families. And special mention is made of the missionaries of the church at Colony:

"The memory of the coming of Mr. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe and Mr. Frank H. Wright, with their convoy and assistants was one of the high lights of our part of the world. How distinct is the memory of the beautiful voice of Mr. Wright and the joy it gave him to share generously in song with others. . . . Their cheerfulness and lovely friendly greeting to all was worth a trip of miles to see. The many happy evenings when we studied and practiced and listened to Father Roe read the Sunday lesson from a Greek or Hebrew bible and translating it into English for our benefit made a lasting impression on me. Inspirational friends!"

An attractive, fun loving girl, Mrs. Williams was a charming, handsome woman staunch in her loyalties. To the last, she was a lover of nature—the prairies and woods and streams of the West. Above all, she was sensitive to gracious living. And always the sound of her girlhood name—Elizabeth DeLesdernier—will bring thoughts of the music and poetry she loved, once expressed in her own words:

*"A glint of color 'gainst the wall,
The heavenly blue of morning glories,
A sun-kissed apple, half concealed
'Mid shining leaves with tender grayish stems,
The whole a symphony of mellow tones—
Breath taking—that holds the heart."*

"WORCESTER, THE PRIDE OF THE WEST"

By Kathleen Garrett*

The grey frame building that stood on the block bounded by Canadian, Illinois, Smith and Miller Streets in Vinita, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, may not have been the handsomest in the world, but to the pupils attending school there it was the "pride of the West" as their school song said.¹

The building was the physical plant of the Worcester Academy, named in honor of the Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, D. D., who spent a long and fruitful life as a missionary among the Cherokees; and it was founded by the Reverend J. W. Scroggs, D. D., who also spent a lifetime in making religious and educational contributions to the Indian Territory and to the state of Oklahoma (and whose son Dean Schiller Scroggs of Oklahoma A. and M. College, continues to contribute as administrator and educator.)

The Academy was opened in November, 1882, and began its activities in the Congregational Church, which too had been founded by Dr. Scroggs (in 1879). People of Vinita recall almost lovingly that Dr. and Mrs. Scroggs in their devotion and their eagerness helped in the actual building, themselves nailing lathes.

By January, 1883, however, the Academy building was apparently ready for use, for *The Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), January 19, 1883, records the "dedication of Worcester Academy last Sunday at 11 o'clock." The newspaper further urges, "Give the school a trial before sending your children elsewhere."

The building was square, it had two stories, and it had a cupola, which was later to play its part in a Halloween prank. Outside the building between the windows were two mottoes carved in wood. One was *Per aspera ad astra*. Latin mottoes were always cropping up at the Academy. *Tibi seris, tibi metis* proclaims one of the commencement programs. More than one Worcester Academy pupil

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¹ The writer wishes to thank most sincerely Mrs. Grant Foreman, the Reverend William Neff, Jr., and Mrs. Thomas M. Buffington and her daughters for assistance in gathering material for this article.

will tell you rather proudly that two years of Latin was compulsory, and such a requirement is not surprising, for Dr. Scroggs was a very good classical scholar. But the cupola and the Latin mottoes could not account for the pride expressed in the school song nor the love expressed in such statements as "I loved that old school" and "I'll never forget my school days."

It was surely the long line of sympathetic and qualified teachers that even today keeps the Academy alive and dear to its pupils now long past the school age. The principals, as far as can be discovered from newspapers, odd documents, and memories, were the Reverend J. W. Scroggs, the Reverend I. N. Cundall, Professor John McCarthy, and Professor Heard, who was the last and who closed the school.

The teachers, without any attempt to list them chronologically or according to the number of years they taught or the subjects they taught, were as follows:² Misses Ada Durham, Jessie Durham, Elizabeth Webb, Mary Webb, Cordelia Myers, Madge Goodykoontz, Letitia Goodykoontz, Emma Musick, Kate Timberlake, Annette Brown, Ella Bodecker, Louise Graper, Emily Graper, Agnes Hubbell, Fannie Mae Browning, Birdie Trott, Sallie Griffin (matron), McNair, Gunn, Curry, Yancy, and Professors Hullinger and Douglas.

The founding of the Academy is recorded in the 1883 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "In addition to the above [the 'two fine seminaries' at Tahlequah (Park Hill)] there are a number of 'pay schools' . . . Worcester Academy at Vinita, under the supervision of the Congregational society, erected during the last year by funds subscribed by citizens of the Cherokee Nation, is one of the best in the Territory and had about 100 students last year."

The current Indian agent was, however, partly in error in making his report to the Commissioner, for although some of the citizens of the Cherokee Nation no doubt contributed to the Academy funds, the major part was raised outside the Nation.

On page two of Nevada Couch's pamphlet, *Pages from Cherokee Indian History*, a paper read at commencement July 18, 1884, and later published, many facts about the Academy are given:

THE WORCESTER ACADEMY OF VINITA

Is a Congregational Mission School, intended especially to give the best educational advantages to Indian boys and girls.

It is established and is supported by the American Home Missionary Society.

It has a Board of Directors, composed of the best citizens of the locality.

Only a Nominal Tuition is charged to students, about sufficient to meet the incidental expenses of the school.

² The list is compiled from many sources and like all things human is subject to error.

The Salaries are paid from Congregational Home Missionary funds at New York.

The Home Missionary Society appoints the teachers, as it furnishes the funds.

The school is dependent on the beneficent regard of the friends of Indian Missions. Material interest in this work is urgently solicited.

The condition of the Academy is prosperous, increasingly so. Its efficiency would be greatly promoted if buildings could be immediately erected for boarding and trades purposes.

But before 1884 "material interest" was being "solicited." *The Cherokee Advocate* says that on February 22, 1883, (which was just five weeks after the dedication) the Reverend Mr. Scroggs left for the East in the interest of Worcester Academy. "An effort will be made," the *Advocate* continues, "to procure funds to erect additional buildings to increase the accommodations and efficiency of this promising institution."

Again in 1885 Professor Cundall was writing to Mrs. W. S. Robertson, daughter of the Reverend Mr. Worcester, that they were building but greatly needed funds to make the amount available to much purpose which was already invested.

It has been reported that the "Congregational Educational Society spent more than \$100,000, which was used in building two fine buildings."³ Funds to build a dormitory, Aldrich Cottage, were given by a wealthy woman from Connecticut (an informant believes) for whom the building was named. If this is the "Worcester Academy dormitory" the contract for erection of which was awarded to Messrs. Winterholder and Davis of Neosho in April 1893, its cost was \$7,769.92. Unfortunately Aldrich Cottage was destroyed by fire.

Although most of the pupils were day pupils, some were boarders, and although the school was situated in the Cherokee Nation, children of tribes other than Cherokee and white children attended. The average number in attendance was one hundred (122 were enrolled in 1890). The "nominal tuition" referred to was according to a pupil five dollars. The *Advocate* reported tuition at \$6.50 per month; even so it was apparently so nominal that one former pupil thought it was a free school when he went there, stating, "The people in the East raised the money."

"The best citizens of the locality" who comprised the Board of Directors in the year 1883 were Messrs. A. P. Goodykoontz, President, G. W. Green, Treasurer, Wm. P. Ross, Secretary, W. C. Chamberlain, L. B. Bell, J. C. Trott, Nat Skinner and C. V. Rogers.

The first graduate of the Academy was E. M. Landrum of Vinita, who graduated in 1885. "I led the class; I was at the head of the

³ *Indian-Pioneer History*, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

class," Mr. Landrum says loudly; then he adds *in sotto voce*, "since I was the only member." Not only has much general information about the Academy come from Mr. Landrum's lively memory, but many a shrewd comment on the faculty and not a few examples of "extra curricular activities."

One "activity" took place on a Halloween. Professor Cundall lived in a small house on South Smith Street opposite the Academy. He stepped out of his door the next morning after Halloween, stopped, looked up, and ducked his head. On the Academy cupola (a small square surrounded by railings) was a box stove with a flag—somebody's red underwear—sticking out of the stove pipe. Cundall laughed. He said to the boys, "It doesn't look bad up there, but we don't want it there now." The next night they took it down. You have only to look into Mr. Landrum's eye to know who one of the "they" was!

Jim Beatty and John Rogers met at the water bucket to get a drink. Jim drank first. There were a few drops of water left in the dipper, and he threw them on John. John picked up the water bucket and threw the water *at* Jim, but—(Yes, reader, you guessed it) Miss Madge Goodykoontz, second grade teacher, came out of her door and was the recipient of the whole bucket of water. John was made to apologize; he asked if he could write the apology. John wrote a beautiful hand. In apologizing he made "violent love" to Miss Goodykoontz; she said the apology was worse than the offense.

But Mr. Landrum was not above making love himself to the teachers. To Miss Emma Musick, the kindergarten teacher, he wrote, "Music, sweet music, how I love thee." And she could say nothing for he was merely quoting poetry.

Professor John McCarthy is remembered for many reasons: he married the house matron; he came from St. Louis, where he had worked in a foundry. Mr. Landrum recalls that McCarthy had a patented paddle. He laid the boys across his knee and worked the paddle like a sewing machine with a treadle.

Professor Isaac Cundall was one of the participants in a rather strange episode that took place in the early days of the Academy. The following story may serve as preparation for that episode which will be discussed later. Professor Cundall wanted to introduce a course in calisthenics, so he chose a pupil, Nevada Couch, to go to St. Louis to be trained. When she returned she was to teach the others, but they wouldn't do a thing she told them. "The choice had been a bad one," comments Mr. Landrum; "she was a 'white' girl."

It is of the Reverend Mr. Scroggs that Mr. Landrum has the happiest memories. He was an "even tempered man; he didn't have to roar at you to get things done." He had the best all round

education of any man that Mr. Landrum had ever known. And he always took interest in school concerts, charades and literary societies.

Dr. Scroggs was himself a singer and composer. Mrs. Berrigan of Norman, who knew Dr. Scroggs some years later, remembers especially a performance of the Anvil Chorus given at Kingfisher College. "His voice rang out," she says; "I can hear it yet."

The literary societies were apparently a high spot in the week. Every Friday a program was held. There were debating and singing. Mr. Landrum says that Frank Franklin, "just a friend of the School," helped with these programs. If no one else had a speech Preston Davis (later to be a prominent Vinita lawyer and judge) had one.

And one suspects that these literary societies were not all "literary." Mrs. J. S. Campbell (then Mary Garrett) gracious and charming wife of a successful merchant, mother of five children and grandmother of eleven grandchildren, remembers "singing and giggling and having the most fun" at these Friday afternoon sessions. And one suspects that this fun was not confined to girl fun, for in recalling the names of former pupils of the Academy she confides, "I can remember the boys' names better than I can the girls'."

Mrs. Hilton (Essie Fox) remembers the assemblies every morning, for each student had to have a quotation to answer to his name. The quotation she can quote today is one from Longfellow:

What would the world be to us
If the children were no more.

Mrs. Hilton made double use of her grammar book: she not only learned her grammar from it, but used it for getting the quotations for assembly.

From Mr. W. H. Klaus of Vinita comes news of the "wonderful glee club" which was "called back time after time" and which "raised the roof." When the question was asked, "Were you in the glee club?" Mr. Klaus exclaimed, "Gosh, yes," and immediately began singing:

"There was an old man so the story runs
The father of two blooming sons,
The older was a nice young man
Built on a Moody and Sankey plan
The second was a terrible son. . . ."

But one should go to 704 E. Tahlequah Street, Vinita, to learn the fate of that second son.

Not only the glee club remains in Mr. Klaus's memory: "Another thing we learned at Worcester Academy was Genesis, Exodus, Num-

bers, etc. Every Wednesday for one period we studied Bible. After the eighth grade we had to know how to spell every book and name in the Bible."

Professor McCarthy was really a kinder man than the patented paddle indicated. Mr. Klaus started at the Academy in the second grade, but he didn't finish, for his mother died. But encouraged by Professor McCarthy he took a special course (instituted by the professor) which consisted of bookkeeping, accounting, penmanship. *Bryant and Stratton Accountinghouse Bookkeeping* was the formidable title of the textbook he studied; he got a special diploma in bookkeeping and penmanship.

Mr. Klaus remarked that there was no football or other sport at Worcester, but there were leap frog and marbles and fights. So, perhaps football wasn't missed.

When Mrs. Paul Clinton (Fannie Knight) was questioned about her part in any pranks that might have been played while she attended Worcester Academy, she replied, "Well, I met my husband there." He was a boarder; she a day pupil.

Miss Myrtle Lucky's answer to the same question was a firm, "No, we never got into scrapes; we knew what would happen when we got home."

She and her two sisters, Sarah Frances and Sabrina, attended the Academy. Myrtle was six years old when she entered; she finished the eleventh grade. It was she who said "I loved that old school."

Small Myrtle had her troubles, for she thought one of the teachers took a dislike to her. Consequently Myrtle didn't do very well in school, and had to stay in the same class two or three years. This situation worried the little girl quite a bit, for as she says "I knew I was smart." Finally Professor McCarthy called her out of the class room and took her into another class room and asked her how she would like to be in that class. She did fine all the rest of the time she was at the Academy.

At commencements there were contests. Myrtle competed one year. She was about ten; the other competitors were seniors. They were given special training, after school and during lunch time, but Myrtle had just the ordinary class instruction. She won third prize. Her father knew that she had worked very hard, and thinking she deserved a special prize, he bought her one—a vase, white opaque glass with red glass roses on it. Antique collectors are going to be after this vase some day. Rewards were given for attending without missing, and Miss Lucky won a book which she still proudly possesses. Winning a reward for attendance was quite an achievement, for the sisters walked in every day from their farm home.

At one time they couldn't come in as the slews were up after heavy rains. When the girls didn't appear for several days, some of the teachers, Professor Cundall, Misses Griffin, Durham, Myers, went out in a surrey to see about them. The girls were as "tickled to see them as if they had been kin folks."

Every year, both Myrtle and Sabrina recall, there was a picnic. The teachers and pupils went in buggies, and the destination was Big Cabin Creek. Each took his own lunch, which was nearly always fried chicken, and there were red lemonade and ice cream. Sabrina (now Mrs. Moore) says, "We were excused early on Friday to go out to the prairie and pick flowers or have fun."

And now for the story of Nevada Couch, the same who was sent to St. Louis to be trained in calisthenics and whose school mates refused to be instructed by her when she returned: On June 18, 1884, at the Commencement exercises of the Academy Miss Couch read a paper on the life of Samuel Austin Worcester:

"Our Institution is called Worcester Academy in honor of Rev. Samuel Austin Worcester, D. D., a true and tried friend of the Cherokee people.

"It is the purpose of this essay to collect such facts as may be available, from whatever source and in whatever form, pertaining to the early and later life of this eminently faithful and good man with some leading facts of Cherokee Indian history identified with it."

The paper goes on to tell of the early Cherokee missions in Georgia, the arrival of Worcester and his bride, their early years as missionaries, the birth of their older children, the arrest of Worcester and his colleague Butler and their imprisonment and finally the long journey west.

Shortly after it was given, the address was published in a twenty-seven page booklet with the title page of the third edition as follows:

THE WORCESTER ACADEMY OF VINITA
AN INDIAN SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY

PAGES

—From—

CHEROKEE INDIAN HISTORY,

As Identified With

SAMUEL AUSTIN WORCESTER, D. D.,
For 34 Years a Missionary of the A.B.C.F.M.
Among the Cherokees

A Paper

Read at the Commencement of Worcester Academy
at Vinita, Ind. Ter., June 18, 1884,

By MISS NEVADA COUCH,
A Member of the Academy

Published for the Institution
Third Edition, Revised

R. P. Studley & Co., Printers, St. Louis

And then the storm descended on Nevada Couch's head. One feels at this date that the trouble was rooted in jealousy; not only was there resentment at Miss Couch's being a "white girl," but there seems to have been professional jealousy present also. The storm came in the form of attacks, first on errors of fact, then on the authorship of the pamphlet itself. The attacker, one is sorry to learn, was Spencer S. Stephens, for Mr. Stephens had given long and valuable service as a teacher to the Cherokees. Perhaps the story is best told in two letters written by I. N. Cundall to Mrs. W. S. Robertson, a daughter of the Reverend S. A. Worcester. These letters are the property of Mrs. Grant Foreman who has very kindly given permission for their publication. They came into Mrs. Foreman's possession through Mrs. Robertson's daughter Ann Augusta (Mrs. N. B. Moore).

Vinita Jan 17 -85

My Dear Mrs. Robertson.

Your Favor of 14th inst recd this morning, discloses the fact that my last letter to you was misdirected, and accounts for my not hearing from it.

I have today mailed to Mrs. Boudinot $\frac{1}{2}$ doz copies of Miss Couch's "Pages from Cherokee Hist &c" and accompanied it with a letter of my own.

Miss Couch sends you by this mail three Autograph copies—one for yourself and one for each of your two daughters—and will do the same for any others whose names and addresses you will send to her. The second and third editions are identical except the imprint.

Some considerable delay was occasioned in trying to take advantage of all criticisms on the first edition by wh to improve the second. In this I have given my personal assistance to Miss Vada so far as I could do conscientiously and have it remain as her own.

And Mr Studley gave his own eye (than which I know no keener) to the proof, and "get up". He pronounces it one of the neatest productions which has ever gone out from his press—and this is after an experience of 40 years in St. Louis. We get many complimentary letters. It has been placed in all the leading Libraries, and acknowledgments received.

A Mistake fortunate or unfortunate has been made affecting the cost, but adding to the attractiveness of the book. In the final order, thinking that for Libraries, Special Mailing, and use of friends it would be pleasant to have a part gotten up in More attractive form, I requested Mr. Studley to print the last 500 with lighter colored cover, in colors and on fine heavy tinted paper. The result, he has printed the entire 2 & 3d editions in this nice shape. Which brings them to about \$10. per hundred. He claims to have followed orders, & the letter containing the order not preserved. This however is not your fault. I will hold and send to you whatever

number you may direct—and send to you in whatever way you may order. You paying only the rate I gave you in the former letter.

Miss C. has been assailed here most bitterly through the agency of a directly (sic) by Mr. S. S. Stephens—first by writing letters to "Advance" & "Independent" on minor discrepancies—& now these are entirely removed claiming that it was written by other parties. It has been charged successively—to Wm. P. Ross—Rev. J. W. Scroggs—Rev. Leonidas Dodson—Miss Ada A. Durham my first assistant and to myself.

The girl, who is very bright, worked grandly—and as few of her age could work. I received the pages page by page as they came from her desk. Most of the work being done in my presence, —some parts being corrected & transposed many times. No other party but myself saw a word of it.

Whatever aid she got, I gave but only as was proper as her principal, anxious that she should do herself and the institution justice. She has well earned the kind words she is receiving and from the highest sources. I know a word of appreciation from yourself would be specially valued by her.

Yours Heartily

I. N. Cundall.

Three months later he wrote to Mrs. Robertson again in reply to her request for more copies of the pamphlet. This letter is written on paper with an interesting letter head:

WORCESTER ACADEMY,
Vinita, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory.

Vinita, I. T. Apr 21 1885

My Dear Mrs. Robertson:

In reply to your kind letter, I find I can send you 200 copies Additional "Pages &c as identified with the Life of Dr S. A. Worcester," your honored Father.

I do this the more readily as I feel that the use through you will be most discriminating for permanent good, I am surprised at the interest this little pamphlet has elicited at the East. Its publication was an individual matter of my own. For the 5000 copies all told I have paid \$270. Of this I have received back less than thirty per cent.

You have now 400 copies—I have from you \$10. If If you can send me \$15 additional I will be satisfied. To meet future exigencies we have 300 copies left only. And ten years hence they will be sought after, at a high value, as a reliable recount of the history of those troublous times.

I am glad to know of your daughters success in her boarding School Movement. She has special adaptations and advantages in that direction and I hope the institution may be the means of great usefulness. I will be glad to know of its development from time to time.

We are building here, —but greatly need funds to make the amount available to much purpose, which is already invested.

Yours Most Heartily

I. N. Cundall.

However, in spite of Professor Cundall's letters, it is said very firmly in Vinita today (August, 1951) that Professor Cundall wrote the book and signed Miss Couch's name.

It would be fruitless to pursue the question of authorship today. Certainly at first glance the rather long, formal, scholarly

sentences seem not to be those of a high school girl, but one should remember that in the Nineteenth Century such writing was the rule rather than the exception, and there is plenty of evidence even in domestic literature (letters, diaries, etc.) that "in those days" many "little fishes wrote like whales."

Yet Cundall was right in one respect. He predicted, "Ten years hence they will be sought after, at a high value, as a reliable recount of the history of those troublous times." No writer on Cherokee matters today neglects the booklet by Nevada Couch, and many quotations have been made from it in more ambitious and more comprehensive works. And when the present writer wished to read the pamphlet and obtained it through an inter-library loan she paid an insurance fee on \$50.00 for the tattered and water stained little twenty-seven page book.

Miss Lucky says that Vada Couch was supposed to graduate with the "big class" (six or seven members!), but that some girls got "mad" and dropped out. She thinks that Vada Couch never graduated. It is from her, too, that we learn that Miss Couch died of tuberculosis. All that one learns of Nevada Couch is sad. One hopes that she found somewhere in her association with the fine teachers of Worcester and in her study of him for whom the Academy was named some means of coping with those unhappy circumstances that seem to have come her way in life.

The first graduating class of the Academy consisted of E. M. Landrum, and the second class, of Freeman Ballard and Jim Dumas. The short list of students which follows is made up, like that of the faculty, from many sources and may be faulty from many causes yet will give some small pleasure to any Worcester alumni who might chance to read it: Birdie, Willie and Homer Trott; Tom Windfield; Mary Garrett (Mrs. J. S. Campbell); Bird and Bob Ironsides; Fred Radcliff; Fannie, Henry and Vic Knight; Bertha Rogers, Bess and J. L. Chouteau; Harrison Bethel; Paul Clinton; Preston Davis; Jim Beatty; John Rogers; Nannie Stafford (Mrs. Kornegay); Mary Raymond; Flossie Stephens; Rina and Carrie Blue-jacket; Celia Egan; W. H. Klaus; Charlotte Mode (Mrs. W. H. Klaus); Joe Butte; George Capp; Sarah Frances, Sabrina and Myrtle Lucky; Stella Davies; Liburn Scott; Essie Fox (Mrs. Hilton); Bert Chandler and Marshall Stevens.

Worcester Academy was built to fill the need for advanced education. The Vinita public school system answered elementary needs, but there was no school of higher learning nearer than the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries at Tahlequah and Park Hill. Statehood was near, the public school system was expanding, and in 1902 the sum of \$4,000 was appropriated by the town council out of school funds to purchase the Worcester Academy property. Worcester Academy then became a part of the Vinita school system.

In the summer of 1952, seventy years after the founding of the Academy, the last building was torn down to make way for a playground. When the cornerstone was opened, it was found to contain yearbooks, catalogues, student handbooks, and similar materials. These papers are now in the office of Mr. G. R. Griffin, superintendent of schools in Vinita.

Herbert Worcester Hicks, grandson of Worcester, stated:⁴ "My grandfather died with his ambition for a college among the Cherokees unrealized, but the old Worcester Academy at Vinita, established in territorial days by the American Home Missionary Society, was given his name."

Miss Couch in the concluding paragraph of her paper of 1884 says, "May the Academy whose anniversary we celebrate today, be worthy of the name it bears—committed to every good work and struggling heroically, even at cost of suffering, to be a blessing to the Cherokee Nation, for whom the noble Worcester gave his life." And there are many who say with conviction that it was worthy and that it was a blessing.

Worcester Academy has passed into limbo along with other fine academies and seminaries which offered to youth of an early day the educational and social benefits that were only too few in pioneer America.

And so we take leave of Worcester Academy in other words of that class song with which we began. The class song of 1887 written by Emma Beck concludes with the words: "Farewell to dear Worcester, farewell."

⁴ *Indian-Pioneer History* (1937), OHS.

WILLIAM G. BRUNER, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF KINGS, CREEK NATION

By Orpha B. Russell*

William G. Bruner, former member of the House of Kings from Lutchapoga Town, Creek Nation, and one of Oklahoma's old and unforgettable Indian characters died on Easter Sunday, April 13, 1952. Born at the outbreak of the War between the States, he grew up in the post-war period when factionalism, along the same lines of cleavage engendered in that conflict between the northern and southern sympathizers, brought strife and bloodshed to the Creek Nation. The northern division, mostly full bloods who had sided with the Union, were opposed to changes in the old tribal customs and laws, particularly to any movement toward the breakup of the tribal land tenure. Conservative in tribal matters, they developed bitter and open opposition to the political dominance of the southern division that reached a climax in the well known "Green Peach War" in 1881-2.¹ Young Bruner, affectionately called "Billie Bruner," by his tribesmen, did not have an active part in the political intrigues of this time yet the members of his family were identified with the northern division under the leadership of Isparhechar who finally rose to power and was elected principal chief of the Creek Nation in 1895.

The Bruners were members of Lutchapoga (misspelled "Loker Poker") Town, a branch of old Tulsey Town, located where the City of Tulsa is today.² The people of this town were among the followers of the noted Creek leader, Opothleyahola, who remained loyal to the Union during the War between the States, and whose followers fled to Kansas in a bitter winter storm after their defeat in battle by the

* This article had been adapted and edited for *The Chronicles*, from an extended manuscript by Orpha B. Russell covering notes taken in interviews with the late William Bruner and with his daughter, Billy Lee Tuttle, and some of his old friends; and also, including a complete transcript of testimonies in Case File #2895 in the old files of Judge Isaac C. Parker, United States Court, now stored in the basement of the Federal Building at Fort Smith, Arkansas.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

¹ Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), pp. 249-84.

² While Tulke Pucha (misspelled Tulka Butcha) was chief of Lutchapoga Town, Chief S. W. Brown's father, S. W. Brown, Sr. (So-Pathlo), often visited the Bruners and attended their town dances which were held in a large square ground at what is now Fifteenth Street and Denver, in Tulsa. Brown recalls that there was a spring of water there, and the dance ground was called "Notcup-Tolofa" (Nucka-Pute-Halo'fa). Lutchapoga Town covered all the territory shown on the accompanying map in this article, several acres lying north, south and east of the areas shown. The camping site for the square ground extended north from Fifteenth Street and Denver to where the Frisco Railroad now lies, east as far as the Midland Valley R. R. tracks. The old Town cemetery was removed from the blocks lying between Second and Fourth streets and Denver and Frisco avenues to allow extension of Tulsa's city-building program after World War I.

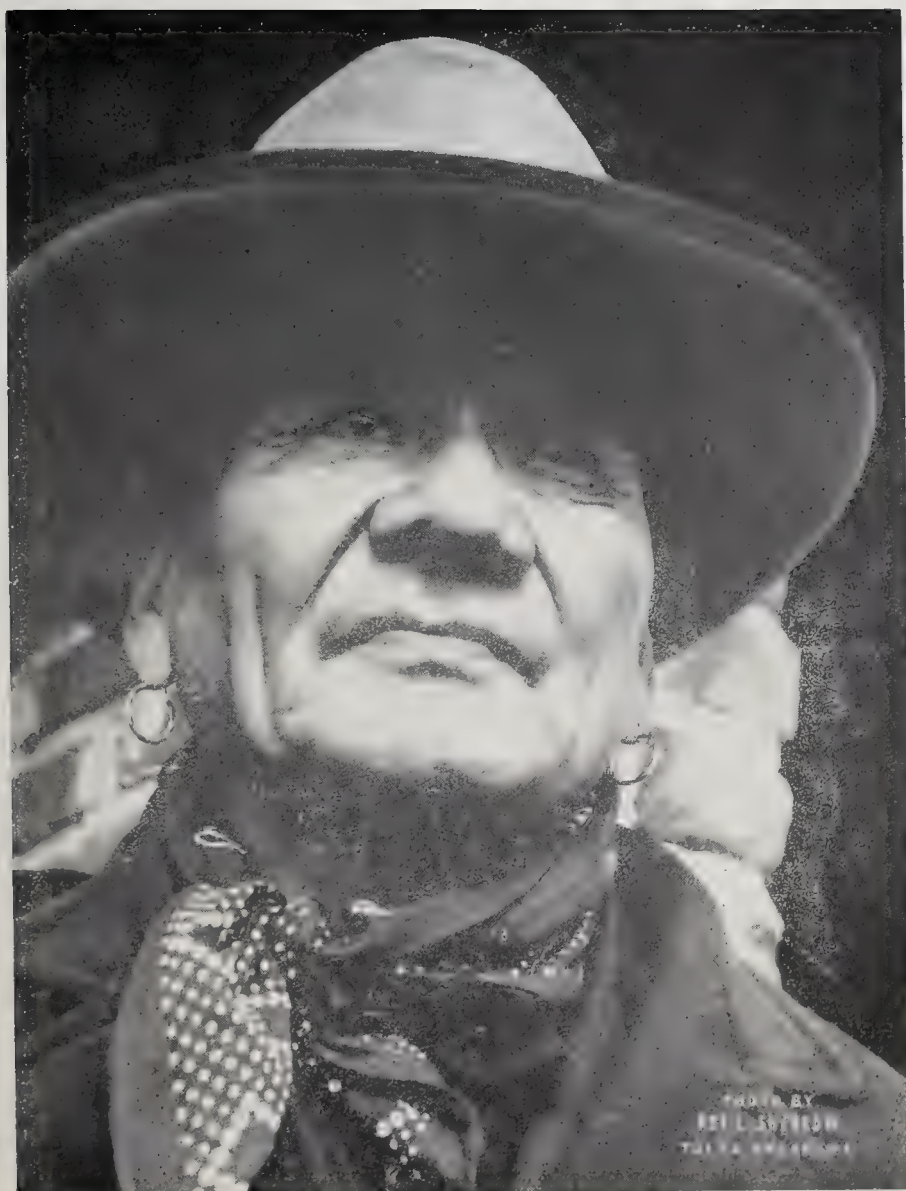
Confederate forces in December, 1861.³ Billie's mother told him the story of how she had made the tragic march through snow and ice to Kansas soon after his birth. His father, George Bruner, served in the Union Army, and many years later during the troubles in the Creek Nation, he was murdered by one Casa-Te-Ho who died in the 1890's without ever being brought to trial under the law. Billie's mother, Annie Bruner, was the daughter of Casa Hadjo, and was enrolled (No. 923) on the Creek tribal rolls at Sapulpa, Indian Territory, on October 9, 1899. She died January 31, 1912, at the age of sixty-five, and was buried in the Old Tiger Bone cemetery, twenty miles southwest of Tulsa.

There is a difference of opinion among William Bruner's survivors as to his exact age: Some say he was 90 years old, others, "108 years." He himself told the writer early in 1951 that he did not know how old he was. The final roll of the Creek Nation (1902) lists him as William Bruner (No. 7530), full blood, age 40. Stones marking the graves of members of the Bruner family indicate the age of 40 in 1902 is very probably correct. When Bruner was enrolled for allotment, at Muskogee, his 160 acre homestead was selected west of Tulsa, on the Sand Springs road, a location that was later the site of a railroad switch named for him on the Sand Springs Railway. He clung to eighty acres of his allotment until his death despite all efforts to persuade him to sell the land. It is valued at \$80,000 today.

In his active life as a man, William Bruner was a kind, honest and respected rancher whose word was as good as gold. Once his family doctor told the story of sending him a bill in the routine of office accounts for having performed an operation for appendicitis on Bruner's daughter. At the time of her illness, Bruner anxious to save her life had consented to the operation and said that though he had no money then to pay the doctor for his services, he would pay. Sometime later, Bruner appeared at the office and handed the well worn bill to the doctor who looked at it, remarking with a laugh, "Why, this is my bill. What I want is the money." Bruner who generally spoke in Creek this time said, "I have money." He then proceeded to pull out a roll of money and paid the doctor the full amount due him.

The writer was introduced to the venerable old Indian through the Euchee chief, S. W. Brown, who had known Bruner most of his life. He said that "Billie" was a good man but he had a "self-persecution complex." He reported that Bruner had run into trouble with white men early in life. Billie had acquired most of what little "book learning" he had while attending Wealaka Mission

³ Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I, pp. 325-29.



WILLIAM BRUNER



when the Reverend Robert Loughridge, was superintendent.⁴ To learn to speak and write English was one of the primary objects in the early day Creek mission schools, and any Indian youth who used his native language in school received a whipping. There was a six-foot man named Porter at Wealaka Mission whose chief duty was to administer the whipping for the infringement of this rule. One time Billy Bruner was up for a whipping for speaking Creek in school. He resented the punishment, and with three other boys turned on Porter, gave him a severe beating and left school.

Chief Brown has carefully preserved an old ledger of daily accounts that lists Bruner and members of his family as customers at the trading post operated by the chief's father, S. W. Brown, Sr. (So-Path-La). This location was on the south side of the Arkansas River near Wealaka Mission, and the site, or one near, is shown on maps of the Creek Nation of the 1880's as "Fairfield."⁵ Wealaka Mission was a mile or so north of the trading post, and a post office called We-a-la-ka was established at the mission site on April 8, 1880, with W. T. Davis as Postmaster.

Medicine men were Billie Bruner's instructors after he left the mission school, and many hills and prairies in the old Creek Nation were his school grounds. He recalled the old days of instruction in the area surrounding the four mounds that marked the big caves built by Opotheyola's men when they set out for the north in 1861.⁶ Bruner enjoyed recalling one excursion in particular because he had killed four deer near the mounds while his instructor, the Medicine Man, had killed nothing. While reminiscing, Bruner stated that he had lived all of his life in Tulsa and Creek counties except for six years in prison. It was hard for the writer to believe that the quiet, unassuming Bruner had cut "five notches" on the handle of his pistol. Some people have credited him with eight killings, all justified under the laws of the Creek Nation when he took a stand with the appointed

⁴ Rev. Robert Loughridge was Superintendent of Wealaka Mission from 1881 to 1894. Established by order of the Creek National Council in 1881, a handsome three-story brick building was completed here and the school opened in January, 1882. Billy Bruner must have been among the older boys in attendance.—Ed.

⁵ It was probably through a lapse in memory that one informant stated that Brown's trading post was called "Fairland." Another informant who knew this location stated that the name was "Fairfield," as shown on maps of the Creek Nation in the 1880's. No post office by either the name "Fairland" or "Fairfield" was established in the Creek Nation, according to records of the Post Office Department in Washington, D. C. Sometimes the name of a location would be given another name when established as a post office to save duplication of names already on file in the Department. The post office We-a-la-ka was established about the time the Creek Council provided for the school there, and before the building was completed. (For reference to the post office, see George H. Shirk, *First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma, The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 [Summer, 1948], p. 234.)—Ed.

⁶ Orpha B. Russell, "Ekvn-hv'lwuce, Site of Oklahoma's First Civil War Battle." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-2), pp. 401-02, fn. 2.

tribal officers on the side of law and order during the troubled times of the late 1880's. But when Billie killed a white man, "Uncle Sam" entered the case.

The years immediately after the "Green Peach War" saw the conservative full-blood Creeks beginning their last stand for their ancient nation and the ownership of their lands. Railroad building in the Indian Territory brought an influx of white people to the new towns along the railroads. Congress passed a law in 1887 providing for allotment of Indian reservation lands in severalty, and it was only a question of time that such a law would provide for the allotment of Creek lands to individual owners and the breakup of the tribal government. In 1889, United States Courts were established in the Indian Territory with jurisdiction in all offenses against the Federal Government except cases involving capital punishment.⁷ The same year saw the run opening of the Oklahoma Country to white settlement. These changes on the Last Frontier were accompanied by great pressure in the background, brought to bear on the character and integrity of any Indian who resisted to preserve his old tribal rights. Some influential inter-married white men in the Creek Nation who took advantage of their wealth and prestige ruthlessly and secretly marked for death anyone who was in their way. Many white traders were notoriously irregular in business. The whiskey traffic flourished against the Federal prohibition laws in the Indian Territory. These chaotic conditions were similar to those in the life of the Creek people that had brought war between them and the United States seventy-five years before back in Alabama and Georgia, resulting in the enforced removal of the Indians over the "Trail of Tears" to the West.

Early in 1889, Billie Bruner was arrested on a liquor charge by United States Deputy Marshal W. A. Moody but he was allowed to go free for a time, or until his case was called and reviewed in the court, for he was well known as a full blood of his word. Strangely enough, Bruner even helped Deputy Moody in some of his work as an officer of the law. A few weeks later, Moody and four other deputies sought the arrest of Jeff Berryhill, a young Creek, for larceny. Without warning or making themselves known, they made an attack on the Berryhill home where Billie Bruner happened to be visiting. In the gun fight that followed, Moody was killed. Bruner was arrested for murder and tried before the United States District Court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Judge Isaac C. Parker sentenced him for ten years imprisonment on a manslaughter charge in the killing of Moody. During his long years as Judge of the

⁷ All cases involving capital punishment arising in the Cherokee, Creek and part of the Choctaw nations were tried as heretofore by Judge Isaac C. Parker, in the United States District Court at Fort Smith.—*Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 717-19; Harry P. Daily, "Judge Isaac C. Parker," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March 1933), pp. 673-90.

United States Court at Fort Smith, Isaac C. Parker was known for meting out justice with dispatch and heavy sentences in the many criminal cases tried before him. The testimonies of William Bruner's case are in Judge Parker's Case File #2895 in the old files of the United States Court now stored in the basement of the Federal Building at Fort Smith, Arkansas.

On March 15, 1889, United States Deputy Marshals B. Cox, B. Heady, B. Burgess and Grant (or "Grat") Dalton went before United States Commissioner James Brizzolara at Fort Smith, and sought a warrant for the arrest of William Bruner and "one Berry" for the felonious, wilful, premeditated and "malice aforethought" murder of "W. A. Moody, a white man and not an Indian."⁸ (It may be noted here that Grat Dalton later died in an attempted raid on the Coffeyville, Kansas, banks in October, 1892.)

On March 20, 1889, William Bruner and William Berryhill appeared before Judge Isaac C. Parker with their attorneys, W. S. Wolfenberger, M. M. Elmson, and heard the testimonies of Grant Dalton, J. B. Heady and William Burgess. Grant Dalton being duly sworn deposed and said:

"I reside at Fort Smith, Arkansas. This is my headquarters and I know the defendants in this cause; that is, I know defendant Bruner—never seen Berryhill until we arrested him.

"Knew deceased—he had a warrant for Jeff Berryhill for Larceny. Defendant Berryhill's son— and we went to arrest him. We started up the river bottom towards defendant Berryhill's house and we searched all the houses on road going up there, and never found Jeff, so we went to the last house in which defendant Berryhill and his son, Jeff, lived. When we got within 600 yards about of house we decided to make a run on house.

"Our party consisted of five—myself, William Moody, Robert Cox, B. Heady, and William Burgess.

"Bob Cox and Moody were in the lead. Cox ran to house and circled to right of house so as to take in the back of house and not let them get into pasture.

"I and deceased ran straight to door that opened to the south of the house. We were all a horseback. I pulled to the left about 20 feet and ran in about 20 or 25 yards of the house. By this time the deceased was to the house.

"Moody ran fast, right straight on to the door, about two feet, you might say, to the right of the door. Moody checked his horse to get off, and at that I stopped my horse and jumped off my horse.

E. "Just as I got off my horse there were two shots fired. Seen smoke strike deceased in the breast. I went to front of my horse, stepping two

⁸ The writer wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to Chief Deputy E. A. Riddle and Clerk Truss Russell, United States District Court in Fort Smith, Arkansas for granting permission to examine and transcribe the original documents on William Bruner's trial, in Judge Isaac C. Parker's Case File #2895 in the old files of the United States District Court, stored in the basement of the Federal Building at Fort Smith.

steps about, and shot at the door. I kept on shooting and running on up to the house. I got up to the house. I could not hear anybody in there, so I stood at the corner of house—to the right of the corner a little bit—holding my gun up against a crack I seen there to the left of the corner.

"While I had my gun there I kept my head turned to the door to my right; the door being wide open and somebody shot me through this crack.

"I moved around a little further to the right, after I was shot, about a foot. My gun fired when I was shot. I had my finger on trigger and bullet struck me in that arm I had on trigger, and gun went off.

"I tried to use my gun again, but I could not use my left hand. So, I spoke to Cox, who was standing at corner of house to the right of me. I told him to step out a little and shot in at door by me. I told him to shoot quick and fast in there so that I could get away from there or they would kill me.

"So, he did. I ran straight back south about 20 feet, then I ran east about 15 yards. I then took out my pistol and shot in at door in east of house. Having loaded my Winchester before I did so, I called to deceased to come over and get my Winchester; that I was crippled and could not use it. First time he raised his head and looked at me. I called to him the second time and he laid his head down, and he made no move or answer. This was before I fired in the house with my pistol.

"I fired one shot and ran right over where deceased was—right behind him at his feet. I told him to take my Winchester and use it; told him this two or three times. I then fell down right behind him, behind hill, thinking that he was trying to dodge the shots. I spoke to him again telling him to take my gun. He made no answer and I thought then he was killed. I got up then and stepped to left of him about 10 feet, behind a tree. I called to Heady to come down and get my Winchester and use it. He said, no, he was all right with a shot gun there.

"Then I called to Cox to set house on fire. Kept calling to whoever was in house to come out or we would kill him. Just then defendant Berryhill came out of house and surrendered.

"I called again to Cox to tell him to come out and surrender, and Cox called back that he had already come out and surrendered. I told him to send man down to me and to hold house that there was another man in it.

"Cox told me that the old man said there was nobody else in there. I told him I knew there was. To set house on fire. The women had come out at this other door on the east and come down, passing by me—one of them—and crossed the hollow going up to another house close by. I turned around and called to the women to come back or I would kill every one of them. So, they came back by me. I told them to make that fellow surrender in there or I was going to burn house and kill the whole outfit.

"I called to Cox again to set house on fire and kill this fellow.

"Then, soon after this, Bill Bruner told Cox that if we would not kill him he would come out and surrender. He came out and Cox spoke to me and said they were both here.

"I told him to march them down there to me. So, he fetched them down to me and I handcuffed them. Then Cox and Burgess went in and searched the house.

"Heady was waiting on deceased while they were searching the house. I told Heady to go and get team that was standing by house and he got team and we brought deceased to Tulsa. While we were loading deceased

on wagon the women brought Bruner's hat and they put it on his head. He stood there humming some kind of an Indian song and stamping his feet a little bit. Cox called my attention to this.

"After we loaded deceased in wagon they went back again and searched house, and they brought out a pistol and a Winchester. Cox brought them out and William Burgess.

"Deceased was dead when we loaded him in wagon. There were three shots fired from house that I heard. Defendants and three women that I seen were in house. When we ran up no one looked out or came out.

"I was a deputy. United States Marshal Moody was deputy, also. Heady was a deputy, the others we took along as pilots to assist us.

"I fired eight or ten shots. Cox about six. This was all the shots fired by our party. I fired first of my party, as the two shots from house were fired out of door.

"I kept firing as fast as I could as I ran up to the house. Cox fired the other shots when I told him to. I had shot about six or seven times between the time the shots fired from house until the third shot hit me.

"When the shots fired from house he (Moody) was making a motion with his leg to get off his horse. His horse kind of reared up and wheeled to the right and went around house. Moody being still on horse. Deceased was shot right below heart. One wound I seen—never made any examination of his clothes. I had a Winchester and pistol.

"Cox had a Winchester and pistol. Heady had a double-barreled shot gun and pistol. Moody, pistol—Burgess, a pistol. I examined pistol that was brought from house. It was a 44-cartridge pistol-Colts. There were two empty hulls and an empty chamber out of it. Two shots seemed to be recently fired. Did not examine Winchester.

"This was in the Creek Nation it occurred on March 15, 1889 about 11 o'clock in the day time. Deceased was a white man. I am white man. Had not seen defendants on that day.

CROSS EXAMINATION

"We did not have time to ask party to surrender before they shot on us. Horse's head of deceased was in three feet of house when he was shot. I was 25 yards at the time from the house when deceased was shot and on same side of house Moody was on.

"Deceased lived from five to ten minutes after he was shot.

"I was about off my horse when shots fired from house. Deceased was 25 yards from house on ground when I found him. The pistol and Winchester I brought down here. The door was wide open from the time we seen the house and stood wide open all the time. There were no empty chambers in deceased's pistol. Did not know there was any women in house until they came out. There were two rooms in the house."

The other deputies told practically the same stories, but William Burgess' testimony may have been what caused Judge Parker to sentence Bruner to imprisonment instead of to the gallows. William Burgess duly sworn said:

"I reside at Tulsa. Know defendant. Am Indian Police stationed there. Knew Moody.

"Dalton and Moody came to me and asked me to go and show them the way to where Jeff Berryhill lived. I went with them.

"We went on up there until we got in sight of house and as quick as they seen house they all broke in a run to it. I was behind them, my horse not being as good as theirs.

"Dalton and Moody were the first ones that got to the house, and there was a shot fired out of the house, and it was fired at Moody, I suppose. He was shot, and he just turned and rode away from the house.

"The next fire they fired Dalton was shot, and Dalton was firing into the house. Then Dalton walked off. Then I went to where Cox was. He was at corner of house.

"Cox, when I got to him, was shooting at the edge of the door. I seen Berryhill in house; he was jumping around in there, and I called to him and he came out of house and right up to me, and asked me what I was doing there, and caught my horse by the bridle and told me to get off."

On March 26, 1889 Bruner asked the court to subpoena witnesses;

"Comes defendant and states that Mary Berryhill, Lester Berryhill, and William Burgess live in the Creek Nation, about 175 miles northwest from Fort Smith near Tulsa.

"Defendant states that said witnesses' testimony is material in their cause and cannot safely go to trial without said witnesses.

"Said witnesses will prove that defendant was in defendant Berryhill's own house when Moody and his posse came up into his yard, and shot into the house before defendant Bruner fired on said Moody.

"Will prove by said witnesses that defendant Bruner was a prisoner, that he had gave himself up to the marshal about three to four weeks before the time he (Moody) was killed, that the marshals ran up into defendant Berryhill's yard and fired on defendant Bruner without telling him anything about what they had come for. Will prove by said witnesses that defendant Berryhill did not shoot a shot or offer to shoot, but the deputy marshal and posse kept up firing till Indian police came up and called defendant out.

"Same witnesses will prove that before the marshal ran on the house, Indian Police told marshal to let him take one man and go in front and make the arrest and they would have no trouble.

"Will prove by said Police that the marshal refused, but as soon as they came in sight of defendant's house they formed themselves into a line and charged the house.

"Will prove that defendant was not asked to surrender himself to the marshal, but the marshal had his pistol in hand and fired into the house before defendant Bruner ever fired on him."

On April 9, 1889, Bruner again asked for witnesses:

"Comes defendant Bruner and states that Gen Owen, L. C. Perryman, George Perryman are material witnesses for him this cause, and cannot safely go to trial without the above named witnesses. That said witnesses live in and around Tulsa, that said witnesses will prove William Bruner had given himself up to Mr. Moody some four to five weeks before he was killed. That Bruner aided the marshal in finding out where some parties lived in that country."

On August 15, 1889 Bruner and William Berryhill filed an amended application for witnesses; on August 22, 1889 it was filed:

"Now come the defendants in the above cause (United States vs. William Bruner and William Berryhill—Murder) and state to the court that they can not safely go to trial upon Indictment No. 2895, charging them with the crime of murder, without the additional testimony of Annie Partridge, Louisa Bruner, Mary Bruner, Maleeah Adams, Che Pana, Note-te-cha, Jane Owens, Cornelius Perryman, Nace Seper, material witnesses for his defense, four of whom—the first three and Note-te-cha, are present in Fort Smith. The others live at or near Tulsa, I.T.

"By Mrs. Partridge, Louisa and Mary Bruner, defendants can prove that the dead and the other officers charged the house of Mrs. Partridge, rode their horses around it several times, and acted in a very disorderly manner on the day of said killing, and on the way from Tulsa to defendant Berryhill's.

"By Mrs. Adams, that they acted in the same way at her house, and frightened the children away.

"By Nace Seper that their conduct was similar at his house.

"By Che Pana, whose house was the last on the way to Berryhill's that they acted in the same manner at his house.

"By Note-te-cha and Jane Owens that said marshals had a case of liquor at the house of Mrs. Owens, and were drinking during the night before and on the morning of the day of said killing, and left Tulsa under the influence of liquor.

"Berryhill being a few miles distant—by Cornelius Perryman, defendants can prove that he has been to the house of William Berryhill and examined the door of the room where defendants were at the time of the shooting of deceased, and that the shutter of said door shows plainly that it was struck by two balls from the outside, which defendants state were fired before the fire was returned, without any previous demand of entrance or surrender or announcement as to their purpose or business."

There is nothing in the case file to indicate that any of these witnesses were allowed to testify, but there are subpoenas showing that they were served, and on October 1, 1889 Bruner was sentenced on a manslaughter charge to serve ten years in the Ohio State Penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, and fined \$1,000.

When Bruner recalled the incident for the writer he did not deny killing Moody. He said that the manner in which the posse rushed the house, without warning of any kind, caused all occupants of the Berryhill home to believe they were cattle rustlers that had been giving the ranchers of that area trouble. The fact that Judge Parker gave Bruner such a comparatively light sentence indicates that he thought that Bruner was not altogether to blame.

Inquiries seeking Bruner's prison record have received no replies from the Ohio State Penitentiary but Bruner himself said that he served there six years. It has been reported upon good authority that Bruner became a trusty soon after entering the penitentiary and that some years later the attention of the Governor of Ohio was

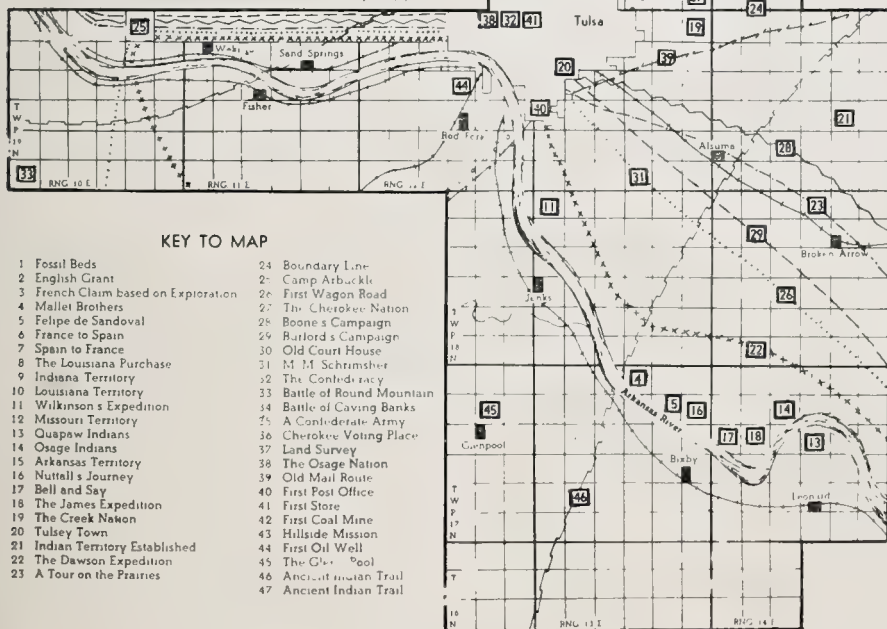
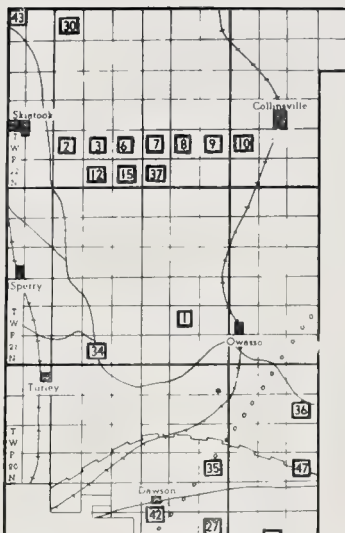
called to his case. The Governor on an inspection tour one time met the fullblood Indian prisoner, was impressed with his character and became convinced upon reviewing his case that the shooting of Moody had been accidental. Shortly afterward, the Governor, William McKinley was elected President of the United States, and one of his first acts as the chief executive was to pardon William Bruner of the Creek Nation.

After his return home from prison, Bruner was elected "Town King," the highest tribal office other than Principal Chief and Assistant Chief of the Nation. A Town King represented his tribal town in the House of Kings, his office being similar to that of a United States senator, for the House of Kings was the upper house in the National Council or legislative body of the Creek Nation.

As the years passed, Bruner's career became a legend in the old Creek country, his appearance adding a picturesque note for he wore a "ten gallon" hat and one set of gold rings in his ears that had been pierced for three. And he lived with zest to the last. Two years ago, two of his grandchildren asked the Tulsa County Judge to declare him incompetent and appoint a guardian over him to protect him from the designs of a woman who wanted to marry him. Some had credited him with eight wives but that was a part of the legend. The guardian was appointed but he fought the guardianship with the spirit of his youth. On May 17, 1950, the District Judge after an all day hearing vacated the County Court order and declared William Bruner competent. Though now free to marry, he decided against it.

The general consensus of opinion among his old friends was that Billie carried a chip on his shoulder through life and drank too much. One can understand this after tracing the history of his people and weighing all the facts. Bruner survived a period that might well be labeled "the survival of the fittest" because he never hesitated to meet a situation with courage. Life gave Bruner no breaks from the time of his birth at the beginning of the tragic march north during the cold winter of 1861 until his death on Easter Sunday in 1952. Bruner fought all the way, and he will long be remembered by Tulsans and residents along the Sand Springs road.

In February, 1952, the venerable old-time Town King, William Bruner, waged his last contest with man: He drew his final will duly witnessed, after a difference of opinions concerning the leasing and disposal of his eighty acres of land. To date (July, 1952), the courts have refused to recognize this will because it was not witnessed by a County Judge, and as Bruner foresaw, the three persons who were devoted to him during his last years and whom he trusted have been forced to appeal to a higher court in an effort to have his last will recognized.



Map of Early Tulsa Settlement

(Some data given by the late Walter Meagher, of Tulsa)

William Bruner, old-time Town King, rests in the Tiger Bone Cemetery near other members of his family including Annie Bruner, his mother; his daughters, Esther Bruner Reno and Stella M. Goodwin; his sons, Lewis and Emanuel Bruner; his sister, Jemima Rodgers and her daughter, Lucy Rodgers; Flora Bruner and several other unmarked graves. He asked to be buried there among his people and near the Old Coyote Trail where he had hunted when a youth, twenty miles southwest of Tulsa.

THE GHOST DANCE RELIGION AMONG THE OKLAHOMA CHEYENNE

*By Donald N. Brown**

From out of the West had come the word that the Great Spirit was going to right the wrongs visited upon His red children. The Indian was to be restored to his rightful inheritance. Soon the entire Indian race, living and dead, would be reunited to live a life of happiness which would be forever free from death, disease, and misery. This was the message of Wovoka—a message which had come to him as a direct revelation from the God of the Indians.¹

All of this had been revealed to the young Paiute Indian as he lay tossing with fever in his Nevada home. The year was 1888 and Wovoka's brethren were in a state of great excitement due to an eclipse which had recently occurred. The very fact that the "sun died" gave credence to the story which Wovoka told when he recovered from the fever. He reported that he had been transported to another world where he had seen people who had died years before. These were living as they had in days gone by, and were happily occupied with their oldtime sports and work. At the conclusion of his visit God told him to tell his people what he had seen. He was instructed to tell the Indians that they must be good, love one another, and not quarrel among themselves or with the whites. If they followed these admonitions, and also some other commandments, they would soon be reunited in a world where there was no sickness or death. Wovoka was also given a dance to take back to the people which would help them secure happiness, and which would hasten the wonderful event.²

The message brought by Wovoka was a welcome one to the Indians of the Plains. Wherever they had lived throughout the broad expanse which was the American continent the Indians had been subjected to persecution. Even though the white man had succeeded in driving the Indians from their ancestral homes, and in confining them on relatively poor reservations, he had not been able to break their spirit. The message gave the Indian the hope that the day was coming when he and his people would once again control the verdant hills and rushing streams which designated their former home.

* Donald N. Brown was born in Cheyenne, Oklahoma, and is now a resident of Norman. He is a graduate student in history at the University of Oklahoma.—Ed.

¹ Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1907), Vol. I, 491. Wovoka was known to the whites as Jack Wilson because he worked for a rancher by the name of Wilson.

² Jas. Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreaks of 1890-91" in the *14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), part 2, 771-72. Hereafter cited as Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion."

Because a return to the "good old days" was promised by the messiah his message spread like wildfire. Before long nearly all the Indians of the Interior Basin in the West were practising the dance which he had brought. Soon the word jumped the Rocky Mountains, and the methodical four-time drumming which marked the step of the newly given dance reverberated across the plains.

Not the least among the Plains tribes that heard the call and acceded to the wishes of the Great Spirit was the Southern Cheyenne. This proud people of Algonquian stock had every reason to desire a return to the conditions which existed before the white man invaded their country. Once their domain had encompassed a vast region; now they were confined on a comparatively small reservation. Then the innumerable buffalo herds furnished an undiminishing supply of food; now the mighty animal had completely disappeared. Then the Cheyenne were a powerful, happy, and numerous people; now they were dispirited and relatively few. All of this had come to pass since the white man had pointed his wagon westward. Lured by reports of gold, he had pushed the Cheyenne from their Colorado hunting grounds. Lured by descriptions of the land, he had pushed them from Kansas, and into the confines of an Indian Territory reservation. Grim reminders of the futile resistance of the Cheyenne to these encroachments were the death-strewn fields of Sand Creek and the Washita.

The northern branch of the Cheyenne who lived in Wyoming first heard of the promises of Wovoka in 1889. These Indians were deeply interested, and they sent a delegation to Fort Washaki to learn more about the "messiah." The principal Cheyenne delegate, Porcupine, was joined by a group of Sioux led by White Short Bull and Kicking Bear. From Fort Washaki in Wyoming they journeyed to Fort Hall in Idaho where they met some Shoshoni and Bannocks who were firm believers in the new doctrine. Growing more excited with every favorable report the delegation led by Porcupine decided to go the limit and visit Wovoka himself. Consequently they joined other groups with the same purpose in mind, and set out by railroad for Nevada. After arriving in Paiute country they wasted little time before taking part in the dances which were being held near Pyramid Lake. Interestingly enough the leader of these dances was Wovoka himself.

Early in the spring of 1890, Porcupine and his unknown Cheyenne companions returned to their reservation with accurate news of the messiah. Porcupine appeared before a council, and talked for five successive days about what they had learned. His report of the divine message aroused the wildest excitement among the Cheyenne. After the tribal leaders debated the matter for several days the Ghost Dance was initiated according to the instructions received from Wovoka.³

³ *Ibid.*, 817-19.

The Southern, or Oklahoma, Cheyenne received the first hint of the new religion from their relatives in the North. The word came through letters written by government school students who had returned to the northern reservation.⁴ The Southern Arapaho in the Indian Territory, long-time allies of the Cheyenne, were highly interested in the story of a new messiah. As a consequence, they raised funds to send Black Coyote and Washee, two members of their tribe, to the northern reservation to learn the truth of the rumors. The two remained in the North until the delegation returned from the Paiute country. They listened eagerly to the account of the messiah and his doctrine, took part in the dances, and learned the songs. Filled with enthusiasm, they returned to their Indian Territory homes, arriving in April, 1890. There among the Arapaho they inaugurated the first Ghost Dance held among the Southern Plains Indians.⁵

The Southern Cheyenne, however, were not so willing to trust entirely the favorable report of Black Coyote and Washee. Therefore they sent Little Chief and Bark from their own tribe to seek the truth from their northern relatives. A little later White Shield journeyed northward on the same errand. These delegates also brought back a favorable report. As a result the Southern Cheyenne began the dance in the summer of 1890.⁶

The "Ghost Dance" constantly grew in fervor and frequency among the Cheyenne and their Arapaho friends.⁷ Soon it had practically superseded all the other dances of the two tribes. All along the Washita and Canadian rivers the drums slowly beat time for both men and women. Almost every camp held all-night dances two or three times a week.

In September, 1890, there occurred the largest dance ever held among the Cheyenne and Arapaho. In that month nearly all the members of the two tribes, as well as some Caddo, Wichita, and Kiowa, gathered at the dancing grounds on the North Canadian, some two miles from Darlington.⁸ Added interest was given this meeting by the presence of Sitting Bull, a southern Arapaho, who had returned from a sojourn in the North. He laid claim to having

⁴ Anna M. Miller, *A History of the Ghost Dance Religion Among the Indians* (Norman, 1935), 31.

⁵ Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," 894.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 895.

⁷ These two tribes had long been friends, and they lived on the same reservation in what is now Oklahoma. Although the Cheyenne had their separate dance with songs in their own language, they more commonly used the Arapaho songs. *Ibid.*, 895.

⁸ The Caddo were the first of the guests to take up the dance. They returned home from the dance held on the South Canadian and began the dance, using the Arapaho songs which they had learned. From the Caddo the dance spread to other of the neighbors of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Miller, *A History of the Ghost Dance Religion Among the Indians*, 35-36.



MARY IRVIN WRIGHT

(Bureau Amer. Ethnology, 14th Ann. Rep.)

Watangaa, "Black Coyote," Southern Arapaho leader in the Ghost Dance, an officer in Indian police, Darlington Agency.

seen the messiah who selected him as the first and greatest apostle.⁹ Whatever his qualifications, Sitting Bull was responsible for the introduction of what was to become the most important feature of the Ghost Dance among the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho. After the dance had been in progress for two or three days, and the people had reached a highly emotional state, Sitting Bull announced that he would perform a great wonder before the assembled people. He said that, after he had completed this feat, the people would be able to make songs for themselves. The next night he appeared among the six or eight hundred dancers wearing a wide-brim hat with a single eagle feather perched thereon. Nothing happened for several hours until the dancers had worked themselves into a high state of excitement. Then Sitting Bull stepped dramatically into the slowly-moving circle, approached a young Arapaho woman, and commenced making hypnotic passes before her eyes with the eagle feather. In a very few moments the woman became rigid and fell unconscious to the ground. Sitting Bull repeated the process until more than one hundred of the devout dancers were stretched out on the ground. All of these recovered with no bad after effects. The ones who had been in a trance told of having experiences in the other world. Most told of their vision through the medium of song. From the time of this "great dance", the trance was an important feature among the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

Coincident with the big dance and the continuing smaller dances was the nervousness exhibited by newspapers throughout the territory. The columns of *El Reno*, *Oklahoma City*, and *Guthrie* newspapers were filled with lurid warnings of danger. They contained assorted accounts of war dances, scalping parties, and imminent uprisings. All were in journalistic accord in demanding that troops be sent to protect the defenseless whites. The War Department obliged by sending Lieutenant H. L. Scott of the Seventh Cavalry, then stationed at Fort Sill, to investigate the possibility of an outbreak. Throughout December, 1890, and continuing through January and February of 1891, Lieutenant Scott visited the various camps of the western tribes in the territory. Upon the completion of his tour, the young officer reported that no danger was apprehended.¹⁰ The Plains Indian was making his last stand, but it was a praying stand and one which foreboded no ill to the white man.

In the early spring of 1891, the Southern Cheyenne and their Arapaho allies sent the first of several delegations to see Wovoka. The group, including one woman, was to contact the messiah in his

⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰ Indian Commissioner Morgan was making a tour among the western tribes in November, 1890, and he satisfied himself that the sensational reports were false. Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," p. 900. One cause for the hysteria rampant in Oklahoma was undoubtedly the trouble which was occurring among the Sioux in the North.

Nevada home and bring back the latest news from heaven.¹¹ The only tangible thing brought back was some sacred medicine paint which Wovoka had given them.

In August of the same year another delegation was sent to visit the messiah.¹² This was perhaps the most important of all the visits made by the Cheyenne and Arapaho because it was at this time that Wovoka sent the tribes a personal letter. Two of the Arapaho delegates, Grant Left Hand and Casper Edson, who had studied at Carlisle, wrote the message down and delivered it to the people on their return. In a free rendering version the message of Wovoka to the Cheyenne and Arapaho went something like this:¹³

When you get home make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights, and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river and then disperse to their homes. You must all do it the same way.

I, Jack Wilson, love you all, and my heart is full of gladness for the gifts you have brought me, when you get home I shall give you a good cloud which will make you feel good. I give you a good spirit and give you all good paint. I want you to come again in three months, some from each tribe there [Indian Territory].

There will be a good deal of snow this year and some rain. In the fall there will be such a rain as I have never given you before.

Grandfather* says, when your friends die you must not cry, you must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life. This young man has a good father and mother.†

Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon the earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are all alive again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes‡ do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. That is all. You will receive good words from me sometime. Do not tell lies.

¹¹ In all probability the representatives were seeking some information as to the time when the Indian Millennium would occur. Different dates were assigned by Wovoka for the fulfillment of the prophecy. *Ibid.*, 777.

¹² Members of this delegation were Black Coyote, Little Raven, Red Wolf, Grant Left Hand and Casper Edson of the Arapaho, and Black Sharp Nose and Standing Bull of the Cheyenne. *Ibid.*, 900.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 781.

* This was a universal title of reverence among the Indians and here meaning the messiah.

† Possibly this refers to Casper Edson, the young Arapaho who wrote down this message of Wovoka for the delegation.

‡ This is a reference to the coming of the new world.

In accordance with the instructions of Wovoka the Cheyenne and Arapaho ceased their frequent small dances. Instead several camps would participate in a larger dance which would be held every six weeks.

The form of the dance among the Cheyenne and Arapaho was generally the same as among the other tribes. Variations were not uncommon, however, due mainly to the fact that a dancer would often receive a revelation which would be incorporated into the dance. One of the variations was the auxiliary Crow Dance which was organized by Grant Left Hand. He claimed that it was a dance seen in a trance vision of the spirit world.¹⁴ The dance was held in the afternoon as a preliminary to the regular dance at night. Another interesting variation had to do with costume. Most of the tribes allowed no metal of any kind to be worn in the dance. The Cheyenne women, however, wore in the dance their finest belts studded with large disks of German silver.¹⁵ These were the main variations in form which were prevalent among the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

There were certain fundamentals which were common to all of the tribes. The dance was always held in an unenclosed area which had previously been consecrated by one of the leaders.¹⁶ That night the dancers of all ages and both sexes would step into the circle clothed in their finest and painted in a particular manner, each as the Great Spirit had directed.¹⁷ The movement of the dance was as follows: A circle was formed with each person grasping the hand of his neighbor. Dancing was done almost in place. It consisted of a sort of rocking motion, back and forth, with an almost imperceptible movement to the side.¹⁸ The entire movement was done tensely and fervently, the object being communication with the dead. This communication came through the medium of hypnotic trances which were brought about by the medicine man.

The Ghost Dance songs were an important part of the dance. In them was embodied much of the doctrine back of the dance, the history of the tribe, and revelations which came to individuals while

¹⁴ This dance in reality was only a modification of the "Omaha dance of the Northern tribes." *Ibid.*, 991.

¹⁵ The subject of costuming in the Ghost Dance is interesting and deserving of a full-length paper. The Sioux, for instance, wore a "Ghost shirt" which they believed was impenetrable by bullets or weapons of any sort. Wovoka disclaimed responsibility for this shirt. The shirt was brought south to the Cheyenne by White Buffalo sometime in the early part of 1891. The Southern Cheyenne debated the matter and then refused to allow it to be worn in the dance. They said the doctrine of the Ghost Dance was one of peace while the Sioux had used the "Ghost shirt" as an auxiliary of war. *Ibid.*, 788.

¹⁶ The priesthood of the dance consisted of seven and sometimes fourteen individuals. Outside of consecrating the ground their main purpose was to start the songs during the dance. *Ibid.*, 919.

¹⁷ Miller, *A History of the Ghost Dance Religion Among the Indians*, 61.

¹⁸ Bernard S. Mason, *Dances and Stories of the American Indian* (New York, 1944), 150-53 gives a lucid explanation of the movement of the Ghost Dance.

in a trance. Some of the songs grew in favor and were sung more often than others. Most of them, however, were replaced by new songs as more people received revelations. In every tribe there were special songs which were used to open and close the dance.¹⁹ James Mooney wrote that the Arapaho songs were to be considered the best when we think of the "number, richness of reference, beauty of sentiment, and the rhythm of language."²⁰ They received much favor among the Southern Cheyenne who, even though possessing a myriad of songs of their own, used the songs of the Arapaho almost exclusively. Yet the songs of the Southern Cheyenne are important because, as noted above, they are a source of information regarding the history of the tribe and the doctrine of the dance. As an example of this it might be of value to note two or three of the favorite songs.

The first song to be noted refers to the "river of turtles." This is the "Turtle River" on which the Cheyenne say they once lived.²¹ Translated the song is:

My children, my children,
Here is the river of turtles,
Here is the river of turtles,
Where the various living things,
Where the various living things,
Are painted their different colors,
Are painted their different colors,
Our father says so,
Our father says so.

A similar song is the one which goes:

I waded into the yellow river,
I waded into the yellow river,
This was the Turtle River into which I waded,
This was the Turtle River into which I waded,

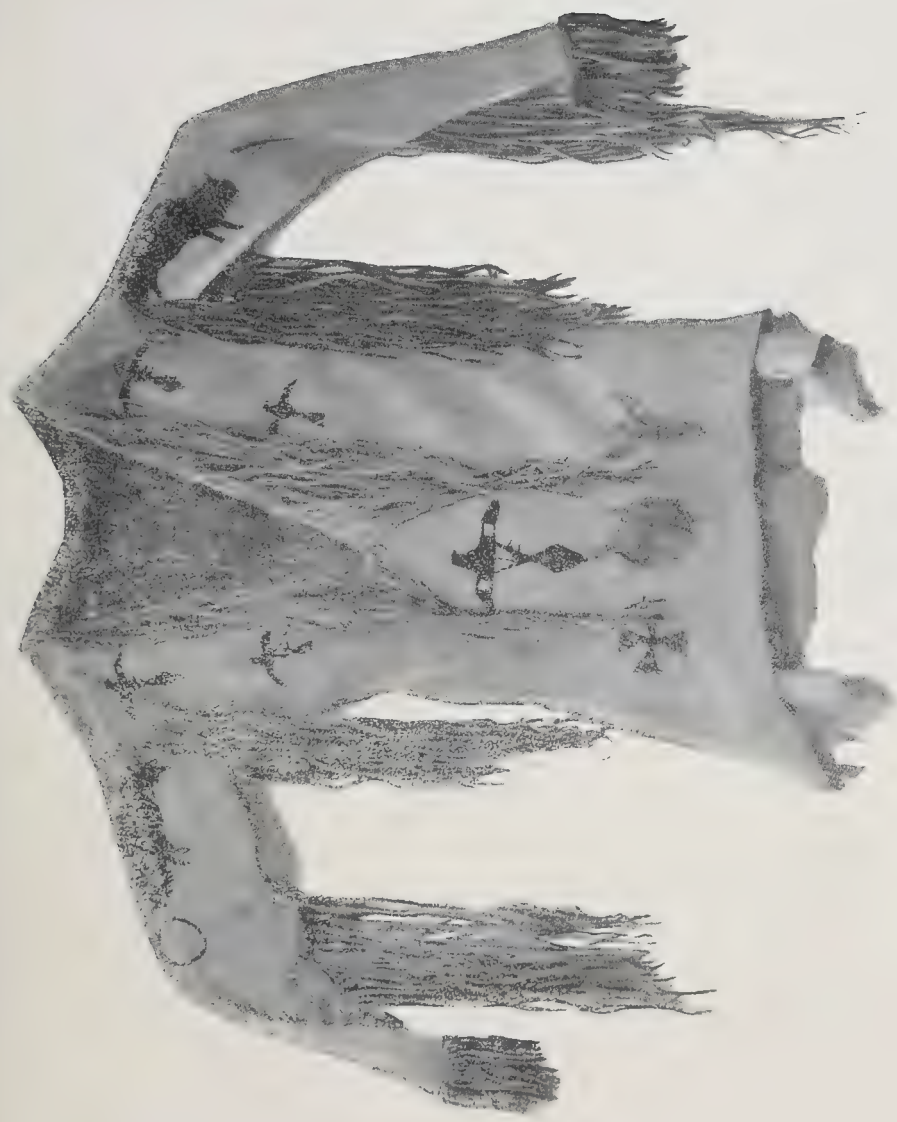
A song composed by Porcupine of the Northern Cheyenne pictures the new earth coming over the old world. It is represented as making a humming noise as it approaches. This was the manner in which many of the Cheyenne felt that the new era would begin. The song is as follows:²²

¹⁹ Miller, *A History of the Ghost Dance Religion Among the Indians*, 69.

²⁰ Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," 953.

²¹ The Cheyenne seem to identify the "turtle river" with what is now the Saint Croix river which forms the boundary between Wisconsin and Minnesota. They were driven out of this area at an early date by the Sioux. *Ibid.*, 1024.

²² All of these songs are taken from *ibid.*, 1028-1030.



Arapaho Ceremonial Shirt, Ghost Dance Religion
(Bureau Amer. Ethnology, 14th Ann. Rep.)
1890

Our father has come,
Our father has come,
The earth has come,
The earth has come,
It is rising—Eye ye!
It is rising—Eye ye!
It is humming—Ahe e ye!
It is humming—Ahe e ye!

As important as the songs and dance were, it should be made clear that throughout all tribes they were secondary to the doctrine. The dance was only a medium to hasten the reunion of the whole Indian race upon a regenerated earth. There were, however, some differences of opinion among the tribes as to how this final change would come about. East of the mountains it was commonly thought that a deep sleep would come upon all believers. While they were in this state the destruction of non-believers and whites would occur. They thought a new earth with all the resurrected dead, and with the buffalo, elk, and other game upon it, would come from the west and slide over the earth. As the new world approached the faithful Indians would be carried upward by sacred feathers which they would wear in their hair. After alighting on the earth, the faithful Indians would become unconscious for four days. Upon awakening from the trance, they would find themselves in the midst of former friends and oldtime surroundings.²³ The Cheyenne, like the other tribes thought that the white people were to be destroyed by supernatural means. In accordance with other tribes they believed that devout attendance upon the dance would ward off disease and restore the infirm to health.

The doctrine and ritual of the Ghost Dance were fairly complete among the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho by the end of 1891. The time set by the messiah for the Indian millennium had come and gone. The date of the event was now an open question, with most tribes believing that at some time in the unknown future the Indian would be reunited with friends who had gone before. When the date set by the messiah had passed, some of the tribes began to lose faith. Not so the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Instead they sought to bolster their belief by sending additional delegates west to get news from Wovoka.

In October, 1892, a blow came to these faithful tribes. In that month another delegation visited Wovoka. He astounded them by saying that he was tired of so many visitors and asked them to return home and tell their people to stop dancing. The Cheyenne and Arapaho generally refused to accept the message of their delegates as being genuine. Nevertheless the report was very depressing.²⁴

²³ *Ibid.*, 786.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 901.

A year later, still uncertain as to the validity of the report and continuing to do the dance, some of the Cheyenne dictated a letter to the messiah. In it they asked Wovoka to send them some sacred paint or anything else that would make them think of him. They also desired "some good words to help us and our children."²⁵ In addition they asked him to tell them whether or not he had been truly reported by the delegates of the preceding year.

As time passed the wild excitement engendered by the dance finally cooled. The opening of the reservation to white settlement, however, served to intensify the religious feeling of the Cheyenne. They now felt their dependent and helpless condition even more. Although they continued the Ghost Dance, they no longer felt that it would immediately ameliorate their condition. Instead their feelings became "a fixed but tranquil expectation of ultimate happiness under old conditions in another world."²⁶

The Ghost Dance was in all probability a good thing for the Southern Cheyenne. The doctrine back of the dance and the instructions given by Wovoka called upon the Indians to live in peace. They were instructed to love the white people and each other. They were cautioned to refrain from fighting, lying, and stealing. They were told of the sanctity of work and the good which would come from working. They were instructed to put away all practices which savored of war. By observing all of these commandments happiness could be secured.

That these commandments were valuable in themselves could not be denied. But the Ghost Dance did even more than help the Cheyenne to assimilate moral doctrine. It served as the emotional bridge by which the Cheyenne crossed hesitantly from their old way of life into the dawn of a new. Although the Ghost Dance was postulated on a return to the "good old days" it did help the Indians to accept the conditions imposed by their new way of life. The transition from a tribe of buffalo hunters into a people seeking to acclimate themselves into the strange new life forcibly imposed by the white people was not an easy one. That the transition was not more bloody in its latter stages among the Southern Cheyenne can be partially attributed to the peaceful philosophy of the Ghost Dance religion.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 901.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 748. The Ghost Dance became a fixed part of the tribal life of the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

WHEN EAST MET WEST

By Frances Rosser Brown

On a mid-May afternoon in 1951, a caravan of cars stopped at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman, in Muskogee, Oklahoma. Four fullblood Cherokee Indian men dressed in early day Cherokee Indian costumes, four fullblood white men, and a white woman got out of the cars and went up the stone walk to the Foreman home. Dr. and Mrs. Foreman were at the door to greet their visitors, for guests were expected. Only by accident were they expected, however.

A few weeks previously Mrs. J. Bartley Milam of Claremore, Oklahoma, widow of the late chief of the Oklahoma Cherokees, had called upon Dr. and Mrs. Foreman when passing through Muskogee enroute to Tahlequah. During the visit Mrs. Foreman said that she had read in the newspapers about a group of North Carolina Cherokees who were going to travel west soon, over the historic "Trail of Tears" to Oklahoma. The party was coming in the interest of the dramatic pageant, "Unto These Hills", which depicted the removal of the 17,000 Cherokee Indians from their homes in the Great Smoky Mountains in 1838 to land which is now in Northeastern Oklahoma.

The North Carolina Indians who were coming to Oklahoma were descendants of the Cherokees who had secreted themselves in mountain hideouts one hundred-thirteen years ago during the enforced removal of their tribesmen from their ancient homelands to the west. These descendants were retracing the trail their kinsmen had taken in that troubled time a century ago.

"You know they're coming to see you and Dr. Foreman while they're in Oklahoma," Mrs. Milam had said.

"Why, no," Mrs. Foreman answered. "I didn't know it."

The Cherokees were coming. Mrs. Milam had seen a copy of their itinerary. They were to arrive at the Foreman home at 3 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, May 16. That day they would attend the annual Strawberry Festival in Tahlequah and then come on to Muskogee after luncheon.

When the travelers arrived in Muskogee that mellow May day, they were wearing festival badges, boutonnieres of large fresh strawberries and maidenhair fern. One of the white men led the group up the walk. He introduced himself as John Parris, director of public relations for the presentation of "Unto These Hills" which was to open in June in Cherokee, North Carolina, for its third season. Mr. Parris explained that in the writing and staging of the drama, Dr. Foreman's book, *Indian Removal*, had been diligently

consulted and followed. He, and those with him, had wished for some time to meet the author of this book which meant very much to all of them.

McKinley Ross, vice-chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, was the first of the visitors to be introduced to Mrs. Foreman and Dr. Foreman. Then Joseph Washington, grandson of Tsali, the Cherokee martyr; Arsene Thompson, a Cherokee minister; and Leroy Wahneta, a former Cherokee athlete and now representative of the Eastern Cherokee Historical Society, were presented. The other visitors were Mrs. John Parris, Wayne Parris, and Frank Jones of the Winston-Salem, *Journal-Sentinel*, all of Cherokee, North Carolina, and Colonel A. L. Smith, retired, Tryon, North Carolina, Masonic Service worker.

On entering the Foreman home the guests were greeted with sounds of soft drum beating and muted chanting. Dr. and Mrs. Foreman had asked Peter McDonald, Navajo Indian student at Bacone College, Muskogee, to sing and play his raw-hide drum on the guests' arrival as a special gesture of welcome.

When the music ceased the visitors from the East were introduced to other guests who had been invited there to meet them. Several of these were descendants of the Cherokees who had traveled the "Trail of Tears" in the 1830's. One of these was the late Judge O. H. P. Brewer, of Muskogee, District Judge of the Fifteenth Judicial District of Oklahoma, who had been a member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and Superintendent of education of the Cherokee Nation before statehood. Another was Mrs. J. W. McSpadden of Tahlequah, granddaughter of the Rev. Jesse Bushyhead who had led one of Cherokee groups over the trail to Indian Territory more than a century ago. Two others were descendants of William Shorey Coodey who wrote the constitution of the Cherokee Nation when it was founded in the west. These were Miss Ella Robinson, a granddaughter, and Dan Coodey, a great-nephew, both of Muskogee.

Following the introductions, the Eastern Cherokees presented Dr. Foreman with a clay pipe of peace as a token of their respect and friendship. After expressing his appreciation for the gift, Dr. Foreman took the four into his study and showed them a photostatic copy of the Treaty of 1828 made between the Western Cherokees and the United States, which he kept in a cabinet in the room. Dr. Foreman told them that Sequoyah's signature to this document is the only signature of the famous inventor of the Cherokee alphabet that he has ever found in his historical research. The Cherokees were interested in document. They were interested too in learning that the book, *Indian Removal*, had been largely written in this study.

Soon Dr. Foreman and his guests rejoined the group in the living room where there was a lively conversation on Cherokee lore.



LEFT TO RIGHT: Leroy Wahneta, Joseph Washington, Aresene Thompson, McKinley Ross (Eastern Cherokees); the late Judge O.H.P. Brewer (Cherokee, West) and Mrs. Grant Foreman.



Dr. Grant Foreman (seated) and Eastern Cherokee visitors, (left to right standing)
Arsene Thompson, Joseph Washington, McKinley Ross, Leroy Wahnetta.

Someone gave a bit about the native language: At the time of the Cherokee removal in 1838, the Cherokee language was more or less standardized. After that time, the two divisions of the people created different terms for innovations that they experienced in their widely separated lands. Too, with little communication between the two tribal groups, normal language changes in each were unknown to each other down the years. The Easterners and the Westerners there agreed that the language was undoubtedly less standardized than it was when Sequoyah caught all of its sounds in about eighty written characters.

After half an hour of conversation and picture making, the guests were invited into the dining room for refreshments. Cake and ice cream topped with strawberries were served. Some of the guests sat in the dining room to eat. Others gathered in groups on the screened porch off the dining room.

When the visitors began to say their goodbys, Dr. Foreman gave the Easterners a copy of his book, *Muskogee: The Biography of an Oklahoma Town*. Mrs. Foreman, too, had a remembrance for them, a copy of one of her books, *Park Hill*, the history of a Cherokee town West.¹ Accepting the gifts one of the guests said that they had hoped to get copies of *Indian Removal* in Oklahoma, but they had learned it was out of print.² Anyway, on this trip they had accomplished one of the things they had set out to do: They had met the man who had preserved much of the history of their people, the Cherokees, and they were grateful.

¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948). This book covers the history of the town of Park Hill, an early cultural center in the Cherokee Nation, West.

² Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal* will appear in reprint from the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, early in 1953.

THE ARMSTRONGS OF INDIAN TERRITORY

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

PART II

William Armstrong

William Armstrong, the second member of the family to be represented in the Indian Territory, was the son of James ("Trooper") Armstrong and his wife, Susan Wells Armstrong. He was born about 1800, and is said to have participated in the Battle of New Orleans. President Jackson appointed Armstrong superintendent of Indian affairs in the Western Territory, and he was important in the removal of the Choctaws and Chickasaws from Mississippi and Alabama to the Indian Territory.

On July 2, 1832, William Armstrong was appointed Special Agent and Superintendent of the removal of the Choctaws from their homes east of the Mississippi River.¹ On the same day his brother Major Francis Wells Armstrong received a like appointment for the removal of the Indians from the Mississippi River to their new home west of Arkansas.

During Choctaw removal the country was almost devastated by an epidemic of cholera. Francis W. Armstrong reported from Nashville that he and his wife had just recovered from an attack, and that business in Tennessee had been entirely suspended. William Armstrong had tried in vain to get a doctor to accompany the Indians who were distracted with fear of cholera. He went with the members of Chief Mush-olatubbee's party who were obliged to struggle through a swamp for thirty miles with the water from knee to waist deep. Armstrong reported that that party had "been sorely handled with sickness and very many deaths."²

The *Arkansas Gazette*, reported that Captain William Armstrong, Superintendent for the removal of the Choctaws east of the Mississippi had passed up the river a few days previously, from Nashville, for the western Choctaw Agency, near Fort Smith.

¹ William Armstrong married Nancy Irwin in Nashville, July 1, 1823, when she was nineteen years old. They became the parents of: (1) Mary Elizabeth Armstrong; (2) James Trooper Armstrong; (3) David Irwin Armstrong; (4) Margaret Armstrong, born 1829; (5) Susan Wells Armstrong; (6) Nancy Irwin Armstrong; (7) Francis Armstrong. Mrs. William Armstrong died September 28, 1836.—Zella Armstrong (compiler), *Notable Southern Families* (Chattanooga, 1926), Vol. 3, p. 15. (For biography of Francis W. Armstrong by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, see "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 293-308.)

² Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), pp. 75, 77, 79, 80.

On December 4, 1833 an exploring party of twenty-two chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation arrived at Fort Towson and sought a council with the Choctaw chief in regard to buying a part of their land. A meeting was arranged on the twenty-first when two-thirds of the Choctaw chiefs and headmen met the Chickasaw delegation. Choctaw Agent Armstrong urged the delegates to reach an agreement by which the two tribes could live together. The Choctaws refused to sell but agreed to make a home for the Chickasaws on their domain. This did not please the Chickasaws and no agreement was reached until a third effort four years afterward.³

Mosholatubbe's party of Choctaws reached Memphis on November 3, 1832, and crossed the river the same day. William Armstrong had tried in vain to get a physician to travel with the Indians, so he accompanied them himself and they were seven days making forty-two miles through a swamp where they were compelled to struggle from knee-deep to their waists in water. Five hundred of Mosholatubbe's people attempted to emigrate without assistance from the government. They crossed the Mississippi at Memphis on the way to Fort Smith, but after struggling through the swamp for forty miles they gave up further effort and built rude shelters and tried to keep alive by hunting. In the middle of December, William Armstrong found them; he had them conducted to St. Francis and started them to Fort Smith under the leadership of Wharton Rector.

The worst flood ever before known on the Arkansas River overflowed the banks of the stream during the first week in June, 1833. The high water mark of this flood, it was reported by Armstrong, would be visible for years, and the Choctaws who had settled along the river would have to hunt for the places where their houses had stood.⁴ Their crops had been swept away, and the people had been ruined. The government corn cribs near the Choctaw Agency were washed away, and the Indians both those who had already settled in the region and the new immigrants from Mississippi were on the point of starvation before Agent Armstrong could borrow corn from the army rations to feed them. A month after the flood, a boat load of corn arrived from the Creek Nation for which Armstrong had to pay \$2.50 a bushel to prevent his charges from starving. To relieve the distress of some of the Choctaws the next winter (February, 1834), William Armstrong borrowed five hundred bushels of corn. He wrote to General Arbuckle at Fort Gibson: "The situation of these people is really worse than I thought when I saw you. . . . the women and children, many of them according to what they say, and from appearances have been from 4 to 6 days without anything to eat. . . ."

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-01.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99. Armstrong reported in June, 1833 that it was impossible to supply flawless copies of the registers of the Indian reservations (George Dewey Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 234.

William Armstrong and his assistants worked through September and October, 1833, among the Choctaws in the old nation, to overcome their opposition to removal. He went from house to house trying to get the Indians to go to a rendezvous at the Agency, but many of them left home and refused to have anything to do with him.

After great labor Armstrong had succeeded in inducing about two thousand Choctaws to depart with him, when an Indian arrived from the West with a report that the people who had removed the previous year on their own resources were to be paid ten dollars each by the government. This caused half of the people who had signed to go with the government agents to decide to leave without assistance so that they might collect a like amount on their arrival in the West. This information, according to Armstrong, had been sent by some traders who wished to have the new arrivals spend their money in trade with them.

Armstrong wrote ". . . . I know that we have done all that could be done to get them off. I feel the disappointment, yet, I am confident that there will be thousands remaining after we leave, and all those who will emigrate on their own resources."⁵

William Armstrong of Nashville, Tennessee, succeeded his brother, Major Francis W. Armstrong, as Choctaw Agent and Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory in 1835. Eight years later, on December 26, 1843, he was confirmed by the Senate as Superintendent and held the office until his death at Doaksville, near Fort Towson, June 12, 1847.⁶

In June, 1835, Acting Superintendent William Armstrong reported to the authorities in Washington that the "Western Cherokees" were opposed to the proposed treaty being acted upon by the eastern portion of the nation. Armstrong wrote that it was his duty to inform the department ". . . . that these people are dissatisfied, and will, I have no doubt, object to the views of the government in uniting the Cherokees, unless they can have their wishes, which, I assure you, are not to be found in the treaty intended to be held before the Eastern Cherokees. . . ."⁷

Agent Armstrong wrote to Commissioner Herring on July 18, 1835, that he had collected ten Choctaw lads and put them in charge of John Millard who was to start for Kentucky the next day to escort the boys to the Choctaw Academy. The Indians had become prejudiced against the school and Armstrong declared that they would soon refuse to allow their sons to be sent there.⁸

⁵ *Indian Removal*, op. cit., p. 100.

⁶ Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, Grant Foreman, ed., (Cedar Rapids, 1930), p. 62, note 41.

⁷ *House Executive Document No. 185*, Twenty-ninth Congress, first session, pp. 31, 32.

⁸ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March, 1932), p. 78.

The subject of liquor in the Indian country was one of the utmost importance in maintaining order. A letter addressed to Acting Superintendent William Armstrong by General Arbuckle on April 8, 1836, states that Ezra Williams and Elias Goddard, white men, or citizens of the United States, residing in the Cherokee Nation near Fort Gibson, "have been guilty of a violation of the Act of Congress regulating trade and intercourse with Indian Tribes approved the 30th of June, 1834."

There had been found in the house of Williams two barrels of liquor, one of brandy, one of rum and the General gave the names of three soldiers as witnesses. About twenty-five gallons of whisky were discovered in Goddard's house as witnessed by three soldiers of the Seventh Infantry. Later, the same day, Arbuckle sent another letter to Captain Armstrong telling of the case of Jesse Scott who lived on the Bayou Menard and was reputed to be a Cherokee, "but is generally understood to be about equally in blood with the whites, Cherokees and Africans.—There was found at his house on or about the 9th of March, 1835, two barrels of whiskey." Witnesses in this case were three sergeants of the Seventh Infantry, one of whom was N. B. Dannenberg who testified "that said Scott has a long time kept liquor on hand for sale to Cherokees and others at his residence. . . . particularly since the first of May last."⁹

This trouble apparently smoldered as a feud in the region, for some years later (June 24, 1844), J. H. Heald wrote the following in a letter to Agent Armstrong:¹⁰

A terrible murder was committed a few days since upon the summit of the dividing ridge between Arkansas & Red River, on the military road leading from Fort Smith to Fort Towson. . . . It appears that a family was returning from Texas to Arkansas or Missouri, and with them two persons names Goddard & Burgess. The latter led a horse, and when they reached Ki-a-mi-chi, a stream about twenty miles from the dividing ridge towards Red River, he persuaded Goddard to leave the wagon as they could travel at a faster rate by riding and walking alternately, and they accordingly left the wagon, which proceeded on and overtook a second wagon, and enquiry was made if such two persons had passed, when they were told that in the night while the second wagon was encamped at the foot of the ridge on the Arkansas side, they heard the report of a pistol or gun, and towards morning horseman came up, and took breakfast and passed on. Owing to the peculiar circumstances, the parties went back to the summit, and found some persons had encamped there, and also found some articles of dress which were identified and bloody. Upon a further search, a plain trail was found where some body had been dragged, the rocks occasionally spattered with blood, and at a distance of some 200 yards from the road a fire was discovered, and the charred remains of a human body. . . . leaving no doubt but Goddard had been murdered and the body burnt. He was known to have some eighty or an hundred dollars, partly in Missouri money, while Burgess it is said was nearly destitute. The family where Burgess took breakfast, state that he made enquiry about

⁹ National Archives, War Department, Fort Gibson Letter Book.

¹⁰ Office Indian Affairs. West. Suptoy. File A 1639-1663-1675. Choctaw Agency. 1844. A 1663.

the value of Missouri money, stating that he had been at work in Texas for a man named Burgess, and had received some Missouri money in pay. Burgess is well known by the emigrants, pursuit was immediately made and no doubt he is apprehended.

The Act of Congress of June 30, 1834, regulating trade in the Indian Territory gave rise to controversy and trouble through the years. Two months before the murder, supposedly of Goddard, on the military road from Fort Smith to Fort Towson, Agent Armstrong had written to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. Hartley Crawford (April 19, 1844), as follows:¹¹

Capt Dawson informs me that he has been instructed by the Department that those white men in the Indian Country who have Indian wives, have a right to trade without a license.

If the Intercourse law admit of such a construction, it evidently requires amendment, for the whole of its provisions for the regulation of the Indian trade, are thereby virtually defeated. A white man whose application for a license may have been refused, has but to marry an Indian to place himself on higher ground than the licensed trader occupies; for if he cannot be prevented from trading, of course he cannot be removed from the Indian country, as the licensed trader can, whenever it is improper for him to remain.

Any man, no matter how worthless, that has goods, can get an Indian wife, and friends among her people. If such persons are independent of the Agent and untrammelled by the regulations, respectable traders will be supplemented by the very class which of all others it has been the object hitherto to exclude from the Indian Country. . . .

I have never supposed that those who were married to Indian women were exempt from any of the restrictions imposed upon other citizens. And I have never on the other hand thought it right or expedient to withhold from a sufficient number of our countrymen the privilege of trading with the Indians. . . . White men have been excluded in order to restrict the privilege to the Indians themselves. This course in my opinion is not just either to our own people, or to those whom it professes to benefit. . . . it has the effect of throwing the monopoly into the hands of a few of the more intelligent, which the majority, those who most require the guardian care of the Government, are sure to suffer from.

While a guest in the Agency, Susan W. Armstrong, daughter of Robert W. Armstrong of Nashville and a niece of the Choctaw agent was married May 13, 1836 by the Reverend Cephas Washburn to Lieutenant Arnold Harris of New York. Robert W. Armstrong served as a brigadier general during the Florida War, as council to Liverpool, which was one of the most important posts in the diplomatic service of the United States, and as postmaster of Nashville. He was a friend of President Jackson which accounts for the many appointments to public office of himself and his two brothers.¹²

¹¹ Office Indian Affairs: Western Supt'y A 1639-1663-1675. Choctaw Agcy. For biography of Dawson, see James H. Gardner, "The Lost Captain," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 217-49.

¹² Robert Armstrong was born about 1790, and died in Washington in 1854. General Andrew Jackson bequeathed him his sword.—Joseph Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography* (Philadelphia, 1888); Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), pp. 65-6.

From the Choctaw Agency, May 23, 1836, Seminole Disbursing Agent J. Van Horne (Third Infantry), wrote to General George Gibson in Washington City that:¹³

. . . . Supnt. Col. Armstrong told me on my arrival here yesterday that he had postponed his departure to Red river a day or two to have an interview with the Sem.[inoles]. It had been my design to have gone four miles beyond here last evening. In compliance with the suggestion of the Supt. however I encamped here to afford him this interview.

This morning they availed themselves of this pretext and could not by no means be restrained from a talk with him. The wife and daughter of Black Dirt 2nd Chief and Tustenuggee Harjo principal warrior had just died. They begged urgently as usual to be allowed to lay by for the day. Col. A. [Armstrong] seemed to think the circumstances required it, and much against my will I yielded when at the conclusion of the interview, I found them obstinately bent on remaining.

Captain Jacob Brown, U. S. Army, wrote to General Gibson on June 2, 1836, that he was just in receipt of a communication from Lieutenant J. W. Harris, disbursing agent for Seminole removal, saying that those Indians would not be removed that year. As a result of the information, Special Agent Armstrong had left for Nashville.¹⁴

On July 14, 1836, Armstrong wrote that he had "dispatched Mr. Clarke to Red river to procure ten boys [Choctaws for the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky] which he did and during his absence I obtained the remainder in this district and succeeded in getting the boys off—on a Steam Boat on the 9th of this month."¹⁵

Specifications for the building of the Choctaw council house were advertised by William Armstrong in the *Arkansas Gazette* on June 8, 1836 and a contract was let to William Lowry to construct the building. Superintendent Armstrong took great pains in getting looms and spinning wheels for the Choctaws, but their arrival was delayed because the government refused to pay the high transportation rates from the East where they could have been made in a short time. A contract was let to Robert Baker in the Choctaw Nation who made 220 wheels and eighty-eight looms for the Pushmataha District, but there was great complaint because of Baker's delay in getting out the wheels and looms so the Indians could convert their cotton into garments of which they were much in need, so Armstrong cancelled the contract and the Choctaws did not receive these tools for several years.

Acting Superintendent Armstrong reported to the commissioner of Indian affairs in 1836 that the Red River section of the Choctaw Nation was "destined soon to be a fine cotton-growing country; the

¹³ Office of Indian Affairs. Seminole Emigr., File 67-68-69. Choctaw Agency, 1836.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Capt. Jacob Brown, Dis. Agent. Reports and Accounts of Supplies.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Schools (Choctaw) A39, etc. Choctaw Agency, 1836.

native traders have erected cotton gins, and they purchase all the cotton that is raised by the common Indians and half breeds. . . .” This interesting report gives a picture of the manner in which the Choctaws were prospering and advancing in civilization.

Armstrong wrote a request for “slates and pencils, Smilie’s arithmetics, cyphering books, copy books, Webster spelling books, Parley’s geography, and 12 dozen good quills” for the Choctaw schools in 1836, showing an increased interest in the education of the young Indians.¹⁶

Superintendent Armstrong was anxiously awaiting to hear that the 1836 annuity for the Choctaws had been forwarded to Captain Brown because “the season of the year for fall hunting is close at hand and the Indians are extremely importunate to receive their money before they set out. . . . I have not seen any appropriations for Coal for the different shops, this is an article extremely difficult to procure in the Indian Country where labor is very high.”¹⁷

From the Choctaw Agency, August 31, 1836, Acting Superintendent William Armstrong addressed a letter to C. A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs:¹⁸

Sir: The first party of emigrating Creeks are now on the opposite side of the river Arkansas, on their way up. I shall leave tomorrow so as to meet them at Gibson; while there I will see the McIntosh party and endeavor to learn the state of feelings amongst the several parties. Many threats have been made; and much dissatisfaction manifested by both Chilly & Rolly McIntosh, the latter has sworn to kill A-po-the-ho-lo (*sic*) who was concerned in taking the life of his Father General William McIntosh.

Rolly McIntosh and the other Chiefs now over, are opposed to Ne-amath-la the Chief who is with the party now emigrating, upon the ground mainly that they may probably be superseded, or their authority abridged. I will however report to you, fully, after I shall have informed myself, of the state of feeling &c, and will endeavor with Genl. Arbuckle, to bring about a reconciliation.

The faction of the McIntosh Creeks who had emigrated in 1829 became upset when a hostile portion of the tribe approached the home in the West and violence was threatened if the newcomers attempted to establish a government for the entire nation.

General Arbuckle and Armstrong arranged a meeting at Fort Gibson between Chief Roley McIntosh, Eneah Amathla and Eneah Micco who had recently arrived, together with other chiefs and headmen. “The new arrivals who had lost everything they possessed were warned that their annuity would be withheld from them unless

¹⁶ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 30-32, 34, 45. Note 33.

¹⁷ Office Indian Affairs, Choctaw Agency 16 August 1836. Wm. Armstrong to Carey A. Harris Esqr. Comms. of Ind. Affrs.

¹⁸ Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915), p. 193.

they met the wishes of the government officials''. Under that pressure they agreed to recognize McIntosh as chief and live under the government already established in the West.¹⁹

September 1, 1836 Armstrong forwarded to Commissioner Harris the bid of William Lowry for building the Choctaw Council House and houses for three chiefs under the 20th Article of the treaty of 1830.

You will perceive that Ten thousand dollars is the amount for building the above houses—with three churches, to be used as School houses for the three school teachers provided for under the same article.

The churches used now as school houses, are just completed—the two last by Mr. Lowry—and the first one was erected by Robert Baker during the life time of my brother F W Armstrong—as a sample building for the different school houses within the nation. Bids for the construction of the above structures had appeared in the *Arkansas Gazette* on June 8, 1836.

Articles of Convention and Agreement concluded at Doaksville near Fort Towson on January 17, 1837, between delegations representing the Chickasaw and Choctaw people, in the presence of Superintendent Armstrong, stated that it was agreed by the Choctaws that the Chickasaws should have the privilege of forming a district within the limits of their country. This district was to be bounded as follows:²⁰

Beginning at the north bank of Red river, at the mouth of Island Bayou, about eight or ten miles below the mouth of False Wachitta, thence running north along the main channel of said Bayou to its source; thence along the dividing ridge between the Wachitta and Low Blue rivers to the road leading from Fort Gibson to Fort Wachitta; thence along said road to the line dividing Mushalatubbee and Pushmatahaw districts; thence easterly along said district line to the source of Brushy Creek; thence down said creek to where it flows into the Canadian river, ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the south fork of the Canadian; thence west along the main Canadian river to its source, if in the limits of the United States or to those limits, and thence due south to Red river and down Red river to the beginning.

In 1838 Agent William Armstrong, sent out a force of men to cut and make a road located by an exploring party to the depot (later noted as Boggy Depot) on Boggy Creek so that the emigrating Chickasaw Indians could get through to their new homes (*Indian Removal, op. cit.*, p. 99). Their removal was doubly laborious because they had lost thousands of their horses and oxen with which they had started from the East.

The Cherokees proposed annual general councils and one was held in October 1837, which was attended by the Creeks, Senecas, Senecas & Shawnees, Quapaws and Ottawas. Major Richard B. Mason

¹⁹ *Indian Removal, op. cit.*, p. 157.

²⁰ *Constitution Lands and Treaties of the Chickasaws* (Tishomingo City, 1860), pp. 203-05.

was at Fort Leavenworth while he learned of the meeting and he at once notified General Gaines at St. Louis that he feared trouble. The General, always an alarmist, called upon the governors of Kentucky and Tennessee for ten thousand troops to meet the Indians.²¹ Indian Superintendent William Armstrong was too ill to attend the council, but he hastened to assure the War Department that there was no foundation for the sensational reports as the meeting was peaceful in all respects.

Agent Armstrong selected the lads who were to attend the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky and he showed great judgment in the students he sent to the school. This is shown by the useful work done by these young men after their return home. A number of them were able to fill important positions and by their ability they advanced their people in many respects. During the last years the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky was in operation there was great complaint among the Indians because of the lengthy period their sons were away from home. This resulted in schools being started in the different nations.

William Armstrong dismissed one of the teachers in the Choctaw Nation in 1837 as he had made himself so unpopular with the Choctaws. He replaced this man with Thompson McKinney, "one of the young men who returned from Col. Johnson's school, he is intelegent and very well qualified, having acted in the capacity of an assistant at the Choctaw Academy, and comes well recommended by the Revd. Mr. Henderson who is the principal. . . ."²²

William Armstrong, acting superintendent of Indian affairs in the Western Territory, on April 23, 1838, sent a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, dated Washington City saying: "When General Jussup called upon volunteers to go to Florida, he promised them all the *property* they could capture. Accordingly, the Creeks captured near *one hundred negroes*, which they left in the possession of the officers of the United States. *What has become of these negroes?* Will they receive them, or their value, as promised?"

The disposal of these Negroes resulted in a voluminous correspondence, and on May 9, 1838 Commissioner C. A. Harris addressed a letter to Captain S. Cooper, acting secretary of war in which he wrote that a decision had been made requesting that "the negroes captured by Creek warriors in Florida, should, in compliance with the engagement of General Jessup, be delivered to the Delegation now here, has been communicated to them with the intimation that, when they had determined what disposition would be made of them . . . the necessary orders would be issued. . . ." The Indians selected

²¹ James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines* (Louisiana State University Press, 1949), p. 153.

²² Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy" *op. cit.*, p. 90.

their attorney, Nathaniel F. Collins of Alabama to receive the slaves. The Creeks had refused an offer of \$8,000 made them under direction of General Jessup.²³

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Harris notified the Reverend Thomas Henderson, superintendent of the Choctaw Academy on May 7, 1838, that William Armstrong would visit the Academy with a delegation of Creek and Choctaw Indians.²⁴

When the hostile Creek Indians were brought from Alabama to the Creek country west of Fort Gibson in 1835, they were embittered by the recent war, and were opposed to white missionaries among them. On one occasion a missionary sent to the Creeks by the Methodists was accused of misconduct, and a meeting was held at Fort Gibson by the Creek factions when it was decided to forbid the churchmen to remain in the Creek country. An order for the missionaries to leave the Creek country was issued by Acting Superintendent William Armstrong, living at the Choctaw Agency sixty miles distant. He gave the order as he feared the hostiles would incite the frontier to an Indian uprising. The order was sudden and unexpected, according to the Reverend Mr. Fleming, a missionary of the American Board, who went to see Armstrong to refute the charges made against him, but he found General Arbuckle, there as acting agent, who informed him that in Armstrong's absence, he had nothing to do but enforce the order.²⁵

In October, 1838, Captain William Armstrong and General Matthew Arbuckle were commissioned to hold a treaty with the Creek Indians to adjust claims for the great losses they sustained during their enforced removal to the West. Although the meetings began in October the treaty was not signed until November 23 as there had been adjournments from time to time.

After the reestablishment of Fort Towson a post higher up Red River had been under consideration. Recommendations had been made by General Arbuckle, Col. James B. Many, and Francis W. Armstrong, who was then Choctaw agent, in 1833. Major William Armstrong first suggested a fort near the mouth of the Washita in 1838, and he repeated it on March 30, 1841 because the Texans had established Fort Johnson on Red River opposite the mouth of the Washita, and they threatened to cross over and punish the wandering bands of Choctaws.²⁶

²³ Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus, 1858), pp. 196, 199, 202.

²⁴ Office Indian Affairs, School File, R. 258.

²⁵ Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), pp. 117-18; and Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 612.

²⁶ Henry Putney Beers, *The Western Military Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 107-08, 161.

In his report to the commissioner of Indian affairs in 1838 William Armstrong wrote a most comprehensive and intelligent account of the Indians under his jurisdiction. He described the state of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles; wrote of their health, emigration, schools, the introduction of whiskey and status of white traders among other subjects. He also gave an interesting description of the Neosho Sub-agency, embracing the Senecas and Shawnees, and the Quapaws.²⁷

From the Choctaw Agency West, Armstrong wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. Hartley Crawford on December 5, 1838:²⁸

"Sir I have been endeavoring to get the Indian boys collected to send on to school in Kentucky. I find it more difficult to procure them than at any previous time, I was unable to get them in the Summer owing to Small Pox prevailing through the Indian Country, there is still a few cases existing amongst the Choctaws. . . . The Cherokees have refused sending their boys, so have the Quapaws. . . ."

The Choctaw Chief, Pierre Juzan, of Pushmataha District, wrote to Superintendent Armstrong of the loss of four of his Negro slaves, four horses, saddles, bridles and guns by a party of Mexicans who had been in the nation a short time. Armstrong notified the Indian Office, saying the loss is a great one and calculated to have a bad effect among the Indians as "it strikes at those who have property and influence, who are always able to lead others on. . . . Col Juzan writes under excited feelings he is a brave determined man, and from his heavy losses I fear will be hard to restrain. . . ." ²⁹

While only about a dozen Chickasaw families had risked settling in the exposed country assigned by their treaty at Doaksville with the Choctaws, Superintendent Armstrong reported that these Chickasaw families felt assured that his recommendation for the building of a fort near the mouth of the Washita would be carried out, and they began settling in the fertile valleys of the Blue, Washita, and Boggy rivers where they raised corn and other products which they sold to the garrison when it was finally established as Fort Washita in 1842.

In addition to his duties as Agent to the Choctaws whose Agency at Skullyville was his home, William Armstrong's supervision as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Indian Territory extended far west over the Plains tribes in this region. Camp Mason or Chouteau's Trading post, near present Lexington on the Canadian River, was generally the meeting place for delegations from these western tribes. The Agent for the Osages, Paul Leguest Chouteau (brother of A. P. Chouteau who owned the trading post) wrote of disturbed conditions among the Comanches and other Plains tribes:

²⁷ This report covers ten closely printed pages (479-88) and it is too long to use in an article concerning Captain Armstrong.

²⁸ Office Indian Affairs, "School File A 506 Armstrong, Wm. Supt. West". See also *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, No. 1 March, 1932, 105-06, for a further account of the celebrated Choctaw Academy in Kentucky.

²⁹ Office Indian Affairs, Choctaw File A 571. 3/18, 1839.

Camp Mason

Feb. 1, 1837

Majr Wm Armstrong

Superintendent Indian Affrs &c,

Sir

On my arrival here after having seen you last at Fort Gibson, I found that during my absence, the Chouteau Establishment at this place, had been visited by the Comanche Chief *She-co-ney* with a small party of his tribe. They had been waiting for some time to see me, but eventually made their departure before my arrival, manifesting much anger; and declaring a determination to be revenged on the whites, for many supposed injuries received by them since and commencing at the time of the Council held with them at this place, in 1835.

They were also careful to notify the Osages to be absent during the ensuing Spring, as they were determined at that time to destroy this establishment together with its inhabitants. *She-co-ney* the Chief referred to, it will be recollected as the Principal one of his nation in the year 1835, at this place, signed a treaty with the Commissioners of the U.S.

Some short time after my arrival here, I induced my son Edward Choteau to visit the Comanches at their wintering grounds South. During his absence, the reports I had already received to them were confirmed to me by *Wee-che-tas & delawares*, the last of whom had already experienced the displeasure of the Comanches. . . .

With regard to the White women & children prisoners to the Comanches I have had opportunities to receive information. At the village of *She co ney* are two English women who have resided a considerable time in the U. S. The name of one is Mrs. Martin who reports her youngest children to have been killed because unable to walk with the party who made them captives.

There are others among the *Kioways*, *Tow wee ash* and other tribes, I have ascertained the names of some to be Richards, Parker & Frost. . . .

Your humbl Sev't

P. L. Choteau

U. S. S. Ind Agt for Osages.

Colonel A. P. Chouteau had been authorized to conduct a party of prairie Indians to Washington to meet President Van Buren so that they might be impressed with the power of the United States. They were to meet Colonel Chouteau at Camp Mason about May 1, 1839, but he died in the meantime. However, John Connor, a Delaware interpreter, conducted a party of seventeen men and women of the Comanche and Kiowa tribes to Fort Gibson early in June ready to pursue the journey to the capital. General Arbuckle sent them to Superintendent William Armstrong at the Choctaw Agency; who informed them that the government was ready to keep the promise made them, but he discouraged starting at that time of year as the season was too far advanced and their health would be endangered from a strange climate and diet as well as confinement aboard stages and steamboats.³⁰

Superintendent Armstrong wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford, from Fort Gibson April 25, 1839,

³⁰ *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.*, pp. 104, 163.

explaining that the Cherokees were not accustomed to living entirely on beef and asking that part of the ration be bacon which could be procured in Cincinnati or New Orleans. Armstrong was in Fort Gibson trying to locate the Seminoles, according to instructions from Crawford.³¹

This *Document No. 219* (Hitchcock's suppressed report), is largely made up of correspondence arising from difficulties of satisfying the Indians with the rations supplied by contractors and Captain Armstrong exchanged many letters with the Commissioner and the firm of [James] Glasgow & Harrison of Little Rock, Arkansas, which had a contract to furnish supplies for the Indians. *The Little Rock Gazette* reported:³²

Capt. Wm. Armstrong, at present Superintendent of the Western Territory, has been appointed Principal Disbursing Agent, for the U. S. Government on this frontier, in the place of Capt. R. D. C. Collins, whose term expires in July, under the law passed at the session of Congress before the last, declaring that no officer of the army should hold an appointment in the disbursing department.

This appointment will meet the approbation of everyone acquainted with the new incumbent, altho' our citizens of all parties will regret the necessity which will remove from among us an efficient public officer and an amiable man, who has passed many years in this community.

William Armstrong left his headquarters at Van Buren, Arkansas and hurried to Fort Gibson because of the trouble among the Cherokees. He arrived there July 2, 1839, and joined General Arbuckle in urging Chief Ross to end the proceedings of the National Council until an arrangement could be made for a meeting of the entire nation. This was not successful and Armstrong appeared before the council where he found only a dozen "Old Settlers" among about two thousand Cherokees. He informed that the western chiefs were willing to meet in a general council but Chief Ross declined to treat on that basis, but a meeting of western chiefs, "Old Settlers" and other Cherokees met at the mouth of the Illinois River on July 22.³³

Armstrong notified the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 29, 1839, that G. P. Kingsberry, acting agent for the Chickasaws, died near Fort Towson on July 24. He was buried with military honors at the fort. Kingsberry was a son-in-law of Governor Henry Dodge.

³¹ House of Representatives Executive Document No. 219, twenty-seventh Congress, third session, 133. Following the above letter was a short communication written at Bushyhead, April 16, 1839, and signed by Hair Conrad, William Proctor, Stephen Foreman, and Bushyhead and several other Cherokees, regarding "the suffering of our people on account of the scantiness of the ration issued to them . . . the quantity of provisions is entirely too small, and the supply has been exhausted long before the arriving of the issuing day . . ."

³² *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Washington, D.C. May 16, 1839, 316 copied from *Little Rock Gazette*.

³³ Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman, 1938), pp. 22-3, 30-3, 37, 55.

Doctor Lewis Fields Linn, senator from Missouri was his brother-in-law. "I knew Mr. Kingsberry well and he had not only the capacity and firmness to discharge his duty, but he combined that sterling honesty for which he was so highly esteemed."

Armstrong was of the opinion that the object of the visit was to effect payment of the invested fund belonging to incompetent Chickasaws, "which they have already twice petitioned to have done. The withholding of this money has created very great dissatisfaction against the Commissioners by the Common Indians. They complain that they were promised payment by Col. Reynolds and their commissioners, when they should reach their new homes. Such is the dissatisfaction that the Commissioners who declared the Indians incompetent feel very uneasy. . . ."³⁴

General Arbuckle and Acting Superintendent William Armstrong wrote to Principal Chief John Ross from Fort Gibson, September 28, 1839 that they had been instructed by the War Department to arrest and bring to trial the murderers of the Ridges and Boudinot. "We believe that you can have the persons charged delivered at this post, without resorting to other means, which it is our wish to avoid. Should we be disappointed in our expectations in this particular, the military force of the United States will be employed in carrying out the instructions of the War Department. . . ." In a lengthy letter Ross replied: "None of the persons charged with the act you instructed upon are known to me; some of them may be of the late emigrants, or all for ought I know; . . ."³⁵

In the autumn of 1839, Superintendent William Armstrong sent the following petition from the petition from Ish ta ho tapa and other leading Chickasaws to Commissioner Crawford:

It has now been several years since the Treaty between our Great Father and the Chickasaw Tribe of Indians, and nearly all of our lands have been sold, and agreeably to our Treaty, we have moved to the far west. We are anxious that a Delegation of three of our chiefs or head men with our Agent be permitted to visit our Great Father at Washington this fall or early winter. . . . We have several reasons for wishing to see our Great Father.

One is we have never seen him and of course never taken him by the hand, except through his agent who is now with us and with whom we are much pleased; Another reason is that we are placed entirely on the frontier and surrounded by various bands of hostile Indians such as refugee Cherokees, Kickapoos, Caddoes, Delawares, Shawnees & Comanches, and we wish to know of our Great Father if he will not have some of his men placed at some suitable situation in our District to protect our lives and property, both of which are at the mercy of these roving bands . . . in the old Nation . . . we were surrounded by sharpers and

³⁴ National Archives. Office Indian Affairs. Chickasaw File A 694-706 Choctaw Agency.

³⁵ Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 133-4. Major Ridge and his son John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were murdered June 22, 1839, in reprisal for having signed the so-called treaty of 1835.

whiskey sellers. Our expenses cannot be much when there will be only three delegates and this expense will of course come out of the funds belonging to the Chickasaws." The signers were:

his
Ish ta ho ta pa x King.
mark

George Colbert, St[e]lone Love, Ish le mo lut ka, James Colbert, Pistalattubby, Hi ah che tubby, Jackson Kemp, I so Ka ah, Charles Colbert, James Gamble of the Choctaw Nation West, Pitman Colbert, Isaac Albertson, Billy McGillvary, Lemuel Colbert, John Glover, Tecumseh Brown, [and a number of others, most of these men signed by mark].

The controversy between Chief Ross and the Treaty Party continued for several months and there was even an effort made to divide the Cherokee territory and annuities. The Treaty party delegation composed of William Rogers, Stand Watie and John A. Bell wrote Superintendent Armstrong from Washington on January 22, 1840, proposing "a division of the Cherokee country and annuities between the old settlers and treaty party, together with all such as may choose to join them on the one part, and John Ross and his party of the other Part."³⁶

When the Reverend R. M. Loughridge reported on his trip to the Creek country from Eutaw, Alabama on February 17, 1841, he wrote the Board of Foreign Missions of his stay at the Choctaw Agency in November, 1840. He mentioned his kind reception and entertainment by William Armstrong³⁷ who appeared interested in the success of the mission to the Creeks and who furnished him letters to the Creek Agent James Logan and General Roly McIntosh.³⁸

Main Canadian March 13th 1840

Capt Wm Armstrong

Friend & Brother

We the Chiefs of the Upper Creeks wrote to you some time since concerning the Apalachicola Band of Indians that are now residing within the limits of our country; we have never received any answer from You. they are a separate people from us & does not receive any part of the benefits arising from the United States coming to our people; there is One hundred & forty four of them in number of which Coha thlockoo or Cockrane is thare head man we in the behalf of Said Coha thlocco and his people pray the Compliance of a Treaty made between James Gadsden on the part of the United States & John Blunt Osaa Harjo or Davy & Said Coha Thlocco made & concluded at Tallahassee in the Territory of Florida on the Eleventh day of October 1833, as they have Complied on there part Coha thlocco is the only one of the assigners of Said treaty now living his people are in a delorable Situation a good many of them are naked and has no means by which they can obtain Subsistance You will please urge the necessity of our Father the President of the United States to have the appropriation made for there relief and forwarded as Soon

³⁶ Report, Commissioner Indian affairs, 1840, p. 236.

³⁷ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Report of Reverend R. M. Loughridge," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), p. 278.

³⁸ Office Indian Affairs: Creek File Main Canadian. 1840. The spelling of this document is given as written by the Indians.

as possible You can refer to Said Treaty and See the Stipulation of which Said Apalacha cola Band has complied on their part Your Speedy attention to this will be more than thankfully received by witness

Your Friends & Brothers

James L. Alexander	Opoethlo Yoholo	his x mark
	Tommarthla Micco	"
	Cochar Tustenugga	"
	Tuckabacha Micco	"
	James Islands	"
	Tuttenugga Emarthla	"
	Nehaw motta Tuskenehaw	"

From Main Canadian, March 30, 1840 Chief Opoetheyoholo of the Creeks addressed a letter to Captain William Armstrong which read as follows:³⁹

Friend & Brother

I must again trouble you to address a few lines to the Government about Twenty years ago there was a Treaty made between Lewis Cass & Duncan McArthur as Commissioner of the United States and the Shawnees & Six other nations which you can see by referring to the Treaty, the Head Chief of the Shawnees, is now at my house where he has been residing even since last Winter, he starts tomorrow in the Chickasaw Nation in search of his people, where they have been since the War Broke out in Texas, he expects some time this year to bring his people to this nation for the purpose of becoming one of our people, in consequence of his people having been so much scattered they have become very poor, the Treaty which they made secured to them forever two thousand Dollars a year which amount he says that himself & people have never received the first Dollar, therefore you will please represent the case to the Government and ask the favour of them to send there Anuity to this Country with the Creeks Anuity for we will by fall become one people.

Your friend & Brother

Opoethleyoholo	his x mark
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Witness

Jas. L. Alexander

"Under your instructions the agent for the Seminoles (Col. Logan) has removed the tribe to the new location on the Deep Fork of the Canadian agreed upon between the Creek Chiefs, Genl. Arbuckle & myself. Some cabins erected some land broken & fenced &c."⁴⁰

Fort Gibson Arks

5th August 1840

To. T. H. Crawford, Com of Indian Affairs

Sir

I have the honor to report that I have had a council with the Seminoles and selected a delegation for the Florida Expedition. They are anxious to make the trial, and enter into it with great confidence. I explained

³⁹ *Ibid.*: Creek File. Tuckabatchee, 1/2/1840. Original spelling retained.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: Creek A. 829. Wm. Armstrong to Secretary Crawford, July 7, 1840.

to them why they did not occupy the country that was granted to them by treaty—

I am now waiting for Capt Armstrong he is expected every day. I shall endeavor to start immediately on his arrival, and if he is not ready he can follow on afterwards. When Indians get ready to start to any point, they soon get tired if they are detained long.

With respect John Page
Capt. 4th Infy⁴¹

From the Choctaw Agency, June 13, 1841, Armstrong sent the following news to Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford:⁴²

A party of Seminoles numbering about Two Hundred have just arrived in charge of Capt. McKavett, of the Army. They will proceed to the Deep Fork of the Canadian, in a few days. There are now [here] two parties making 400 drawing rations.

The Seminoles that have emigrated show a bad state of feeling, and unless care and attention is taken of them, they will do little towards making any thing towards supporting themselves, after the year is out.

They have many difficulties about negro property and require some person to be with them that understands the character of Indians, and has firmness enough to act, I conversed with the Creek Chiefs in relation to the Seminoles, they will give them to understand distinctly that they are to be peaceable, as they are now neighbours living in the same country, they feel themselves somewhat responsible for their good conduct.

The Creeks are working and doing well, and may be the means of doing some good for the Seminoles, who are indisposed to labour. Those who went out to the Deep Fork of the Canadian last year are making some corn.

Alegator who resides about eight miles above Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Country is using his influence to induce as many of the emigrants as they arrive to join him, so as to give him strength. . . . Alegator should be removed from the Cherokee Country, and placed with the other Seminoles. It is expected that the Cherokee Council will take some action upon the subject.

The transportation of funds to pay the Indians always involved great anxiety to the officers in charge. It was almost impossible to secure large sums of currency on the frontier and many times it was necessary to go to New Orleans for it. William Armstrong had a hazardous experience when the steamboat *Cherokee* on which he was traveling from New Orleans burst a boiler and sunk in less than an hour. Fifteen or twenty passengers were killed and many persons wounded. Armstrong escaped with little injury, but he was greatly concerned over recovering the large sum of specie packed in kegs.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: Florida File P. 824 &c. Ft. Gibson. 1840. P-824.

⁴² *Ibid.*: Seminole (Emigr.) File A 1024-1035. Choctaw Agcy. On July 6, 1841 Armstrong notified the Commissioner that he had made a contract with Robert West to subsist the Seminoles on the Deep Fork and those scattered through the Creek and Cherokee country. These Indians had promised to unite at Deep Fork in the autumn.

⁴³ *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.*, pp. 303-04 and note 6.

. . . . I succeeded in getting out the specie in kegs, amounting to over \$100,000. I had a small box of gold and a box of dimes and half dimes in the clerk's office for safe keeping. The box of gold was blown on shore, splitting in two, and only ninety dollars lost. The box of dimes fell on the bow of the boat and split entirely into pieces. . . . I saved the entire funds of the government with the exception of one hundred and fifty-one dollars. . . . Had I been killed I have no doubt the greater part of the money would have been plundered. . . . I was detained some days in a very uncomfortable situation watching the specie until the boat came along and relieved me.

Armstrong was in charge of one hundred and forty thousand dollars of government funds and was able to save all but \$141.00 although everything else was lost and the captain and engineer of the steamboat died within a few days. He forwarded a certificate from Alexander MacKinney, pilot of the boat, confirming his statement. He asserted, "It is well known that the loss would have been much greater but for the most arduous efforts on my part, and I trust that the amount will be placed to my credit without objective from any quarter."⁴⁴

In Pilot MacKinney's account of the wreck he stated that the money intended for disbursement to the Indians was packed in twenty or thirty kegs of specie which were placed in the main cabin, and two boxes containing gold and silver deposited in the clerk's office for greater security. He reported that Captain Armstrong had taken passage at New Orleans for the Choctaw Agency and while the boat was lying at the landing at Lewisburgh, one of her boilers burst. The fore part of the cabin was carried away, and with it, the clerk's office:⁴⁵

I was blown ashore. The box of gold fell near me. The cover was split. . . . Several pieces (half eagles) had fallen out. All that I saw I handed to Capt. Armstrong. . . .

The other box fell on the bow of the boat and was dashed to pieces. The contents, dimes and half dimes, were scattered in every direction. I saw Capt Armstrong picking them up. . . . The boat sunk an hour or two after the explosion. It was a total loss. . . . No part of the cargo, except the public money was saved.

Superintendent William Armstrong's report for 1841 was mainly devoted to the progress of education among his charges. Regarding the Choctaws he wrote: "Two of the teachers are young ladies, of about eighteen years of age, native Choctaws. They conduct the schools and deserve great credit for their ability and exertions in behalf of their people. They speak the Choctaw language, and have the entire confidence of the nation."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Office Indian Affairs: West. Supty. File A 1675. Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, commissioner Indian affairs.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: Western Suptcy. File A. Choctaw Agcy. A-1675.

⁴⁶ The two young teachers were undoubtedly Lavinia Pitchlynn who reported from Eagle Town and Tryphena Wall who taught at Mayhew. Their sub-reports are on pages 324 and 326 of the *Report* for 1841.

Charges were made that contractors who furnished rations to the emigrant Choctaws had defrauded them and that traders in the nation were overcharging them, so Major Armstrong made an investigation at Boggy Depot, where there were two trading firms, and he examined their books. He was astonished at the vast quantities of goods the Chickasaws bought in these stores, but he learned that they traded them to the Choctaws for cattle, horses, hogs, and other things they needed, "and thereby made the wealth they brought from the East contribute to the prosperity of both tribes." Armstrong was well pleased with the appearance of the Indians, and acquitted the traders of wrongdoing.⁴⁷

When Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock visited Fort Gibson in the autumn of 1841, he dined at the home of Arnold Harris of New York, the husband of Susan W. Armstrong. They had been married at the Choctaw Agency May 13, 1836, while she was visiting her Uncle William. Harris was then sutler at Fort Gibson. Besides Mrs. Harris there was a sister, Miss Armstrong of Nashville. Hitchcock remarked on their beauty.⁴⁸

On December 1, 1841, Issuing Agent Geo. W. Clarke wrote to William Armstrong from Fort Gibson regarding the party of Seminoles that had arrived there on November 12. He had great difficulty in getting them over the river, but with the assistance of Micanopy and other old settlers they agreed to move on to Deep Fork. However, the next day a blizzard overtook them and they refused to proceed and made camp opposite the mouth of Grand River. Clarke stated "they are well affected" and he had no doubt but that they would move as soon as the weather moderated.⁴⁹

Captain Clarke notified Superintendent Armstrong on February 6, 1842, that when "Co ar coo chee" ("Wild Cat," a Seminole) and his party landed at Fort Gibson, he was required by Colonel R. B. Mason, the commandant, to remove them to the south side of the Arkansas within the Creek Nation. As Armstrong and Creek Agent Logan were absent from the post, he, Clarke was obliged to take the responsibility for the expense of the move: "The persons who engaged waggons; and owners of the ferries are becoming anxious to receive their money, some of whom are importuning me daily for it. . . . hoping that you will have the money sent out at an early day. . . ." ⁵⁰ Superintendent Armstrong notified Crawford that these Seminoles had been furnished with coffee and sugar, rice,

⁴⁷ *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁸ *A Traveler in Indian Territory, op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Office Indian Affairs: Seminole (Emigr.) File A-1135 etc. Choctaw Agcy, 1841. A-1141. This party numbered 200 when it left Florida under Captain W. Seawell, and 197 arrived in the west.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: Seminole (Emigr.) File. Ft. Gibson. 2/6—1842. A portion of Co-ar-coo-chee's party numbering seventy, located in the Cherokee Nation about three miles south of Fort Gibson.

molasses, spirits, bread and meat from the time they left Florida, and they were dissatisfied with the rations they were receiving at that time.

A letter from Creek Agent James Logan to Superintendent Armstrong dated April 6, 1842 gives a picture which should have brought the blush of shame to government officials connected with the Indian Office:⁵¹

I met the Chiefs of the different Towns yesterday at Poseys Landing in order to make the distribution. When they learned that the whole amt. had not been received by me And that two bales of domestic. . . . were rotten case No. 45 containing 1000½ yds Linsey was in the same condition and several bales of the Blankets were too much injured for them to receive all—They refused to receive any part of them I have stored all the goods that I have taken from Fort Gibson in a good dry ware-house at Poseys Landing.

I have taken only three hundred and sixty of the Rifles and them I have issued the others are at Fort Gibson—I will send you the receipt for them when I send my quarterly return—

The letters you sent me gave information that Capt. J. L. Dawson was in nomination for Creek Agent and I have no doubt but he is appointed I have information confidentially that it is the Intention to continue the proscription of the democrats till [all] are removed—

I will send you my receipt for the goods that I have received when I have them examined by men who are acquainted with Merchandizing say Mr. Wilson and Mr. Harris—The receipt will be in accordance with the condition of the goods—have taken six boxes of Hatchets or little axes marked for the Creeks but have no bill for them—The Tuckabatchy chiefs are determined to receive no part of the goods or money due them for losses—more than I have already paid them. The Interest on the Steamboat losses I paid some time ago. . . . 208875\$ On my arrival home the chiefs set the time that they would meet and receive goods—.

I am today to meet Wild-cat and the Seminole Chiefs at Fort Gibson to try to settle a difficulty about a Seminole being found dead near the fort—the Seminoles pretend to believe that the man had been killed by a Soldier.

Capt. Hunter is nominated to succeed Col. H. Rector E. Rector could not be nominated his political opinions were not right.

Yours truly

James Logan

General Zachary Taylor, accompanied by Captain William W. S. Bliss and Agent Armstrong attended the "Grand Council" assembled on the Deep Fork of the Canadian River in May, 1842. General Taylor addressed the Indians through interpreters and urged them to maintain peaceful relations with each other. The General spent two days at the council and reported: "None but the most friendly feelings were exhibited toward the United States, and all seemed animated with a desire to cultivate peaceful relations with our Government and with each other."⁵²

⁵¹ *Ibid.*: I. T. Misc. James Logan, 1842. This communication was addressed to Armstrong at the Choctaw Agency, Western Territory.

⁵² Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor Soldier of the Republic* (Indianapolis, & New York, 1941), pp. 150-51.

This was a most picturesque affair with the wild Indians in their strange costumes. When the tribes were assembled the civilized tribes arose *en masse*, formed in single file, headed by General Rolly McIntosh and followed by General Taylor, Captain Armstrong and various agents of the different tribes. These officials shook the hands of the wild tribes before speech making commenced. Captain Armstrong was one of the speakers who addressed the meeting through Interpreter Benjamin Marshall of the Creek Nation.⁵³

Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler reported in 1842 that the political situation in the nation was still unsettled and he feared that any excitement would bring on serious trouble. Superintendent Armstrong discouraged any outside interference in the affairs of the nation as he believed they could handle their internal difficulties.⁵⁴ Pierce M. Butler was a candidate for the position given to William Armstrong, but he was made Cherokee Agent.⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that all of the agents under Acting Superintendent Armstrong addressed their annual reports to him except Butler who sent his directly to Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford, which showed that feeling still rankled with him.

In Armstrong's *Report* for 1842, he wrote:

The Choctaws have long since acquired for themselves, not only from the Government of the United States, but with the citizens with whom they have intercourse, a name of honesty and fidelity at least not surpassed by any of our Indian tribes." It would be difficult to find a finer tribute to any nation than this. "They have not been unmindful . . . of educating the rising generation; and they have, by this means, added to the general intelligence and standing of the nation.

Armstrong wrote that Doaksville was within a mile of Fort Towson, and that it was the most extensive trading center. There were five stores, three of which were owned by part Choctaws. The other two were the property of United States citizens licensed as traders:⁵⁶

The stocks of goods are large, and the assortments such as are usual in stores. Sugar and coffee are used by all classes in the nation, to an extent at least equal to the whites. It may not be uninteresting to state that the village of Doaksville is one of the most orderly and quiet towns that you will find in the West. . . . There is a resident physician, a good tavern, blacksmith shop, wagonmaker, and wheelwright. A church

⁵³ *Advancing the Frontier, op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁵⁴ Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁵⁵ Agent Upshaw warned Major Armstrong that Pierce Butler was planning to succeed him as Indian Superintendent when Henry Clay was elected president. Butler was so sure of Clay's election that he offered to wager four mules on the result. When it was learned that Polk had been elected Upshaw proposed to meet William Armstrong and his brother Robert in Washington to celebrate with "oysters and drink a glass of wine."

⁵⁶ *Report, Commissioner of Indian affairs, 1842*, pp. 438-39. It is to be regretted that all of Armstrong's reports can not be included in this sketch as they are interesting and give a graphic picture of the people.

has also been erected. . . . a temperance society is also organized, which numbers a large portion of the most respectable Choctaws and Chickasaws, as well as our own population. I have been at this village a week at a time, without seeing anything like ardent spirits or a drunken Indian.

Armstrong described the Cherokees in his *Report* for 1842 as combining "more intelligence as a people than any of our tribes. . . . There are many intelligent and well educated Cherokees. Party strife has done much within a few years to retard the Cherokees, by creating divisions and factions between the people. . . ."

Of the Choctaws he wrote:

The Choctaws have long since acquired for themselves, not only from the Government of the United States, but from citizens with whom they have intercourse, a name of honesty and fidelity at least not surpassed by any of our Indian tribes. They have, by a steady attention to their own business since they emigrated to their present homes, greatly increased in wealth. . . . This favorable change is indicated more clearly on Red river than with that portion of the nation on the Arkansas.

Armstrong stated in 1842 that the Chickasaws had obtained greater pecuniary advantages by the exchange of their country than any other tribe. ". . . The funds thus obtained were invested for the benefit of the nation, after each head of a family had obtained a reservation." Regarding the Creeks he wrote: "The Creeks are more numerous than any of the tribes, numbering at least twenty thousand. Lately they have given better evidence of a disposition to encourage education than at any previous time. . . . They possess as much natural capacity as any of their red brethren. . . . I look upon the Creeks as the most powerful red people upon this frontier. . . ."

Armstrong gave an interesting account of the state of the Seminoles who had generally emigrated by 1842. "Unfortunately for the Seminoles, the chiefs of each party, as they land at or near Fort Gibson, endeavor to settle away from the others. This is done by the chiefs with a hope of keeping around them a party, of which they are the head, fearing that, if they become united, some other more favored leader will supersede them." He reported that the Osages had made little progress since his last report. The Senecas and mixed band of Senecas and Shawnees, with the Quapaws, were greatly inferior in numbers to the other tribes.⁵⁷

There was no limit to the trouble Armstrong had in getting the Seminoles to their own country. On May 22, 1843, he wrote from the Choctaw Agency that the late emigrant Seminoles had murdered the Negro interpreter at Webbers Falls, Cherokee Nation:⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 441, 438, 442-43, 445.

⁵⁸ Office Indian Affairs: Seminole File A 1457-1464. Choctaw Agcy. 1843. A-1457.

"The negro was lying down saying he was sleepy. Several Seminoles were also lying on the ground near him one observed to him that it was now a year since he had decoyed them into General Worth in Florida and as he was sleepy they would give him a long sleep, and immediately plunged several knives into him, they then buried him and told Mr. Judge that they had buried his Interpreter. . . .

"No other violence was offered. . . . The object being to kill the negro, which had been agreed upon doubtless before leaving Florida.

Agent Armstrong wrote to Colonel David Folsom from the Choctaw Agency, May 31, 1843:⁵⁹

The bearer Blacius [?] Hoover, is by profession a Baker he wishes to follow his trade at Doaksville—his services will probably be required by the Cicizens—

Under, this belief I give him these few lines to you—authorizing him to dispose of his breadstuffs—

With the understanding that a failure to conduct himself with propriety—revokes this authority—"

It appears that Captain Armstrong had misunderstood the name of the man to whom he gave the letter. His name was Frederick Smith and he had a "peartner who is by the name of Hover he wishes also to follow his trade at Fort Washetaw if he should like. . . . he speaks broken and he wishes his name to be understood as Smith & Hoover." This letter was signed by S. D. Fisher who added a postscript that "He would have had the mistake corrected but left before Capt Armstrong got home."⁶⁰

An important change was made by the Choctaw people in 1843 when their legislative body was reorganized as the General Council with a Senate and House of Representatives. Superintendent Armstrong said: "What is chiefly remarkable in this, is the fact that the most populus district, which could have prevented the change, had the wisdom to forsee the bad consequences that might result from resistance, by arousing local and hereditary prejudices."

Armstrong wrote to Secretary Crawford of the improvement among his charges in regard to dress and noted the fact that more than half of the Indians were clothed in fabrics manufactured in their own homes. Traders exhibited great quantities of cloth woven by Choctaw women.

Many of the Choctaws had refused to abandon their comfortable homes in Mississippi and they declined to migrate until they had seen some of their tribesmen from the West and heard their accounts of conditions there. Armstrong finally took a delegation from among these Indians when he went to Mississippi to try to induce the Choctaws there to move. In his party was the old chief Nitakechi

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: I. T. Misc. Fred Smith Papers. 1843-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

of Pushmataha District, who died November 22, 1845, in Lauderdale County, Mississippi, of pleurisy.⁶¹

From the Choctaw Agency West, November 3, 1843, Captain Armstrong confined his report to the schools in the Choctaw Nation and the "deep and increasing interest" manifested by them upon the subject of education. "These evidences clearly show that the Choctaws are improving, and, with the ample means now in a course of expenditure, will be able to educate the great mass of the nation." He wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs T. Hartley Crawford that the forty youths heretofore educated at Richard Johnson's Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, under the treaty of 1830, would in the future be divided among four of the principal colleges in the United States. The students were to be chosen with the idea of preparing them for teachers in Choctaw schools, after they had received a thorough classical education, and in order that they might be fitted to occupy prominent and useful posts among their people.⁶²

In 1847 a meeting was held at Skullyville where a collection of \$710 was taken up for the relief of victims of the Potato Famine in Ireland. Agent William Armstrong presided and contributions were made by traders, agency officials and missionaries, but the Indians gave the largest part of the money.⁶³

The Reverend William H. Goode, Superintendent of Fort Coffee Academy for Choctaw boys near Skullyville, in describing his missionary experiences in *Outposts of Zion* wrote that when he had his family arrived in the Choctaw country in 1843, they were visited and cordially received by Agent William Armstrong, who with J. H. Heald,⁶⁴ a prominent Indian trader at Skullyville, furnished them with teams and hands and supplied every "needed aid." Mr. Goode made the following remarks on William Armstrong and J. H. Heald:⁶⁵

The two gentlemen just referred to. . . . deserve to be ranked among the few who have maintained, in all their intercourse with the Indians, an unblemished reputation.

Major Armstrong was a native of Tennessee, and a brother of General Robert Armstrong, late Consul to Liverpool, and long the intimate friend of General Jackson. . . . Major Armstrong was one of "nature's Noblemen;" of commanding person and noble bearing; courteous, gentlemanly, and hospitable; with a soul that scorned the thought of profiting by a

⁶¹ *The Five Civilized Tribes, op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶² J. Y. Bryce, comp., "About some of our first Schools in Choctaw Nation." Vol. 6, No. 3 (September, 1928), p. 359.

⁶³ Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), p. 59; *Niles' Register*, Vol. LXXII (1847), p. 139.

⁶⁴ J. H. Heald was a member of the firm of Berthlet, Heald & Co. He was an eastern man. He resided at the agency and from the account of the Rev. Mr. Goode he was a humane and generous man who scorned to take advantage of the Indians.

⁶⁵ William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1864), p. 43.

mean act, whether at the expense of a white or red man. He was emphatically the friend of the Indian, and especially of the Choctaw; and as a result, he possessed their confidence and even affection in a very high degree. . . . Major Armstrong highly approved the educational movement among this people, encouraged missionary labor, and vigorously seconded every effort for their improvement. This much is due to the memory of the Indian's friend and protector, a worthy man and faithful public officer. . . .

In *Life Among the Choctaws*, the Reverend Henry C. Benson, teacher at Fort Coffee Academy, described his friends and neighbors and Skullyville:⁶⁶

Mr. Armstrong was a man of unblemished reputation, of excellent morals, and formerly had been a communicant of the Presbyterian Church. His family consisted of himself, two sons, a little daughter, Mr. Irwin, his clerk, and Mr. Wilson, the school-teacher. He had a son and daughter at college in the east. Mrs. Armstrong had died in Tennessee; the housekeepers were colored servants. Mr. Armstrong was a genuine and true friend of the Indians, and labored indefatigably to improve their condition in all respects. He gave his cordial approbation to all well-directed efforts to establish missions and schools in the several tribes under his superintendence.

Mr. Wilson, the teacher, was a graduate of the Washington College, Pennsylvania; he was appointed Principal of Spencer Academy, where he served some time, after which he received the appointment of Agent for the Choctaws.

Such were our neighbors when we commenced our labors at Fort Coffee. They were kind, sociable, well-disposed, and pleasant in their intercourse with us, but they were not pious.

Mr. Benson gave another description of life at Fort Coffee Academy and of the work of Agent William Armstrong:⁶⁷

About the middle of December Major Armstrong received at Fort Coffee sixty thousand dollars in specie, to be paid over to several Indian agents, to be distributed as annuities to the tribes embraced in that superintendency. It has been boxed and officially sealed at the New Orleans mint, each box containing one thousand dollars.

The boat had come late in the afternoon, and the boxes of coins were delivered to Mr. Armstrong, at our mission, about sunset; but, before it was possible to bring a wagon and horses to remove the treasure, a messenger arrived from the Agency with the sad intelligence that Mr. Irwin, the brother-in-law of Mr. Armstrong, was dying. He must go at once to the bedside of his dying friend; but it was impossible to carry the money with him, for its weight was over two tons *avoirdupois*. . . . It would not be secure in the hands of his servants; for the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians knew of its arrival, and might be tempted to take possession of it. . . .

After consultation it was thought proper to convey the money up the hill and deposit it in the little log office, and appoint H. C. Benson to guard it till morning. Now, it must be remembered that the office was scarcely six feet high, built of small logs, had a frail door and window, and was covered with "shakes," or clapboards. . . .

⁶⁶ Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaws* (Cincinnati, 1860), pp. 99-100.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-74.

The arrangement was made, and Mr. Armstrong went to the bedside of his dying friend. I was placed on duty. To guard such a treasure was a responsibility of no trifling character, especially in so frail a castle. It was necessary to be armed, but, . . . the only weapons from which a choice could be made were the old ax, with which the cook split his wood for the stove, and the shot-gun, with which I had sometimes amused myself shooting rabbits. The former was thought to be the most available, and consequently selected. A fire was kindled in the chimney, a mattress and blankets spread on the floor, the door locked, and the ax placed in a convenient position. After reading two or three hours I lay down, with my head in close proximity to a box which contained five thousand dollars in gold, and there I slept soundly till sunrise in the morning. On waking up I made diligent examination and found myself and the money all on hand; the robbers had not come.

From the Choctaw Agency, Agent Armstrong wrote his friend, Major John Henry who was in New Orleans, the letter dated April 11, 1844, and addressed in care of Walton & Sheafe, New Orleans. Major John Henry was a member of the firm of Cunningham and Henry of Van Buren, Arkansas, and he was probably in the "Crescent City" buying goods for the mercantile establishment. The two boys mentioned in this letter—David and Frank—were the sons of William Armstrong:⁶⁸

Dear Majr.

I fear you will begin to think me troublesome—but you informed me you would be in New Orleans for some time—a man must expect to be troubled by his friends—

I want about 7yds of blue Cottonade . . . for pantaloons for myself—You know what I want. Also two hats for David & Frank good and cheap as decent hats—something like the one I sent for myself—one that will fit you large for David—and a smaller one for Frank—also two Barrels of sugar, & a sack of Coffee with three sacks of salt for my plantation.

I would as soon ship on the Evelina as any boat—but do as you please.

I have no news things go about as usual—Wishing you and Mrs. H. a pleasant summer's visit

I remain your friend

Maj. John Henry

W. Armstrong.

In his voluminous *Report* of October 1, 1844, Armstrong wrote of the Quapaws who were under his charge, living in the Choctaw country:⁶⁹

The Quapaws, who once owned the greater part of the present State of Arkansas, and made good their possession against the incursions of the Osages and other warlike bands, are now reduced to less than 400. Nearly half of them drag out a wretched existence on the waters of Red river, in a country they occupy by permission of the Choctaws. The principal part of them live in their proper homes in the Neosho sub-agency, on a small tract northeast of the confluence of the Neosho and Pomme de-Terre rivers. Here various efforts have been made to improve their condition—so far, with little success. . . .

⁶⁸ Autograph letter in Grant Foreman Collection in a package of letters sent him by Miss Clara Eno, Van Buren, Arkansas, and rescued by her when a large building was razed in the town.

⁶⁹ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, pp. 323, 326, 454-55.

A large group of Choctaws who had remained in Mississippi had recently moved west and settled in the Indian Territory. Agent Armstrong referred to this group of Choctaws in his *Report to T. Hartley Crawford*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated September 30, 1845:

One of the principal events that has occurred in the western superintendency during the past year, is the arrival of 1,200 Choctaws from Mississippi, being a portion of those who remained in their former country after its cession. . . . Fortunately, Congress, by directing the investment of one-half of all that may be due the Mississippi Choctaws for reservations, has secured them an income sufficient to place them on an equal footing with the rest of the tribe.

So far those who have emigrated appear to be entirely satisfied with their new location. Many of them have expressed great gratification at the signs of improvement everywhere visible among the Choctaws west. . . .

The *Southern Reformer*, Jackson, Mississippi, February 16, 1846, stated that "600 and odd Choctaws under Gen. Armstrong passed through there on their way west last Saturday. Some 400 crossed Pearl River a few miles above Jackson and will meet at Vicksburg to take a steamer boat on the Mississippi River" and shortly after reach their wild home in the far West.

The *Arkansas Intelligencer* announced on August 30, 1845 that the Choctaw annuity had been paid in Moo-sha-la-tubbee (*sic*) District on the twenty-seventh and that Captain Armstrong would pay the Chickasaws at their council ground near Fort Washita on September 8. The Choctaw payment in Push-ma-to-ha (*sic*) District at Running Water on the eighteenth or twentieth and the Puck-sha-nubbee (*sic*) District near Doaksville on the twenty-third or twenty-fourth.

A noted school for boys was opened on December 2, 1845, named "Armstrong Academy" by the Choctaws for their great friend and agent, William Armstrong. The name alone should have been an inspiration to the lads who were educated there for much of the advancement of their people had been promoted through the interest and good offices of Agent Armstrong. The academy had been established by the Choctaw Council in 1844, and the location selected in the western part of Pushmataha District, about three miles northeast of the present town of Bokchita, in Bryan County.⁷⁰

The Reverend Ramsay D. Potts, a Baptist missionary who had established Providence Mission in 1836, among the Choctaws southeast of present Hugo in Choctaw County, was selected to serve as Superintendent of Armstrong Academy. The American Indian Mission Association (Baptist) paid a third of the expenses while the Choctaw Nation bore the remainder of the cost of operation. Superintendent Potts wrote to Captain Armstrong on September 1, 1845,

⁷⁰ W. B. Morrison, "Old Philadelphia Baptist Church," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September, 1935), pp. 266-7.

stating that the school was located "two miles south of the road leading from Fort Towson to Fort Washita, fifty-five miles west of the former and thirty east of the latter. . . ." This location was about three miles northeast of present Bokchito in Bryan County.⁷¹ Armstrong Academy became a center of educational affairs for the Choctaws for many years. The trustees of the institution at the time of its opening were Agent William Armstrong, Peter P. Pitchlynn, George W. Harkins, Thompson McKenney and Robert M. Jones.⁷¹

Agent Armstrong's *Report*, dated October 20, 1846, treated *Education* as the principal subject. He was particularly encouraged by the interest the Choctaws were displaying in having their daughters gain an education. Some years ago, the late venerable Elizabeth Jacobs Quinton, a one-eighth Choctaw, described William Armstrong to the writer. She attended New Hope Academy⁷² near Skullyville when a young girl and so had an opportunity to see the Agent. She said that he "was a tall, light-complected man: had kind of auburn hair who wore a moustache and 'sideburns' for a while. He was a nice man to do business with. The Choctaws all like him and respected him highly."

Armstrong had reported to the Commissioner in 1844 that conditions among the Chickasaws were improving.⁷³

For nearly two hundred miles on the main travelled road from Missouri and northwestern Ark's to the N. and N-west section of Texas, emigrants and travellers depend entirely for subsistence and forage upon Indians of this tribe, generally the full blood. Their cabins usually constructed by themselves, are generally sheltered by shade trees, and in situations chosen with a degree of taste and a regard for comfort not always found among frontier settlers. At several of their homes I saw looms and spinning-wheels of their own manufacture, some of them made by self-taught mechanics. . . .

Superintendent Armstrong wrote to Washington that he and the Agent to the Chickasaws (Upshaw) were convinced of the determination of a majority of the Chickasaws to "restore the old and long since abandoned system of government by hereditary chiefs . . . to benefit a few designing persons." In a speech King Ish to ho to pa had declared that he was their king, that he had been born so and would remain king until his death, though he was willing to abdicate

⁷¹ For an account of Armstrong Academy see James W. Moffitt, "Early History of Armstrong Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (March, 1943), pp. 88-91. It is interesting to note that four of the Choctaw trustees—Pitchlynn, Harkins, McKenney and Jones—had been students at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, and it shows the dependence of the Indians on that school to fill important posts in the various nations.

⁷² Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "New Hope Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944), p. 278.

⁷³ Office Indian Affairs: Western Supt'y File A 1911. Armstrong to Crawford. This road led southwest to Fort Gibson and Honey Springs, and crossed the Canadian River at North Fork Town.

if they wished. The Colbert faction would not agree to this and he was confirmed as king to preside over all councils of the Chickasaws.

For the purpose of dividing their annuities the Chickasaw Nation had been divided into four companies back in Mississippi headed by Tishomingo, McGilvery, Alberson and Thomas Seeley. Edmund Pickens was now (1845) appointed second controlling chief to act as treasurer and handle all of the tribal funds. Pitman Colbert wrote Superintendent Armstrong of the recent council and said, "we have placed our friend Edmund Pickens in the same situation as my old uncle Levi Colbert was in the old Chickasaw Nation." He added that his uncle was impoverished by the great number of Indians who visited him and were fed at his table. Pickens would have similar calls upon his hospitality and it was hoped that a salary would be provided so that he might be able to assume the burden. Armstrong refused to recognize the officers chosen and paid it to the individual citizens as usual. He expressed himself deeply interested in their plans for a manual labor school projected by the Methodist Church for the Chickasaws were in a better position to provide for education than most of the Indian tribes.

According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1844, Major William Armstrong and General Matthew Arbuckle were largely occupied in inducing the Seminoles to remove to the part of the Creek territory which had been assigned to them. Commissioner Crawford wrote Superintendent Armstrong June 17, 1844, that Roley McIntosh, Ufalla Hadjo, and Benjamin Marshall had expressed hostility to the separation of their landed interests which would require great delicacy and care to overcome.

John D. Bemo, Seminole teacher and missionary, opened his school at Prospect Hill in the western Creek Nation on March 15, 1944, with forty students present. The Indians were under the impression that the children would be boarded in the school, and when they realized that was not the plan, they began to leave the school until it was reduced to fifteen, at which number it continued. They were all boys; "eight of them are in two syllables, one in three, and six are in their 'ab's'."⁷⁴ Thomas L. Judge, sub-agent for the Seminoles wrote to Major William Armstrong, superintendent Indian Affairs, Western Territory, that Bemo's course had fully sustained the good opinion his friends had formed of him. A marked change in the habits and manners of the Indians immediately in the neighborhood of his school had taken place.⁷⁵

Superintendent Armstrong ended his *Report* for 1844 in a happy mood by stating: ". . . it gives me great pleasure to be able to state that I have the utmost confidence in the fidelity of the

⁷⁴ *Report*, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844, p. 374.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 472-3.

different tribes in this superintendency, and that, in my opinion, the government could safely rely upon them as efficient allies in the event of a rupture with any foreign power." This statement presaged the war with Mexico two years later.

Not long after the establishment of the Texas Republic both Texas and Mexico had made persistent efforts to embroil the southwestern Indians in their quarrel, and Sam Houston, then president of the Republic of Texas, used his friendship with the Cherokees and Creeks to enlist their strength on the side of Texas against Mexico. A letter from Houston in the hands of a Creek chief was once intercepted and Armstrong sent a copy to Washington, with a report on May 10, 1837 from the Choctaw Agency, in which he wrote:⁷⁶

The Creeks as well as Cherokees have a great disposition to engage in the contest between the Texans and Mexicans, and there is those amongst them, more especially with the Cherokees who are secretly encouraging such a design. It is calculated to operate injuriously upon the Indians, to have anything to do with this contest, thereby withdrawing them from their proper pursuits, and calculated to alienate their confidence from the Government of the United States."

In his *Report* for 1845, Superintendent William Armstrong stated: "A vexed and perplexing question was happily settled by the treaty made with the Creeks and Seminoles in January last. . . . The great body of the Seminoles have removed to the waters of Little river, a stream emptying into the Canadian, a hundred miles above its mouth. So far, the accounts from them have been favorable . . . they are erecting cabins, and preparing to make fields in time to plant corn in the spring. . . ." Armstrong further stated that the Creeks had gradually extended their settlements from their first locations near the mouth of the Verdigris and Grand rivers, until they had reached the Cross Timbers.⁷⁷

On January 4, 1845 a treaty between the United States, the Creeks and Seminoles was concluded at the Creek Agency. It was signed by William Armstrong. Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler, Creek Agent James Logan and Thomas L. Judge, Seminole agent. The witnesses were Benjamin Marshall and John Dillard. This document was proclaimed by President James K. Polk after it was ratified by the senate on March 6, 1845.

Superintendent Armstrong was deeply concerned because of the frequent incursions made into the Creek territory by bands of Pawnees of the Platte for the purpose of horse stealing. The settlers were in little danger but alarm was felt as far as the mouth of the Verdigris River. Troops were detached from Fort Gibson and Fort Washita when requested by the authorities for the relief of the people.

⁷⁶ Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 232.

⁷⁷ For a history of this forest, see Carolyn Thomas, *The Cross Timbers* (Muskogee, 1947).

The life of Superintendent Armstrong was anything but peaceful as there was almost constant trouble within the different tribes. The Cherokees were greatly upset because of the decision of the council that the salines were to revert to the nation with the exception to the one granted to Sequoyah by the treaty of 1828. Some of the "Old Settlers" had established salt plants on which they had expended large sums and as the new law deprived them of the property loud complaints were heard. Captain John Rogers, one of the chiefs of the "Old Settlers," and operator of the Grand Saline, called a meeting in September, 1844, at Tahlontuskee, where it was planned to memorialize the United States government for relief. When the authorities of the nation learned of the proposed meeting they attempted to prevent it claiming that it was the intention to divide the Cherokees and overthrow the government. Armstrong was successful in prevailing upon the "Old Settlers" to abandon the meeting and thus prevent a renewal of bloodshed.⁷⁸

Superintendent Armstrong's *Report* for 1844, which included interesting accounts of the Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Miamis, Quapaws and Caddoes, had this to say about the Cherokees:

Their affairs are still in an unsettled state.—The party feelings which have so long divided them, far from subsiding, appear rather to increase in violence. A number of "the treaty" have lately gone to the north-western section of Texas, for the purpose of exploring the country, with a view to their ultimate emigration and separation from the rest of the tribe. The result of this expedition will doubtless have a material bearing on the final settlement of the Cherokee question.

The Cherokees were still contending in 1846, when Superintendent Armstrong was appointed on a committee composed of Albion K. Parris, Edmund Burke and himself to make any new arrangements which would heal all dissensions. *The Cherokee Advocate* referred to Captain William Armstrong several times in 1846: "On January 8, the 'Treaty Party' delegation with Armstrong, John Watie, the Reverend John Huss and two other members left for Washington. On January 29, Captain Armstrong was reported in Mississippi helping in the removal of the Choctaws, and he was said to be in Jackson Mississippi on March 19. He was again in Washington on August 6 when John Drew and William Shorey Coodey were also in the capital."

The Commission labored at Washington through July but it was not until August 7, 1846, that the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Indians was ratified by one vote.⁷⁹ William Armstrong was a signer, as one of the three commissioners on the

⁷⁸ *The Five Civilized Tribes, op. cit.*, pp. 30-4, 45 (note 33), 68-9, 72, 107, 110 (note 2), 165-66, 187, 331-2.

⁷⁹ Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 75. This did not end the trouble between the Cherokee factions; they were aroused again during the Civil War and feeling still persists between the descendants of the different parties in Oklahoma.

part of the government. Cherokee signers were Chief John Ross and eight prominent members of the tribe who were delegates duly appointed by the constituted authorities of the nation. The "Treaty Party" was represented by six members while the old Settlers or Western Cherokees had five delegates.⁸⁰

The Cherokee Advocate on August 27, 1846 (p. 3, col. 3), printed on item from the *Van Buren Intelligencer*, to the effect that Armstrong would shortly return from Washington, bringing over \$200,000, general annuities and contingent funds of the Indian Department for that superintendency.

When Superintendent William Armstrong died at Doaksville in June, 1847, a large meeting of Choctaws and others was held in this village on the 15th of the month, for the purpose of making some public expression of their feelings in regard to the death of their old friend and agent. On motions of Capt. Eastman Loman, U. S. Interpreter, Colonel David Folsom was called to the chair, and Lewis Garland appointed secretary. After an appropriate prayer from the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury, the Chairman arose and explained the purpose of the meeting in substantially the following words:⁸¹

We have met to express our respect for our departed friend, and mingle our sympathies with the tears of the bereaved children and relatives. I, being a Choctaw, would be glad to say a few words about the character of him whose death has this day called us together, but my command of the English language is not sufficient to permit me to say all I could wish.

In the year 1810 I first knew Frank [Francis C.] Armstrong. He has since been our Agent. His bones rest in our land. In the year 1831, in carrying out our treaty, Major Frank Armstrong and his brother WILLIAM were appointed to take a survey of the farms and improvements of the Choctaws. This duty they discharged faithfully and to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. After that they were associated in removing the Choctaws to their present homes. Then we Choctaws became well acquainted with them both. I, being at that time at the head of a party, had an opportunity of knowing the operations of Major William Armstrong. Though he was in the rear of my party he frequently came up to see how we were getting on. He felt deeply interested for us. He was careful to do every thing he could to make our wives and little ones comfortable. He saw us settle in our homes.

His brother Frank, was our first Agent in this country. A short time passed, and, as I have already said, death removed him from us.

Major William Armstrong was appointed in 1835. He came among us with his family. But a few months passed and his wife fell under the cold hand of death. My friends, but few of us know the loss we sustained in the death of Mrs. Armstrong. She was an excellent woman. The sympathies of her heart flowed out to the Choctaws,—to the poor Choctaw women. No one ever came to her house to whom she did not extend the hand of charity, and cause them to feel that in her they had a friend. Not a few shed tears over her grave.

⁸⁰ Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 137.

⁸¹ *The Arkansas Intelligencer*, June 26, 1847, p. 3, cols. 1 & 2.

Major William Armstrong has since died among us,—our father and our friend. I think I may safely say that I give expression to the feelings of the Choctaw people when I say he was our father. He ever manifested a lively interest in our welfare. He always gave us good counsel,—never bad. He never saw a Choctaw in difficulty but he rendered assistance by counsel and advice. Whenever there was a dispute between a Choctaw and a white man, he always satisfactorily adjusted it.

As children inquire for their father when absent and long for his return, so when business called our Agent from the Nation, the Choctaws missed him, and the inquiry was frequent, "Where is Armstrong?"—"When will he return?" He was truly our leader, our friend, our father.

He was an honest man. We Choctaws loved him for his honesty. Whenever a man went to him for information he gave all that he could. There have frequently been Agents who would run away with Indian money, or, in paying it over, keep back a part. But not so with our departed friend. Every thing was straight. All the money was paid as it should be.

I regret very much that I did not visit him more frequently during his illness. When I did see him he manifested a deep interest in the welfare of my people. He exclaimed the chief desire of any man should be "to act honorably in all things and prepare for the world to come." He paused. Again he exclaimed "to act honorably in all things and prepare for the world to come." This to me was good preaching, and I think it should be to all.

After the Chairman concluded his remarks, a committee of five was appointed to prepare resolutions expressing the sentiments of the meeting. The committee retired a few moment then presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God in his wise and holy Providence, to remove by death, Maj. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, the late Superintendent of the Western Territory, and Agent for the Choctaws—therefore

Resolved—First, That we hereby tender our warmest sympathies to the bereaved children and other relatives of the deceased, for the great and irreparable loss they have sustained by the death of their honored father and relative.

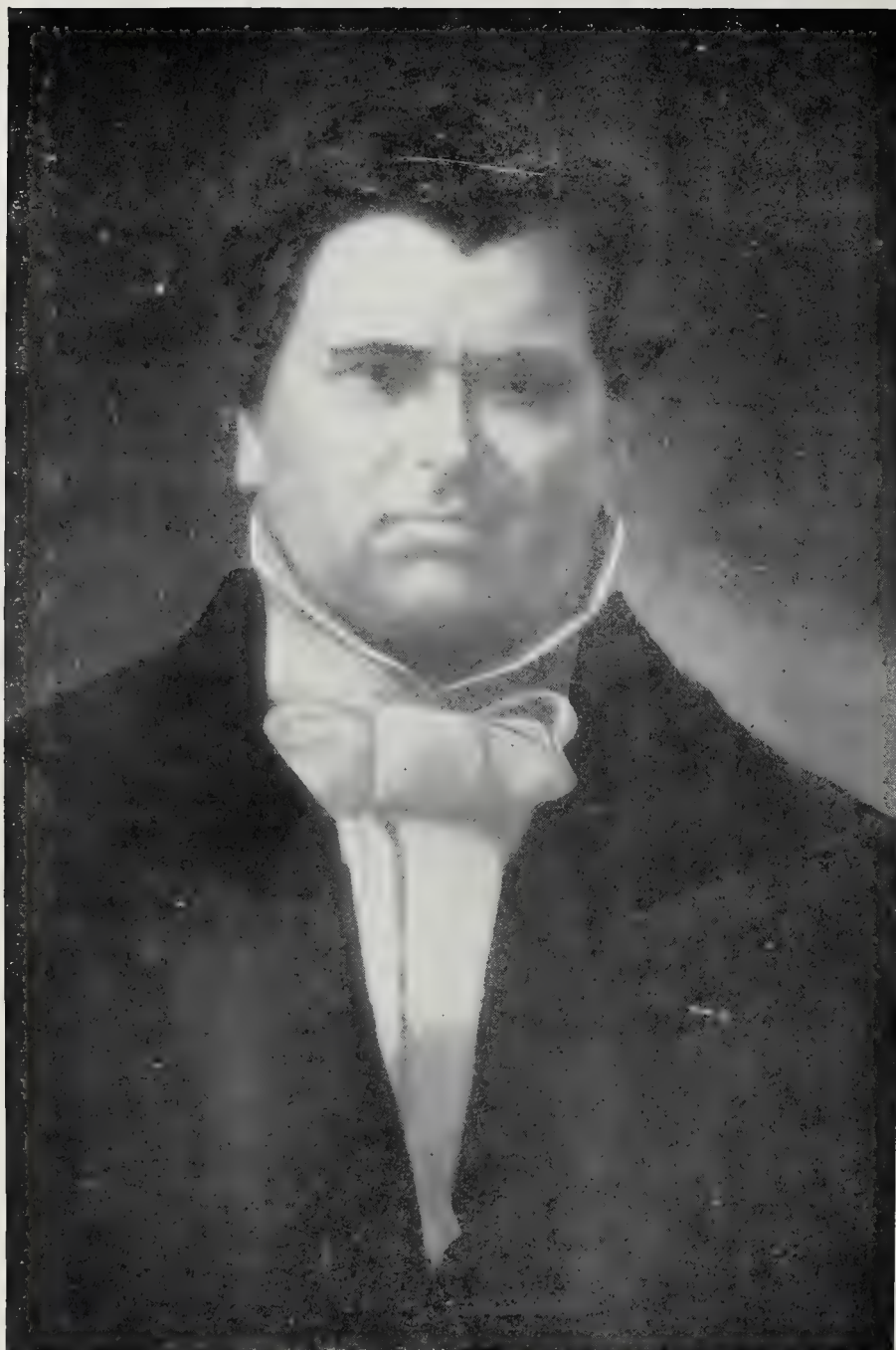
Second, That on this occasion we consider it our privilege to express our convictions of the high qualifications and eminent services of the deceased as a public officer, and especially as Superintendent of the Western Territory and Agent for the Choctaws.

Third, That with poignant sorrow we sincerely mourn the death of our father and Agent.

Fourth, That we gratefully record our testimony to the deep interest manifested by Major Armstrong in the cause of education and general improvement among all the Indian tribes, and especially to his successful and persevering efforts in behalf of the Seminaries recently established among the Choctaws and those about to be established among the Creeks and other Indians.

Fifth, That we gratefully remember the happy and successful efforts of our late lamented Agent to promote the peace and allay the dissensions among the Choctaws and other Indian tribes.

Sixth, That the friends of the deceased in the Choctaw Nation wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.



(Painting, Oklahoma Historical Society)

DAVID FOLSOM

First Elected Choctaw Chief, under Choctaw Constitution, 1826

Seventh, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the family of the deceased and to the President of the United States.

Eighth, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Van Buren Intelligencer*, the *Cherokee Advocate*, and the *Washington Telegraph*.

The published Minutes of this meeting, signed by "D. Folsom, President," and "L. Garland, Secretary," state that the meeting⁸² closed with an "address to the Father of mercies" by the Reverend J. H. Carr, veteran Methodist missionary to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.⁸³

David Folsom who wrote the resolutions about William Armstrong was a man with a kindly heart who appreciated the wise care given to the Choctaws by the Agent until the day of his death. Folsom was born in the old Choctaw Nation on January 25, 1791, the son of Nathaniel Folsom and Ai-ni-chi- ho- yo who was a descendant of a line of Choctaw chiefs. David Folsom served under Jackson in the Indian war and was present at the taking of Pensacola.

After the Removal of the Indian Territory, he was instrumental in having missionaries sent among the Choctaws, and he was always interested in education although he had only a few years schooling himself. He was a delegate to Washington a number of times and served as chief many years. His wife was Rhoda Nail, a half-blood Choctaw and they had a large family, the members of which were influential in the nation. Chief Folsom was buried in the old Fort Towson cemetery and his monument bears the following inscription:

"To the memory of David Folsom, the first Republican Chief of the Choctaw Nation. The promoter of industry, education, religion and morality; was born January 25, 1791 and departed this life September 24th, 1847. Age 56 years and eight months. 'He being dead yet speaketh!' "⁸⁴

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ J. Y. Bryce, compiler, "Some Notes of Interest Concerning Early Operations in the Indian Territory by Methodist Church South," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1927), pp. 233-5.

The Reverend John H. Carr of the Methodist Church South served the Doaksville Mission for a period of six years. In 1851 he was placed in charge of Red River African Mission. At the conference of 1852 he was appointed superintendent of Bloomfield Academy where he remained in charge for sixteen years. During the Civil War he showed great skill in keeping together the members of his church and the students. He was born April 16, 1812 at Lebanon, Tennessee.

⁸⁴ Czarina C. Conlan, "David Folsom," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 340-355. The above epitaph was written by the Rev. Cyrus Byington, a devoted friend and admirer of David Folsom. H. B. Cushman in his *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899) devotes several pages to Folsom's history and he prints four letters written by him from the eastern Choctaw Nation. In William Armstrong's report for 1842 (p. 438), he wrote that the salt works carried on by Colonel David Folsom, a Choctaw of respectability and energy, "were more extensive than the one other such works in that nation. About twenty bushels a day are manufactured—a supply equal to the demand, which, no doubt, will be increased as the article is wanted."

THE COLORED HIGH SCHOOL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

By T. L. Ballenger

About six miles northwest of Tahlequah on a little knoll overlooking two of the most beautiful springs of clear sparkling water in Eastern Oklahoma are to be found the ruins of a forgotten enterprise of the Cherokee Nation. On this spot once lived a slaveholder named Webber, and tradition has it that Mrs. Webber and her favorite servant Martha buried the family treasures here to hide them from the "secesh" raiders in the War between the States. Whether there is any truth in this tradition or not it evidently possessed the minds of certain earlier desperadoes, for some of the immense hewn sandstone slabs that encased the graves of the Webber family have been turned topsy-turvy and the graves rifled.

The Cherokees had a Negro problem as well as did the white people of the United States and no Freedmen's Bureaus were located here to help in its solution. One phase of this problem was the education of the former colored slaves of Cherokee citizens. The Nation had primary schools which the Negro could attend but, for a long time, no provision was made for his higher training. The Cherokees had had their two well organized and well conducted seminaries for higher education of their own boys and girls for over forty years before any provision was made for the higher education of the colored people, former slaves and their children, in the Nation.

Some advocates of the rights of the Cherokee freedman doubtless had a sincere interest in his educational advancement and urged the Nation to provide facilities for it. Had the needs of the Negro not fitted in with the ambitions of a political party, the humanitarian element alone might never have accomplished their desires. Up to near the last decade of the Nineteenth Century the National Party in the Cherokee Nation had been predominantly successful in keeping the reins of government firmly in its hands. The Downing Party saw in the Negro school question an opportunity to win the vote of the Negroes and their Cherokee sympathizers, and was not slow to take advantage of its opportunity. This is not the only case in American history of a political party's bidding for the Negro vote. The Downing party made the establishment of a high school for the colored people the chief issue of its campaign in the fall of 1887, and won. Hence, with the inauguration of Joel B. Mayes in January, 1888, the administration was pledged to establish for the Negro people an educational institution where their children could go beyond the mere rudiments of a primary education.

With the election of the Downing Party governmental machinery was immediately set in motion for the construction of a high school building. In November, 1888, the Cherokee National Council authorized its erection and appropriated \$10,000 to pay for it. An attempt was made to have the school located at Bartlesville but enterprising citizens of Tahlequah prevented this and got it located near the National capital. At this time "Double Springs", some six miles northwest of Tahlequah, was on the main road connecting Vinita, Salina, Locust Grove, Peggs, Gideon, and Tahlequah. A mercantile establishment had been maintained here for several years. Besides, there two strong springs furnished an excellent water supply for such an institution, and it was surrounded by a valley well adapted to agriculture and horticulture. The citizens of Tahlequah raised a fund of four hundred dollars to pay for the improvements already on this site. Under date of February 1, 1889, for the consideration of \$400.00, Octavia Hartness and Buck Hartness "deeded" the Double Springs place to J. B. Stapler, T. J. Adair, J. W. McSpadden, D. W. Wilson, W. W. Ross, and others, "citizens of the Cherokee Nation and residents of Tahlequah District." This group of citizens in turn deeded it, on the same day, to H. L. Landrum, W. T. Duel, and Joel Baugh in trust for the Cherokee Nation, the consideration being that the "Colored High School" should be built thereon.¹

The contract for the building was awarded to Robert D. Knight of Vinita. Minutely detailed specifications were drawn up for the building and its equipment for school purposes. The main building was to be 48 x 50 feet with kitchen and dining room 16 x 50 feet, three stories high, made of good brick, with a stone foundation, and shingle, mansard and metal roof. A cellar was constructed under a part of the building. It contained about twenty rooms. The first floor consisted of a living room, a dining room and kitchen, a store room, an office, and a school room. The second floor was used mainly for the girls' quarters, and the third floor for the boys. A somewhat comprehensive list of furnishings was included in the specifications suitable for general housekeeping and dormitory purposes.² The

¹ *Cherokee Files*, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

² The following list of equipment was to be installed: 36 wood bedsteads, 36 moss mattresses, 18 stand tables, 72 stool chairs, 18 wash stands, 24 good cedar buckets, 24 wash pans, 24 tin dippers, 24 lamps and chimneys, 2 4-light chandeliers, 10 lamps with reflectors and chimneys, 18 slop pails, 6 wash bowls and pitchers, 18 large thunder-mugs, 4 dining tables to seat twelve persons each, 52 dining room chairs, 4 40-inch box stoves for school and dining rooms, 18 24-inch box stoves for other rooms, 1 large cook stove with reservoir, 5 doz. queensware china plates, 5 doz. heavy glass half pint tumblers, 2 large office chairs, 1 carpet for reception room, 12 cane bottom chairs, 1 chandelier, 1 round center table, 1 fancy looking-glass 24 x 36 in., 1 doz. cloth window shades with patent rollers, stove pipe with stoves, 1 doz. large flesh forks, 1 doz. basting spoons, 18 looking glasses 16 x 20 in., 1 large flour and meal chest, 1 table for kitchen, 1 cupboard for kitchen, 1 cupboard for dining room, 2 privies 7 x 14 ft., 5 doz. knives and forks, 5 doz. teaspoons, 5 doz. table spoons, 5 doz. imported China tea cups and saucers, ½ doz. copper bottom teapots. ½ doz.

bricks for the building were burned a short distance east of the site of the structure. The building was erected in the year 1889 and was ready for occupancy January 1, 1890.

COLORED HIGH SCHOOL

In his third annual message, in 1889, Chief Joel B. Mayes said:

"This institution is about finished, as provided by an act of the National Council at its last session, and now, to fit it up for what it is intended, it becomes necessary to make an appropriation to supply the Institution and to carry on the school. I therefore respectfully recommend that you make the necessary appropriations and general provision for the management of this Institution. It should be a source of gratification to the Cherokee people that the feeling of race prejudice is fast dying out, and that the Cherokee Government can fully and cheerfully award to all of its citizens the rights and privileges that belong to them, and the Cherokee people, as one harmonious whole, can today, with one common impulse say that this is my own country, for whose defense I pledge my life, service and sacred honor."

The laws of the Cherokee Nation placed the school under the general supervision of the Superintendent of Education, along with that of the Cherokee male and female seminaries. The Superintendent of Education was superseded, a little later, by a Board of Education, consisting of three members. It was the Superintendent's duty to "prescribe and enforce a series of uniform text books"; "to make requisition on the executive department for funds" as needed, "to appoint teachers"; and to "have complete supervision and control" of the school, subject to such restrictions and direction as might be imposed by law.³ All needed funds were to be drawn from the public treasury by warrant of the Principal Chief based upon requisition of the Superintendent and accompanied by an itemized estimate showing the purpose of such expenditure. Teachers' salaries were to be paid in the same way.⁴ The Superintendent was required to visit the school at least twice a term. The school year was to consist of two terms, one of twenty weeks and the other of sixteen weeks.⁵ Each pupil paid five dollars per month for board. This payment was raised in 1893 to seven dollars and fifty cents. It was the duty of the steward to see that the money was paid. If any student failed to pay, the law instructed the Superintendent to dismiss him from school.⁶ The average attendance had to be kept up

copper bottom coffee pots, 2 doz. pint tin cups, 1 doz. quart tin cups, 5 sets of carving knives and forks, 4 castors of 5 bottles each, 1 doz. large granite iron meat dishes, 1 doz. small granite iron meat dishes, 1 doz. 1-gal. granite iron water pitchers, 1 doz. large deep granite iron dishes, 1 doz. small granite iron dishes, 5 doz. quart granite iron bowls, 5 doz. granite iron soup plates, 1 doz. granite iron sugar bowls, 1 doz. granite iron cream pitchers, 1 doz. heavy glass molasses jugs, 1 doz. cut glass salts.

³ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1892, Ch. X, Art. I, p. 270.

⁴ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1892, Ch. X, Art. I, p. 271.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 276.

to twenty-five under penalty of discontinuance of the school. The steward was authorized to contract for all necessary wood not furnished the school by the High Sheriff. Teachers had to pay board at the same rate as the pupils.⁷

Supplies for the school were purchased at wholesale rates and for a period of three months at a time. Estimates were drawn up by the steward, approved by the Superintendent of Education, or by the Board of Education, bids were received, and contracts awarded accordingly. Large numbers of old bills of merchandise are in the Cherokee files at the Oklahoma Historical Society and at the University of Oklahoma showing thousands of dollars worth of purchases from mercantile firms of Tahlequah, Fort Smith, and St. Louis.⁸ The total appropriation for this school ranged from \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year.

The steward of the Colored High School (also sometimes called Superintendent) was appointed and commissioned by the Principal Chief for a period of two years with the advice and consent of the Senate. He had to be a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, though the teachers did not. The steward was required to give bond in the sum of five thousand dollars. His salary was three hundred dollars a year. The school was to run two years with twenty-five pupils, then twenty-five more were to be added. At the end of four years the first twenty-five were to be discharged and the number was to be kept at fifty from then on.⁹ Teachers' salaries varied from thirty to sixty-five dollars per month. All officers and employees except the teachers were responsible to the steward,¹⁰ the teachers were responsible directly to the Board of Education. No hogs could be raised at the school but the steward was "required to sell the slop or swill to the highest bidder and to turn the proceeds over to the treasurer for the benefit of the school fund."¹¹

The school first opened for business January 1, 1890, with Nelson Lowrey of Tahlequah as steward and with an enrollment of

⁷ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁸ Some of the main firms that commonly supplied this school were J. W. Stapler and Sons, Percy Wyly, Richards and McSpadden, Ft. Smith Wholesale Grocery Company, and Shibly Woods Grocery Company.

Following is the bill of goods purchased for the school for the first three months of its existence: Flour, 1800 lbs., \$45; meal, 20 bu., \$10; bacon, 1200 lbs., \$120; beef, 600 lbs., \$30; pork, 600 lbs., \$30; lard, 100 lbs., \$10; coffee, 135 lbs., \$30; tea, 5 lbs., \$3; sugar, 300 lbs., \$24; syrup, 40 gals., \$20; hominy, 300 lbs., \$9; kraut, 1 bbl., \$8; potatoes, 16 bu., \$12; dried fruit, 4 bu., \$6; salt, 1 bbl., \$2.75; pepper, 2 lbs., .70; baking powder, 20 lbs., \$4; soda, 10 lbs., .80; coal oil, 1 bbl., \$8.50; brooms, 1 doz., \$2.40; wood, 20 loads, \$20; labor, \$78; matron, \$22.50. This made a total of \$496.65. This was to supply thirty people: 25 students, 1 steward, 1 cook, 1 laborer, 1 laundress, and 1 matron. T. B. Hitchcock was then President of the Board of Education and Eli H. Whitmire, Secretary.

⁹ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 1892, p. 279.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 282.

approximately twenty-five pupils. Lowrey served in this capacity until November 26, 1895 and then served again during the years 1902 and 1903. People who visited the school at that time say that he kept a neat clean kitchen. O. S. Fox of Ohio was principal teacher from 1890 to 1894. Only one teacher was employed at first, later as many as three or four. Mrs. Fannie Lowrey was teacher during a part of her husband's term, 1894-1896, and then taught there at intervals for a number of years afterwards.¹² Mrs. Clara Vann, grandmother of Mrs. Lelia Ross of Tahlequah, was matron and laundress at the school in these early years. George Vann was appointed steward November 26, 1895 and served until August 25, 1899.¹³

Evidently the high school attendance was not maintained at its legal maximum for, after a few years, it was considered advisable to establish a primary department. Hence, on December 6, 1895, during the administration of Samuel H. Mayes, the following law was passed:¹⁴

Be it enacted by the National Council, That there be and is hereby established a Primary Department for the Colored High School, which shall be limited to one boy and one girl to be selected from each Colored Primary school of the Cherokee Nation by the Board of Education, under the same rules in all respects governing the selection of Primaries for the Male and Female Seminaries.

This change at least had the effect of increasing the attendance and gave some children educational advantages otherwise unobtainable. The National Council passed another act, which became law November 5, 1897, reducing the annual term of school from nine months to eight. But it was changed back to nine by agreement between the Dawes and Cherokee Commissions in 1899.¹⁵

George F. Nave was steward, or superintendent, from August, 1899 to November, 1901.¹⁶ H. H. Bryant of Perry, Kansas, was

¹² Mrs. Fannie Lowrey, originally from Ft. Scott, Kansas, was one of the oldest colored teachers, in point of service, in the Nation, having taught in the high school and in the public schools practically all of her life. She died at Tahlequah in 1928.

¹³ *Cherokee Files*, Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Pamphlet* giving agreement between Dawes Commission and Cherokee Commission, 1899, p. 11.

¹⁶ George F. Nave lived in Tahlequah at this time. He later moved to Muskogee where he conducted a real estate office. He achieved some distinction in 1917 for his leaflet on *The New Negro's Attitude toward His Government at a Time Like This*, which was an appeal to the Negro to support the war. He seems to have striven for higher educational standards for the Negro race. Following is a copy of his commission.

Tahlequah, I. T. Nov. 20, 1899.
Commission

By authority of the Cherokee Nation.

Whereas, it appears that George F. Nave was duly recommended by the Principal Chief, and confirmed by the Senate Branch of the National Council on the

teacher for one year during this time. He died while teaching here and his brother C. B. Bryant was employed to take his place. The annual report of the Board of Education for the school year 1898-1899 gives us some insight into the progress the school had made to this point:¹⁷

Upon investigation we find that this school [the Colored High School] has never done the work intended that it should do.

Pupils have been admitted who never had attended school before, therefore making this institution in fact, a primary school, instead of a real high school, as was intended. It has done fairly well the past term, though the average attendance was below twentyfive. It has now about forty pupils of all grades, and the prospects are more hopeful. No course of study has ever been prescribed, which may be partly the cause of the admission of pupils of the primary grades. The Board has adopted the following course of study, and pupils will hereafter be admitted by passing a satisfactory examination to the freshman year.

Senior
Astronomy
Algebra
Natural Philosophy
Psychology
Literature
Physical Geography

Junior
Algebra
Arithmetic
Physics
Rhetoric
General History
Higher Arithmetic
Geology
American Literature

Sophomore
Practical Arithmetic
Mental Arithmetic
General History
Grammar
Book Keeping
Botany
Spelling and Composition
Freshman
Practical Arithmetic
Grammar
Physiology
United States History
Spelling and Composition
Penmanship

Mrs. L. T. Brown is the teacher this term, and promises to be a useful woman among the people of her race. The present Superintendent, George F. Nave, is taking much interest in the domestic department and showing commendable pride in keeping the building and surroundings in a healthy condition.

18th day of November 1899, for the office of Steward of the Colored High School, Now Therefore, Be it known to all whom it may concern, that I, T. M. Buffington Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, by virtue of the authority in me vested by the Constitution, do hereby in the name, and by the authority of the Cherokee Nation, Commission the aforesaid George F. Nave to take the office of Steward of the Colored High School, and to do and perform all the duties, and exercise all the powers and authority that now is, or which may hereafter be prescribed by law for the holder of such office, to have and to hold the same for the period of two years from the third Monday in November 1899, according to law, or until his successor has been duly elected and commissioned, unless discharged by due course of law.

In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Cherokee Nation, at Tahlequah, on this the 20th day of Nov. A. D. 1899.

T. M. Buffington
Principal Chief.

Seal of the
Cherokee Nation.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Board of Education*, 1899, p. 17-18.

Included in this Annual Report is the steward's report to the Board. It was as follows:¹⁸

Hon. J. T. Parks, President Board of Education.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 4th, making inquiry of the condition of the domestic department of this institution, of which I have to say that the domestic as well as the other departments are in very fair condition.

The school has been unusually large this term, there being enrolled 48 pupils and many were turned away for lack of bedsteads and stoves. There are in regular attendance 41 pupils, 38 boarders and 3 day scholars.

The primary privilege allowed in this institution has been used largely to accommodate the poor and orphans, who were without means of acquiring the rudiments of an education.

As near as can be correctly estimated, it costs about \$7.50 per month to board a pupil in this school.

I would most respectfully recommend the appropriation of \$75.00 for 16 desks for use in the Colored High School.

As to the future good of this institution I have to say, that the interest awakened seems to be deep and lasting, and I feel safe in saying that with proper management this school will become a leading educational institution for Cherokee freedmen.

And I would respectfully recommend that the school work be placed upon a graded course of study, and teachers be required to adhere strictly to said course, that more good might be accomplished and better results attained.

Respectfully submitted.

Geo. F. Nave, Supt.

In a later report to the Board of Education, Nave said in part:¹⁹

The school made a step in an agricultural direction last term, and raised all the onions, beans, peas, cabbages, irish and sweet potatoes that we have used up to the present time. And I think this demonstrates to what extent the school might be made selfsupporting were we able to fence (10) or (15) acres of ground for school purposes.

A great deal of work has been done upon the premises since my last report. Trees and grass have been planted in the yard, and some brush and briars have been cleared away from near the yard fence. Indications are that the school is in a fair way to accomplish more in the future. . . . And on behalf of the Cherokee Freedmen who are the beneficiaries of this institution I desire to thank the administration for the attention given this school during its present regime.

Respectfully submitted.

Geo. F. Nave

Superintendent.

Superintendent Nave submitted another report in which he listed thirteen primary pupils whose fathers were able to pay and fifteen who were orphans or had no means of support. These first thirteen came from Chouteau, Spavinaw, Vinita, Melvin, and Hayden.²⁰

¹⁸ *Annual Report of the Board of Education*, 1899, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹ *Private Papers of George F. Nave*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

The residences of the others are not given. The pupils were required to work one hour each day at some useful employment about the school.

Superintendent Nave claims to be the author of the clause in an act of the National Council of 1901 "That the Cherokee Board of Education shall not employ, as teacher in the Cherokee National Male or Female Seminary and Colored High School and Orphan Asylum, any person who is not a graduate of some reputable school or college, not inferior in grade and standing to the said Seminaries."²¹

During the early years of this century a number of teachers were employed both from the Indian Territory and from distant states. Through the whole career of the school the enrollment ranged from below twenty-five to as high as seventy-five or eighty. The Nation employed prominent physicians to look after the health of the pupils, such as Ed. W. Blake, Otto Rogers, C. M. Ross, and J. M. Thompson. The school was continued until 1910 under the general direction of D. Frank Redd, Supervisor of Education 1906-1907, and later under the direction of A. S. Wyly. The graduating class of 1908 consisted of Lelia C. Swepston, now Mrs. Lelia Ross of Tahlequah, Katie Glass, Roscoe Foreman, and Clarence Hicks.²²

An undated manuscript in the Cherokee archives in the Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma gives an act passed by the National Council authorizing the Principal Chief to enter into an agreement with agents of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church to transfer to them "the High School Building and appurtenances thereto belonging erected and set apart by authority of law for the purpose of imparting higher educational privileges to the children of colored persons duly recognized as lawful citizens of the Cherokee Nation", based upon the following conditions: To grant them the building and equipment for a term not exceeding ten years. Also to appropriate \$1500 annually for the first two years to run the school and \$2,500 annually thereafter during the continuance of the contract. The Presbyterian Church in turn was to provide matron and teachers and to run the school, providing everything for the pupils except clothing. They were to have twenty-five pupils, about equally divided between the sexes, the first two years and fifty from then on, and were to make annual reports to the National Council as to the condition and progress of the school. The Board of Education should have the privilege of inspecting the school at any time. This contract evidently was rejected by the church, as no such disposition of the school was ever made.

²¹ Personal Interview with George F. Nave.

²² Mrs. Ross still has her diploma. It was signed by A. S. Wyly, D. Frank Redd, and the three colored teachers, and bears the seal of the Educational Department of the Cherokee Nation.

By act of Congress April 30, 1908, the Secretary of the Interior was instructed to take charge of all buildings and lands of the Cherokees used for government, school, or other tribal purposes, appraise and sell the property, and deposit the proceeds in the United States Treasury to the credit of the Cherokee Nation. In compliance with this Congressional act this property was sold at auction to the highest bidder, the Collate Missionary Baptist Association (colored), for \$1,350. Chief W. C. Rogers turned it over to them and gave them a deed to it April 3, 1914. This was approved by the Department of the Interior April 6, 1914. The Negroes had a hard time raising this purchase price and eventually the amount was reduced some four hundred dollars. The Reverend T. P. Tuggles had charge of the property for the Association. The building, together with the cleared land around it, was rented for whatever it would bring and was used by first one family and then another as a residence. In July, 1916, the building was burned, possibly a case of incendiarism. The land was sold by this Association to private individuals in 1920. Nothing marks the site today but the beautiful springs and a pile of crumbled ruins overgrown with shrubs and briers.

Like many a small school that has held sway for a time and then passed into the limbo of forgotten things with no means of measuring its total effect upon the life of the time, this institution has been obliterated by the march of modern progress. The memory of it reminds one of the many excellent enterprises of the Cherokee Nation, not a failure but a stepping stone to better conditions. It lasted for two decades and was evidently of considerable value to the colored people of the Cherokee Nation.

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1. *Annual Report of the Board of Education*, Cherokee Nation, Tahlequah, I. T., 1899.
2. *Cherokee County Records*, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
3. *Cherokee Files*, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
4. *Cherokee Files*, Phillips Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
5. *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, Published by an Act of the National Council, 1892. The Foley R'y Printing Company, Parsons, Kansas, 1893.
6. *Dawes Commission-Cherokee Commission Agreement*, Signed at Muskogee, I. T., January 14, 1899.
7. *Messages of the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation*.
8. *Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, I. T.
9. *Private Papers of the Late George F. Nave*, Muskogee, Oklahoma.
10. Personal Interviews with a number of individuals who lived through this period.

FOREIGN TRAVELERS IN OKLAHOMA, 1900-1950

*By Lawrence S. Thompson**

During the first part of the twentieth century nineteen foreigners who visited Oklahoma wrote about the state more or less extensively in the books that they published about their travels. Ten of these books are in German, four in French, two in Danish, one in Swedish, one in Dutch, and one in Portuguese (by a Brazilian). Two volumes report travels in the first decade of the century; two, between 1910 and 1920; five, between 1920 and 1930; seven, between 1930 and 1940; and three between 1940 and 1950.

Two outstanding facts of the culture of Oklahoma stand out in the eyes of these foreign writers, the oil industry and the Indian citizens of the state. Most writers refer to the oil industry, and Lazard, Lewinsohn, and Wollschlaeger discuss it in some detail. The sensational aspects of oil overshadow everything else in the state's economy for outsiders, and even agriculture is given very little attention. One writer (Müller), a cement manufacturer, does discuss the cement plant at Ada, but otherwise Europeans might easily believe that virtually all Oklahomans are in the oil business!

The contribution of citizens who are partly or wholly of Indian descent to the development of the state has been clearly recognized by foreign writers. Authors such as Demaison, Maurois, and Zimmermann give full credit to the original inhabitants of the state and their descendants for the remarkable development of Oklahoma's culture and economy. It is interesting to note that, while most Southern states (including Texas and Arkansas) are severely criticized by foreign writers for their treatment of the Negroes, such is not the case with Oklahoma, where, in general, they found a much greater degree of tolerance. Andréßen, who was in Oklahoma, criticizes adversely the American attitude toward Negroes in general, but he cites no examples of discrimination from Oklahoma. Ericsson, a Swedish hobo in search of the colorful, found an embryonic lynch mob in Guymon, but there is no evidence that this mob actually committed an act of violence.

The cities of Oklahoma are virtually ignored. A couple of writers refer briefly to Oklahoma City, another to Tulsa, and a few others to smaller communities; and they even by-pass the great cultural centers at Norman and Stillwater. Except for some of the hoboes and adventurers (Ericsson, Heye, Rosen-Carlé, and Schönauer),

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most of the visitors did not come to Oklahoma as tourists in search of recreation.

It is unfortunate that Europeans and South Americans have no full and fair picture of Oklahoma. Other states in the South and the Southwest of no greater cultural and economic importance than Oklahoma have been treated much more extensively by foreign writers. To some extent this situation is due to the fact that Oklahoma is not on the main routes followed by travellers from the east coast to the west coast; and to some extent it is due to the fact that agencies and organizations which sponsor the visits of foreigners have not routed them in this direction. Nevertheless, what the relatively few foreign writers who have visited the state have said about their visit is of considerable importance on account of their perspective and, in many cases, their objectivity. Chambers of commerce and promotional agencies can frequently gather all the facts but miss the mark completely in their interpretation of the spirit of the people.

The following bibliography summarizes briefly the books by the nineteen "Foreign Travelers in Oklahoma, 1900-1950":

ANDRÉSEN, GEORG. *Dette forbloeffende Amerika*. Aarhus, Forlaget Aros, 1949. 208 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Andrésen does not refer to specific places and dates in Oklahoma, but he did visit the state. Like most Europeans, he is indignant at all evidences of racial discrimination, and he records his reaction to this situation in the chapter entitled "Det sorte Amerika og det 'hvide' " (p. 152-172). He makes many valuable observations on the social and economic condition of the United States in the prosperous era following World War II.

DEMAISON, ANDRÉ. *Terre d'Amérique (grands et petits chemins des États-Unis)*. Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1939. 336 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. The greater part of this book (up to Part V, p. 291) is devoted to the author's travels in Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Florida, and Virginia. In general he is much more interested in traditions and manners than in social and economic problems, and he writes in a thoroughly delightful style. The treatment of the history and the present status of the Indian in Oklahoma is probably the best discussion of this subject available in any European book.

DOUYAU, JEAN. *Au temps où l'Oncle Sam se militarisait. . .* Paris, Jouve & Cie., 1921. 260 p. Date: 31 October 1917—20 October 1918. The author, a French army officer, was sent to America as an observer and instructor in military camps. His itinerary carried him to Fort Sill; but here he notes nothing that is typical of Oklahoma, only the uniform picture of the army camp that he had seen in other parts of the country.

ECKENER, HUGO. *Im Zeppelin über Länder und Meere. Erlebnisse und Erinnerungen.* Flensburg, Verlagshaus Christian Wolff, 1949. 565 p. Date: 1929. On the last leg of Captain Eckener's now famous circumnavigation via Zeppelin in 1929 he stopped at El Paso (p. 273-274), and he includes a brief description of the farming country in the area between El Paso and Kansas City, including much of Oklahoma.

ERICSSON, GUSTAF. *Bland fångar och filmhjältar i U.S.A.* Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1924. 265 p. Date: Winter of 1922. Ericsson, a Swedish hobo, left Kansas City one jump ahead of the police, and his first stop was Guymon, where he witnessed the activities of an embryonic lynch mob but left town for Dalhart, Texas, before an act of violence was committed.

HEYE, ARTUR. *In Freiheit dressiert.* Zürich, Albert Müller Verlag, 1940. 159 p. Date: Probably soon before World War I. This is the story of a German hobo in America in the early part of the century. He reports his adventures as an itinerant laborer and tramp in Oklahoma on p. 126 *et seq.* and sheds a little light on the life of this level of society. Heye's *Wanderer ohne Ziel; von abenteuerlichem Zwei- und Vierbein* (Berlin, Safari-Verlag, 1925; 304 p.) is based on the same adventures, although he omits Oklahoma in this earlier volume.

HOPPÉ, EMIL OTTO. *Die Vereinigten Staaten; das romantische Amerika, Baukunst, Landschaft und Volksleben.* Berlin, Atlantic-Verlag, 1930. 304 p. Date: 1927 (?). In this collection of 304 photographs from all over the United States by a master of the craft there is a remarkable picture of White Horse Eagle, Oklahoma Osage chief, on p. 90.

LAZARD, DIDIER. *Contrastes américains.* Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1940. 236 p. Date: September 1939. On p. 228-230 Didier describes Oklahoma City, which he finds promising and progressive by virtue of the dynamic oil industry. On p. 230-231 he contrasts Oklahoma City with Charleston, S. C., and finds the latter as moribund as the former is progressive. In general Lazard's observations are rather superficial.

LEWINSOHN, RICHARD. *Die Welt aus den Fugen: Amerika in der Krise.* Dresden, Carl Reisener Verlag, 1932. 275 p. Date: Soon before date of publication. On p. 163-174 there is an account of the crisis in the oil industry in Texas and Oklahoma. Lewinsohn gives a brief historical sketch of Oklahoma and an account of the measures taken by "Alfalfa Bill" Murray to put an end to the crisis.

LÜTHI, GOTTLIEB. *Wanderjahre in Amerika; Reiseerlebnisse schweizerischer Jungbauern aus Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten.* Bern, Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1932. 159 p. Date: May 1929.

Lüthi, an adventurous young Swiss who took a transcontinental tour, gives a few brief notes on the geography, economy, and demography of Oklahoma on p. 142-143.

MAUROIS, ANDRÉ. *États-Unis 39; journal d'un voyage en Amérique*. Paris, Les Éditions de France, 1939. 198 p. Date: 15 February—17 May 1938. Maurois, although fair and reasonable, does not pretend to give more than a few fleeting impressions of the South and Southwest. He visited Tulsa and while there jotted down a few notes on the history and present status of the Indians in Oklahoma, a brief but honest picture of this important group.

MÜLLER, ALFRED. *Meine Reise nach Amerika. Vortrag, gehalten auf der Sommersammlung des Vereins Deutscher Portland-Cement-Fabrikanten E.V. vom 8. bis 10. September 1926 in Hannover*. Charlottenburg, Zementverlag G.m.b.H., 1926. 37 p. Date: Three months in 1925. On p. 17-18 Müller describes the Oklahoma Portland Cement Company's plant in Ada.

NIELSEN, ROGER. *Amerika i Billeder og Text*. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1929. 319 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. This work by a press attaché at the Danish Legation in Washington is a monumental collection of geographical, historical, political, ethnological, sociological, economic, commercial, educational, and agricultural information; and he has matched his data with typical photographs from each state (including Oklahoma) to form a virtual encyclopedia of the United States. Each state is given a separate section.

ROSEN-CARLÉ, ERWIN. *Der deutsche Lausbub in Amerika; Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*. Stuttgart, Verlag Robert Lutz, 1911. 3 v. Date: From about 1894 until about 1900. After miscellaneous adventures in Texas, Rosen-Carlé becomes a knight of the rails and departs from the southwest via Guthrie, whose physical aspects he describes briefly.

SCHÖNAUER, GEORG. *Tramp und Farmer in USA; fünf Jahre kreuz und quer durch die Staaten*. Berlin, Im Deutschen Verlag, 1938. 270 p. Date: Five years in the early 1930s or possibly the late 1920s. Schönauer, like Rosen-Carlé, was an adventurous German who travelled over the entire United States as a hobo. On p. 99 he describes Oklahoma City as he saw it by night, but his main impression is that the population is predominantly Negro!

VERISSIMO, ERICO. *Gato preto em campo de neve*. Porto Alegre, Edição da Livraria do Globo, 1941. 420 p. Date: Probably 1941. P. 283-288 are devoted to brief visits to Houston and Oklahoma City, about which he gives basic geographic facts only.

VLEKKE, BERNARD HUBERTUS MARIA. *Amerika en wij*. Boermond, J. J. Ronen & Zonen, 1948. 344 p. Date: Soon after World War II.

While the author does not give his itinerary, he did visit Oklahoma. His book is an understanding and rational account of the United States as a whole, its political, economic, educational, and religious problems.

WOLLSCHLAEGER, ALFRED ("A. E. Johann," pseudonym). *Amerika: Untergang am Überfluss*. Berlin, Im Verlag Ullstein, 1932. 256 p. Date: Winter of 1931-32. Wollschlaeger, a doctrinaire Nazi even before the assumption of power by Hitler, was one of the first journalists to promote the "hate America" campaign in the Germany of the thirties. He attempts to find fault with everything he observes and reports unfavorable facts to the exclusion of favorable ones. Thus on p. 83-90 he tells the story of the oil crises in Texas and Oklahoma in this tone.

ZIMMERMANN, KARL. *Onkel Sam: Amerikanische Reise- und Kulturbilder*. Stuttgart, Verlag von Strecker und Schröder, 1904. 251 p. Date: Several years prior to publication. On p. 81-83 there is a brief history of the Indians of Oklahoma and a general account of the history of the state as a whole. Zimmermann (like most German travellers in America) is extremely annoyed by the nascent prohibition movement.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

OKLAHOMA'S "HALL OF FAME"

Many persons who have heard of Oklahoma's "Hall of Fame" visit the Historical Building and ask for its location here. They are surprised when they learn that the Oklahoma Historical Society does not have a hall or room or gallery designated as the "Hall of Fame"; and that Oklahoma's "Hall of Fame" is a ceremonial held every year by the Oklahoma Memorial Association on Statehood Day, November 16. Recently, the following notes were received by the Editorial Department, from Mrs. Anna B. Korn stating that there is no officially designated "Hall of Fame Gallery" in Oklahoma:

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S GALLERY

In order to keep the Record straight, let history proclaim the truth. When Judge R. L. Williams became President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, he stressed the procuring of historical data from citizens who had helped build the State, together with their pictures for future reference. The North Gallery in the Society's Museum contains many of these pictures.

When portraits done in oils began coming in as gifts to the Museum, Judge Williams set aside a large room for them, and called it the "Hall of Fame Gallery," and it was so known until his death, as letters from him in my possession show. After his death, the name "Portrait Gallery" appeared above the doors of the West Gallery in the Museum where many fine portraits are to be seen on exhibit. Again for the second time, this name appeared on the first and then, on the second brochure published by the Society. The fact is that neither name has ever had any official sanction by the Board of Directors.

A rule now in force and proposed by me to the Board's "Art Committee," of which I was a member, that in order for a citizen to have his or her picture in the Historical Society's Gallery, he or she must have an invitation from the Board, and this rule has been followed inviolate.

The Oklahoma Memorial Association has never had and does not now maintain a "Hall of Fame Gallery" for portraits, in the state. Two portraits of citizens who have achieved international fame, were presented at a "Hall of Fame" banquet given by the Oklahoma Memorial Association, and these in turn were presented to the State and accepted by the Governor on behalf of the State and hang in the State Capitol. Two portraits are now in the Historical Society's Gallery, having been presented in the same way and accepted by the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

For the largest picture gallery of men to be found in the state, take a peep into the West Gallery of the Society's Museum.

—Anna B. Korn, Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Oklahoma's "Hall of Fame" is now a traditional part of the celebration held annually on "Oklahoma Day," November 16th, by the Oklahoma Memorial Association to honor living citizens of the State who have achieved success and distinction in some public

endeavor.¹ The Oklahoma Memorial Association is a chartered institution organized in 1927, by Mrs. Anna B. Korn who has served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for thirty-one years. The Memorial Association and the Historical Society are entirely separate in their organization though the officers, directors and members of each are cordially co-operative in their various programs.

The objects of the Oklahoma Memorial Association are set forth in the first paragraph of Article II, in its constitution, as follows:

"The objects of this Association are commemoration, memorial, historical, educational, patriotic and social. To foster a love for state history; to revere the memory of those pioneers who blazed the way for present civilization and progress; to commemorate living citizens of Oklahoma who have achieved success and distinction along some lines of public endeavor worthy of recognition, by the establishment of a Hall of Fame and inducting them into it with ceremony; to publish their biographies in Memorial volumes of this Association; to co-operate with any proper movement to the end that a Memorial Building shall be created on the Capitol grounds to be headquarters for patriotic societies of all wars, and to house the Oklahoma Historical Society and Museum. To beautify the State Capitol with pictures and mural art decorations, statues, and by erection of memorial monuments, plant memorial trees, establish memorial scholarships and to celebrate annually our natal day—November 16th, as memorial to Statehood."

The State President of the Oklahoma Memorial Association together with its officers and board members has received ready co-operation from the State press and civic and patriotic organizations that have made the annual celebration program on "Oklahoma Day" an outstanding event. Beginning on the twenty-first anniversary of Statehood (1928), the "Hall of Fame" was started by the induction of two honorees from Oklahoma's noteworthy citizens, chosen by a special committee. Every year since that time, the initiation of other specially chosen honorees for Oklahoma's Hall of Fame has become the main part of the evening's entertainment and banquet held in the State's capital city, celebrating "Oklahoma Day," with an "Isle of Fame," a "Queen of Oklahoma," a "Royal Escort," together with a special ballet number, music, and the presentation of special certificates to the honorees by the Governor or other prominent citizen of Oklahoma.²

—(M.H.W.)

¹ For a history of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, its programs and lists of honorees, see "Origin of Oklahoma Day," by Muriel H. Wright in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944, pp. 203-17.

² Oklahoma's forty-fifth birthday was celebrated by the Hall of Fame banquet in Oklahoma City on Monday, November 17th, 1952, since Statehood Day (November 16th) came on Sunday this year. The President of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, J. G. Puterbaugh, presided at the banquet, and Mrs. Anna B. Korn conducted the evening's ceremony when the following seven honorees were inducted into the Hall of Fame: Dr. Everette DeGolyer, world renowned geologist from Oklahoma, now of Dallas, Texas; Vice Admiral Joseph James Clark, native Okla-

PHOTOSTATS OF IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS COLLECTED BY GRANT FOREMAN

The Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma A. and M. College have recently received copies (mainly photostatic) of 37 important documents from the files of Grant Foreman. Most of them deal with the history of the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks, though a few relate to the Shawnees, the Plains Indians, and the California gold-seekers. They vary in length from one to 66 pages and cover events from 1803 to recent years.

Dr. Foreman has collected this material through his many years of research in federal and state archives. He permitted the copies to be made as a public service, believing they should be made accessible to scholars using these two important public collections.

One item in the collection is a photograph of the commission given, May 16, 1828, by John McLean, Postmaster General under President John Quincy Adams, to John Ross to serve as postmaster at "Head of Coosa[,] Chattooga District" in the Cherokee Nation and State of Georgia. Here also is the claim for bounty lands by the widow of Sequoyah, giving details of his life and his military service in the War of 1812, with her own signature (by mark).

Some letters are moving in their unstudied eloquence. In the beautiful penmanship of that time David Folsom, "Chief of the N. E. Dist. of the Chahta Nation" in Mississippi, wrote November 7, 1829, to the United States agent, William Ward, who was trying to induce the Choctaws to cede their land and emigrate to the West:

"It is our own Country, it was the land of our forefathers and as their children, we call it ours, and we reside on it. And whenever the great white men have come to us, and held treaties with us, they have ever said 'The Country is yours.' The treaties were written for us by the white men themselves, and we have, as a nation our own laws, and are governed by them, and now although white men have surrounded us, and settled on every side of us, here alone can we reside. . . .

"As the agent of the United States Government [you] speak to us, and tell us of another country west of the great River Mississippi, that is good, and where we and our children may have a long and a quite [*sic*] home and enjoy many blessings. . . . But here is our home; our dwelling places, our fields, our Schools, and all our friends, and under us are the dust and the bones of our forefathers. This land is dearer to us than any other. Why talk to us about removing? We all ways hear Such Council with deep grief in our hearts."

homan of Cherokee descent and distinguished naval World War II, Chelsea; Dr. J. Raymond Hinshaw, graduate O.U., School of Medicine and Rhodes Scholar, Norman; Thomas Gilcrease, philanthropist-oil man and founder of the Gilcrease Foundation, Tulsa; Dr. Savoie Lottinville, graduate of O.U. and of Oxford, England (Rhodes Scholar) and Director of University of Oklahoma Press, Norman; Hon. George Lynn Bowman, former member State Senate, past President of O.U. Board of Regents and a Director of Oklahoma Historical Society, Kingfisher; Richard Lloyd Jones, noted editor (formerly of *Cosmopolitan* and *Collier's*) and owner of *The Tulsa Tribune* since 1912, Tulsa.

Other letters reveal many details of life in the Indian country after the removal. George W. Harkins wrote from Fort Towson, June 17, 1845, to his uncle, Greenwood Le Flore, in Mississippi, describing educational progress, and economic conditions:

"There is expended in the Nation yearly for School purposes Something like thirty thousand Dollars—So you will at once discover the choctaws are wide awake to their Interest—Great numbers have embraced the Christian Religion—There is places of worship in nearly all the Neighborhoods of this district—. While I am writing I see from my Window immense numbers traveling the Road to the meeting house—2 miles distant from my house—If you were here, you would take them to be Mississippians from their manners and dress—"

Harkins went on to discuss political prospects. One of the district chiefs, he said, "is not worth his weight in Coon Skins—" Of another, who was a candidate for reelection, he said, "he is the smartest full blood I ever seen—his feelings are changed intirely for the better—You Know he was very hostile while in the old Nation, towards Civilizing the Choctaws—" He reported prospects for crops "very flattering so far," but he had found the new land a "bad country to make money in—too far from the Cotton Market—Red River also a very uncertain stream—" He closed by advising his uncle to emigrate.

Other letters and newspaper clippings give incidents of Indian hostilities in Texas, details of the Chickasaw removal, the struggle of the Creeks to prevent a newspaper friendly to railroad interests from being established in their country, lively accounts of gold-seeking expeditions setting out from Fort Smith, and a description of the Night Hawk Kee-too-wah religion by a present day Cherokee.

The complete list of documents follows:

SHAWNEES

- 1 Shawnees to alcalde of San Antonio, October 25, 1824, asking for a grant of land in Texas, 1 p. Certified copy from Spanish Archives, General Land Office, Austin, Texas, p. 79 of Translations of Empresarios. Sealed and certified by Bascom Giles, Commissioner General Land Office, 5-28-47.

CHICKASAWS

- 2 Return J. Meigs to Major Colbert, May 2, 1803, regarding his son, Pitman Colbert, 1 p.
- 3 Samuel P. [Pitman?] Colbert to Return J. Meigs, December 26, 1806, giving account of his progress in school, 2 pp.
- 4 Letter from Chickasaw chiefs, January 25, 1805, refusing to cede land to United States, 2 pp.
- 5 James Robertson to James Vann, April 22, 1805, regarding cession of land claimed by Cherokees and Chickasaws, 3 pp.
- 6 James Robertson to Col. Return J. Meigs, May 28, 1805, regarding purchase of Chickasaw land, 1 p.

- 7 Levi Colbert to President Andrew Jackson, March 31, 1834, regarding amendments to Treaty of Pontotoc, 4 pp.
- 8 George Colbert et al., Chickasaw delegates, to President, April 21, 1834, regarding amendments to Treaty of Pontotoc, 2 pp.
- 9 Nomination of Major George Colbert to take the place of Levi Colbert, deceased, as Chickasaw delegate, signed by Chickasaw chiefs, August 24, 1834, 2 pp.
- 10 Commission of Chickasaw delegation appointed to buy lands from Choctaws (dated November 12, 1836), 3 pp.
- 11 Chickasaws to President, February 17, 1837, reporting on removal plans, 3 pp.
- 12 Chickasaws to Capt. William Armstrong, December 13, 1837, requesting construction of a road to their country, and commenting on other details of removal, 2 pp.
- 13 William Armstrong to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 26, 1837, reporting that 2600 Chickasaws have arrived at Fort Coffee, 2 pp.
- 14 Map of route from Choctaw Agency to Chickasaw District about 1837, 1 p.

CHEROKEES

- 15 Claim for bounty lands by Sally Guess, widow of George Guess (Sequoyah), giving details of his life and his military service in the War of 1812, 5 pp.
- 16 Commission to John Ross as postmaster at Head of Coosa, Georgia, May 16, 1828, 1 p.
- 17 Claim of John Ross for \$14,250.62½ damages for intrusion of Georgians upon his property, arrest of Ross and John Howard Payne, and other acts of violence, 5 pp.
- 18 Letter from John Ross to John Howard Payne, January 7, 1836, regarding Cherokee troubles, 4 pp.
- 19 Same to same, January 27, 1838, 7 pp.
- 20 Poem by John Howard Payne, "Lament of the Cherokee," 1 p.
- 21 Treaty between Sam Houston and John Forbes, Texas Commissioners, and the Texas Cherokees, February 3, 1836, 7 pp. (4 sheets).
- 22 Graduation exercises at Cherokee Seminaries, *Fort Smith Elevator*, July 1, 1892, typed copy (fragment), 2 pp.
- 23 Appeal of North Carolina Cherokees, October 24, 1871, to Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory asking help in obtaining justice from United States, 11 pp.
- 24 "The Green Corn Ceremonies of Cherokees," *National Intelligencer*, April 4, 1849, column 4.
- 25 Religion of the Night Hawk Keetoowahs, interview with Levi B. Gritts, probably Muskogee, 193—, 2 pp.

CHOCTAWS

- 26 Greenwood Le Flore to Col. Thos. L. McKinney, May 3, 1828, regarding new laws he has made, and exploring trip to new land, 2 pp.
- 27 Greenwood Le Flore to Col. Thos. L. McKinney, February 22, 1828, regarding exploring trip to new land, 1 p.
- 28 David Folsom, Chief Northeast District Choctaw Nation, to Col. William Ward, November 7, 1829, protesting against removal, 3 pp.

- 29 Unidentified newspaper clipping giving specifications and advertising bids for building Choctaw council house and supplying spinning wheels and looms, 1836, 1 p.
- 30 George W. Harkins to his uncle, Col. Greenwood Le Flore, June 17, 1845, describing conditions in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, 4 pp.
- 31 Pages from *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, October, 1846, regarding Choctaw schools, 4 pp.

PLAINS INDIANS

- 32 Council with Plains Indians, beginning May 10, 1835, at Fort Gibson, 22 pp.
- 33 Clippings from *Austin Daily Journal*, May 17, June 14, July 11, and July 18, 1871, regarding hostilities of Plains Indians, 3 pp.
- 34 Newspaper article by Brig. Gen. W. C. Brown of battle with Indians on Little McClellan Creek in Texas Panhandle and rescue of German girls, November 8, 1874, 1 p.
- 35 Map showing engagement on Little McClellan Creek, November 8, 1874, 1 p.

CREEKS

- 36 Correspondence pertaining to refusal of Creek Nation to permit Elias C. Boudinot and E. Poe Harris to establish a newspaper, *The Indian Progress*, at Muskogee, October, 1875 (National Archives, Records Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters received 1875, I/1482, Enclosure), 66 pp.

TRAVEL TO CALIFORNIA, 1849

- 37 *Fort Smith Herald*, May 23, 1849, giving news of gold-seekers' expedition to California, and survey of route by Capt. Sitgreaves and Capt. Dent, 2 pp.

CRISLER PAINTINGS OF OKLAHOMA HISTORIC PLACES

A special exhibit of twenty paintings of historic places in Oklahoma, by Mrs. Ruth Crisler, in the Historical Society Library, October 31 to November 2, 1952, attracted much interest from visitors in the Historical Building. Mrs. Crisler came to Oklahoma from Texas in 1916, and now has her home in McAlester. She made her first attempt at painting in 1947, at the age of fifty-six, and two years later had lessons in sketching and oil painting, in which she showed talent and keen interest.

More than two years ago, Mrs. Crisler began her pictures of historic places in Oklahoma, her technique developing by a visit to each site where she made sketches in pencil or pastel and took notes to assist her in the final painting. Out of this came the oils presented in her exhibit here in the Historical Building. These paintings represent the twenty historic places as they were when she saw them, many of them only ruins that gave mere hints of their former im-

portance in the life of this state. So unusual are Mrs. Crisler's pictures that the Oklahoma Historical Society recently purchased the twenty which will be placed on permanent exhibit in the Historical Building where they will portray something of the spirit and atmosphere of Oklahoma's unique history more than a century past. The exhibit will be shown as the Crisler Collection, of which the following is a list:

1. Sac and Fox Agency, five miles south of present Stroud, Lincoln County. First buildings erected 1872.
2. Russian Orthodox Church at Hartshorne, Pittsburg County. Erected in early 1890's with the development of coal mining in the region.
3. Wright Home at Old Boggy Depot, Atoka County, built 1860-61 by Rev. Allen Wright, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, who gave Oklahoma its name in 1866.
4. McAlester Home at McAlester, built by Hon. J. J. McAlester a few years after he opened the first coal mining in the state in 1872.
5. Quanah Parker Home at Cache, Comanche County. Erected in 1880's. Quanah was the famous chief of the Comanche, who as chief of the Quahadi band surrendered at Fort Sill on June 2, 1875.
6. Bitting Springs Mill near Stilwell, Adair County. In use in the Cherokee Nation before the War between the States.
7. Tobucksi County court house, erected in 1870's now in Pittsburg County north of McAlester. Tobucksi (correctly *Tobaksi*—"Coal") County was organized in the Choctaw Nation in 1855.
8. Wheelock Church, oldest church building in Oklahoma, erected at Wheelock Mission in 1846, and still in use, near Millerton, McCurtain County.
9. Nuyaka Mission at Nuyaka, about 9 miles west of Okmulgee, building erected by Presbyterian Mission Board in 1883, through the work of Miss Alice Robertson who many years later (1922) was elected as first member of the U. S. Congress from Oklahoma.
10. Tucker Tower erected on Lake Murray, in 1930's near Ardmore planned as a summer home for Oklahoma's Governor.
11. "White Chimney," old house on the famous California Road, erected before the War between the States, about 15 miles west of McAlester.
12. Giant Cypress, oldest tree in Oklahoma, calculated 900 years old or more, marked the old Bethabara Crossing on the Mountain Fork River near Eagletown, McCurtain County, the end of the Trail of Tears for the Choctaws in the 1830's. Today in the swamp country of Louisiana, the great old cypress trees are still called "Choctaws."
13. Summer wickiup of Kickapoo Indians (native *wikiyapi*). This native type, mat-covered house can still be seen near Dale, Pottawatomie County. Old native, type house used for centuries.
14. Winter wickiup of Kickapoo Indians. Can still be seen near Dale Pottawatomie County.
15. Grass thatched house of Wichita Indians, replica seen near Anadarko Caddo County. Old native, type house used when Coronado crossed Oklahoma in 1541.

16. General Philip Sheridan headquarters, at old Fort Reno founded 1875-6, Canadian County.
17. Sac and Fox Chief Keokuk's home near Sac and Fox Agency, built in 1870's.
18. Chickasaw Indian Council House at Tishomingo, Pontotoc County, erected about 1854, first building used by the Tribal Council in this vicinity.
19. Old "700" Ranch house, first house built at Ardmore, Carter County, in early 1870's.
20. Log cabin home of the famous Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. House erected in early 1830's, and now an historical shrine in Oklahoma, enclosed in a stone building about 10 miles northeast of Sallisaw, Sequoyah County.

(M.H.W.)

EARLY BANKS AND BANKING IN OKLAHOMA, AND OTHER NOTES OF INTEREST

The following notes have been received by the Editorial Department from E. H. Kelley, Oklahoma State Banking Department:

EXHIBITS OF BANKS AND BANKING IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Recently Mr. J. J. Hamre, President of The Farmers and Merchants Bank at Arnett, donated to the Historical Society a plat book of Ellis County that has long been out of print. It is a valuable contribution, having an alphabetical list of homesteaders, with pictures of many of the early homes of this section of the state. The article of "Old Grand, Ghost Town" by C. A. Squires, in *The Chronicles* (Winter 1950-51) mentions many early settlers, and it is noted that the picture of a number of these pioneers and their homes appear in this plat book.

In the same issue of *The Chronicles* is an article by Jack L. Cross, on "Thomas J. Palmer, Frontier Publicist." It is mentioned on page 465 that Mr. M. E. Richardson honored Mr. Palmer by letting him name the first bank in Medford. He named it "The Grand County Bank." Among the exhibits on Banks and Banking in the Historical Society, will be found a photo of the first money and the deposit tickets, deposited in this bank, with the first minutes of the Stockholders and Directors, their By-laws and Charter. It is also interesting to note that The Grant County Bank is the only charter member of the Oklahoma Bankers Association that has not changed its name.

PLACES OF INTEREST IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA

Approaching Gage from the east over State Highway #15 there are two bridges close together, in sight of the town. The first bridge spans backwater on both sides of the Highway. This is caused by three beaver dams, built on the land of Mr. F. W. James to the north of the bridge. Mr. James is an officer and director in the First State Bank of Gage, and has no objection to entering his land to inspect the dams. The beavers' home may be seen to the north, from the bridge. You do not have to get out of your car to see it. The willow trees the beavers have cut down may be seen all around their home. The beavers work at night, and probably will not

be seen during the day, but it is interesting to note they bring their industry right up to the highway for inspection.

After passing the second bridge in the direction of Gage, you will see the towers of the Government Weather Bureau, Gage to the left of the road, and just a short distance farther on, the Gage artesian well and municipal swimming pool and lake will be seen on the right of the road. The State Board of Health has analyzed the water from this well, and it is said to be good for kidney troubles, rheumatism and eczema. It is the second largest artesian well in the state.

There are a number of deposits of Bentonite, and volcanic ash around Gage, some of which may be seen from the Highway. Wolf Creek is a short distance north of Gage, along which are many natural lakes, and good fishing can be found from here all the way to Lake Supply.

—E. H. Kelley.

Wichita Kinship—Past and Present

PUBLISHED BY THE OKLAHOMA UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION

This recent publication, *Wichita Kinship—Past and Present*, by the late Karl Schmitt, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, and Iva Osanai Schmitt, Research Associate, University of Oklahoma Museum, is a valuable contribution in the field of anthropology. The paper presents data on old Wichita ways that have persisted to the present day among the people of this tribe in Oklahoma, the research in the work having been carried on by the writers during weekly visits to Anadarko and vicinity in the school years from 1947 to 1950, and in the course of residence among the Wichita during the summers of 1949 and 1950. A statement of methods of field work and analysis of data appears in the "Preface" of the publication, and the "Introduction" gives a brief statement on the origin of the present day Wichita, a group of about 500 individuals living north of Anadarko, in Caddo County, descendants of the associated tribes of the Caddoan linguistic stock—Wichita proper, Waco, Tawakoni and affiliated Kichai. This anthropological study by the Schmitts, published by the Oklahoma University Foundation, is printed in size 8½ x 11 inches (pp. ix, 72), and has a table of contents, bibliography and a number of illustrative tables and graphs. It can be ordered from the University Book Exchange, Norman, Oklahoma (price \$3.00).

BOOK REVIEW

The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier. By V. V. Masterson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. XVI, 312 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$4.00)

The current interest in biography of industry and of corporate enterprise has brought another excellent contribution to the fast growing—thanks in no small measure to the University of Oklahoma Press—library of Oklahoma history. It has been often said that the two things that wrought the most significant change in the economy of the Indian country were barbed wire and the railroad. V. V. Masterson, in his highly readable book on the life and history of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, has well demonstrated how true this be as to the railroad part thereof.

The entrance of the "Katy" into the Indian Territory was as dramatic as it was spectacular. A special clause in the Congressional enactment gave the right to build across the Indian Nation, in accordance with the permission granted by the tribes in their treaties of 1866, to the railway company that first built a "first class" line to its border. Author Masterson, with all the excitement of a football announcer, takes the reader along in a play-by-play description in the race to the line between the Katy and its rival, the "Border Tier Road". One can almost hear the sound and rhythm of the spike hammers in the feverish drive to lay track across the virgin land.

With access to all of the company files and with careful attention to the details of corporate records, the author records the birth of the present Katy in September 1865. Known then as the Union Pacific Railway Company Southern Branch, the line soon outgrew its humble beginning; and being the first to traverse Indian Territory, it alone opened the great empire of Texas to the Union. The line was not content to rest on its Texas traffic, but with the purchase of defunct charters, half finished rights-of-way and feeder lines it emerged into the great system known today. Each of these phases of its growth is presented separately; and the reader is treated with a most readable account of the fight for the St. Louis gateway, the race to bridge the Missouri River at Franklin and the extensions all the way to Houston and San Antonio.

Oklahoma readers will be particularly interested in the many references to Indian Territory history, especially when it is realized that nearly all of the present cities along the Katy from Vinita to Durant owe their birth to the adriot enterprise of the Katy officials. Even the names of the towns originated with these men, and the stories of these cities when they were "end of track" on the Katy are

frontier stories at their best. Special attention is given to such towns as Vinita, Muskogee and McAlester and they occupy a prominent place in his narrative. Likewise, names as Elias Boudinot, B. F. Colbert and even Belle Starr find their place in the story. However, readers must be reminded that this is the history of a railroad and not of Oklahoma; and minor inaccuracies, such as "headright" in reference to the Cherokees and Choctaws, are easily overlooked and forgiven.

As a matter of personal taste only, it does seem that a little too much attention has been given to supposition and conjecture on the motives of the developers and executives of the railroad. The job, if it was to be done, was a big one, and it took big men in their field, financiers, promoters and engineers to do the job. To continuously attach to their every act an implication other than that of getting the task completed is not hardly fair—considering the times and the job to be done.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

KARL SCHMITT

1915-1952

On August 6, 1952, Dr. Karl Schmitt was killed when his car was struck by a train at Magdalena, New Mexico. Karl and his family were on their customary vacation in the Southwest when the accident occurred. His death is a great loss, not only to his colleagues and many friends, but to the field of anthropology; and this loss is amplified by the quality of research, teaching and writing Karl did accomplish during his lifetime. One feels an uncommonly great distress in being unable to witness a complete fruition of his career.

Karl was born in Albany, New York on December 20, 1915, but spent the greater part of his boyhood in Washington, D. C. He was a graduate of William McKinley High School in Washington and soon entered George Washington University. In 1938, Karl received his Bachelor of Science degree in the field of geology, an asset which undoubtedly is partly responsible for his careful methods and critical observation in field archaeology.

During the summer of 1938, he participated in archaeological work being conducted by the U. S. National Museum in western Missouri. In the fall, he entered the University of Chicago where all efforts were spent in gaining a knowledge of anthropology. Throughout the next two and one-half years, Karl spent the time either studying at the University or in the field. A second season with the U. S. National Museum excavation party was spent in eastern Kansas. In 1939, he dug at the prehistoric Kincaid site in southern Illinois and in 1940 he shifted his attention to the eastern seaboard. During this latter period, he conducted archaeological work for the Broome County Historical Society at Castle Creek in New York, and at Potomac Creek, Virginia for the U. S. National Museum. Some of this later fieldwork was utilized for his Master's thesis at the University of Chicago.

In March, 1941, Karl began a year of service as archaeologist for the National Park Service at Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, Georgia. This archaeological work in the southeast further widened his experience. In August, 1941, he married Miss Iva Osanai, a student of anthropology at the University, and in the spring of 1942 he returned to Chicago to complete and receive his Master of Arts degree in anthropology.

Karl entered the army as an Aviation Cadet in 1942, whereupon he was sent back to the University of Chicago for training as a weather observer. After receiving a "Certificate of Professional Competence in Meteorology," he was commissioned Second Lieutenant as an Air Corps Weather Officer and soon rose to the rank of Captain. The following three years were spent in establishing or operating weather stations both in the United States and the Southwest Pacific. While overseas, Karl visited various localities in the Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines where he also gathered anthropological data. This first hand acquaintance with the Pacific stimulated his interest in both ethnology and social anthropology. At the close of World War II, Karl was released as a Major in the reserve on inactive status.

At this time, Karl returned to graduate work at the University of Chicago where he was awarded a Teaching Assistantship. Throughout the year he

completed all of his requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in anthropology, and the degree was conferred in late 1947. His Ph. D. dissertation incorporated much of his earlier work on the Atlantic coast into a broader study entitled "Archaeological Chronology of the Middle Atlantic States."

In September, 1947, Karl accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma where he remained until the time of his death. Karl was attracted to Oklahoma primarily because the state offered so many opportunities for fieldwork. In addition, he was becoming more and more interested in the Great Plains, and Oklahoma seemed ideal for continued research on this area. During his five years at the University of Oklahoma, Karl spent his entire time in teaching, advising students, fieldwork among the Indians, working in the laboratory or writing reports. He allowed little time for hobbies or social affairs for these other activities were too demanding of his attention.

Karl's chief contributions, aside from his influence upon students, are in the fields of archaeology and ethnology. As an archaeologist, he had broad experience both working in the field and in analyzing materials in the laboratory. His reports on the archaeology of the Middle Atlantic States and prehistoric sites in the Washita River valley of Oklahoma are important contributions. Karl was deeply interested in historic or proto-historic archaeology and felt the need for a much greater overlap in understanding between archaeology and ethnology. He frequently expressed the opinion that archaeology was too much an inventory of artifacts or "trait lists" and commonly chided his colleagues for not making a greater effort to inject the human element into prehistory.

The Indians in Oklahoma offered a great attraction for Karl, and he soon became their student and sincere friend. He spent every summer in gathering fieldnotes or recording and writing up data. He initiated his work with the Wichita but soon became the friend of the Caddo, Creek, Shawnee, Pawnee, Quapaw, and many other groups. Karl maintained excellent rapport and received the respect of Indian peoples throughout the entire state. He was a welcome guest at tribal "pow-wows" and intimate family gatherings.

Karl was a long time member and contributor to several professional societies including the American Anthropological Association, Society for American Archaeology, American Association for the Advancement of Science and Sigma Xi. In recent years, he had become an active member of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society and the Oklahoma Historical Society and had contributed several useful reports for their journals.¹ Just prior to his death, Karl had the pleasure of seeing his first major work on the Wichita Indians off the press. In mid-summer, the report entitled "Wichita Kinship: Past and Present," written by Karl and his wife, Iva, was printed and ready for distribution.

He was one of the prime instigators in the formation of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, established for the benefit of anyone interested in Indians, whether amateur or professional, and he served as Secretary-Treasurer throughout the early months of its existence. Karl was a familiar individual at national and regional gatherings of anthropologists and usually presented a paper or report on his current research or ideas. His smile, his easy friendship and his enthusiasm always made such conferences more enjoyable.

At the University of Oklahoma, within the past year, Karl had received a promotion from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor and was appointed as Curator of Ethnology for the University Museum. He was to

¹ See Bibliography attached.



KARL SCHMITT

become Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, serving a four year term starting in the fall of 1952. His extensive research on the Wichita was largely completed and he had just undertaken a comparative study on Central Siouan social organization. The accident which took Karl's life has not only deprived us of a sincere and esteemed friendship, but it has terminated the career of a vital personality as it was growing and approaching a climax.

—Robert E. Bell

The University of Oklahoma, Norman

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 23, 1952

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, at ten o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 23, 1952, by General William S. Key, president.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. W. S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore, Henry B. Bass, George L. Bowman, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Thomas H. Edwards, Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, R. G. Miller, R. M. Mountcastle, W. J. Peterson, H. Milt Phillips, and Col. George H. Shirk.

The President reported that Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Judge Edgar S. Vaught and Judge N. B. Johnson had sent letters of excuse for their non-attendance at the meeting.

Mr. W. J. Peterson made a motion that the absentee members who had notified the President and Secretary, be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed.

General Key reported that on the preceding day he had personally visited all departments of the historical society and was deeply gratified at the progress and condition of the various divisions. He urged the Directors to visit the building whenever possible and inspect the various activities.

The President read the minutes of the Executive Committee held May 28, 1952, and invited comments thereon.

The matter of the salaries of the members of the staff was discussed and it was agreed that they were inadequate. After much discussion, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made the motion that the two lowest salaries be raised to \$163.35 and then that the Legislature be asked for a 10% increase over all. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell seconded the motion which passed.

The President called attention to the undeveloped part of the Historical Building known as the stack room, and the need for completing the two floors which it was estimated by the late Mr. George Forsyth, would cost approximately \$30,000.00. He stated that this request for the \$30,000.00 needed would be placed in a separate request.

Dr. I. N. McCash made a motion that the minutes of the Executive Committee of May 28, 1952, be approved, except that part having to do with the salaries which will be increased 10% by action of the full Board. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed.

The President called attention to the recent addition of steel shelving in the Newspaper stack rooms but advised that it could not be used to the best advantage because of the lack of lights. He then called attention to the Library and to the waste space which should be utilized, and stated he would like to appoint a committee to investigate the need for more room and equipment in the Library and Newspaper rooms and make recommendations accordingly.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that a committee be appointed as desired by the President. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

The President appointed George Shirk, Chairman, Mr. R. G. Miller and Mr. Henry B. Bass as members of said committee.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore called attention to the failure, when the murals were executed, to secure one depicting the lives of the Chickasaw Indians, and suggested that such a mural be secured and that it be the Chickasaw warrior in the Chickasaw seal, but with the head of Tishomingo, the famous Chickasaw chief.

The President informed Mrs. Moore that an enlargement of the murals to include the Chickasaws was approved by the Executive Committee at the meeting on May 28, 1952. He suggested that she secure prices for the painting of the mural desired by her and the Chickasaws.

The Fort Gibson barracks building and its condition was then discussed at length. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle of that committee advised that said barracks building not only needed a new roof, but it needed forty-eight new windows, and the porch should be rebuilt; that Mr. James P. Wilson, a contractor, of Muskogee, estimated the cost of the new roof to be \$407.00, the replacing of the forty-eight windows at \$45.00, and the extensive repairs to the porch at \$885.00. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell stated that she had been in former days very much interested in the Fort Gibson property and that she desired to give her check for the reroofing of the barracks building in the sum of \$407.00. She immediately wrote out the check and gave it into the hands of the president. Mr. Mountcastle then stated that he would bear the expense of replacing the forty-eight windows to cost approximately \$45.00, and made a motion that Mr. James P. Wilson, contractor, Muskogee, Oklahoma, be authorized to reroof the old barracks building at Fort Gibson, the cost not to exceed \$407.00 donated by Mrs. Buell, to repair and replace all broken windows in said building, the cost of \$45.00 to be borne by Mr. Mountcastle, and that the porch of said building be put in a good and substantial state of repairs at a cost not exceeding \$885.00, the contractor to use all of the old material as possible, thus lowering the estimated cost of \$885.00 as much as possible, that cost to be borne by the Oklahoma Historical Society to be paid out of its private funds. Mr. W. J. Peterson seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Robert A. Hefner, a member of the committee on portraits to be placed in the gallery of eminent men and women, reported that the committee had met and agreed that two individuals deserved their portraits in our portrait gallery; that he wished to present the name of one and that Judge Taylor would offer the name of the other. He thereupon presented the name of General Fred C. Borum, Commanding officer at Tinker Field, who had done much for Oklahoma City and our state, and stated that the committee is of the opinion that he should be invited to present his portrait to the historical society, and that should said painting be offered it should be in a frame of proper dimensions, 35" x 42". He stated further that we should have a uniform size of the portraits received for the conservation of space in the gallery rooms. Judge Baxter Taylor seconded the motion.

Judge Baxter Taylor at this time made a motion that the portrait of Mr. E. K. Gaylord of Oklahoma City, Editor of the Daily Oklahoman and Times, for a long number of years, should be requested for placing in the gallery of eminent men and women. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that a written ballot be taken on the motions of Judge Robert A. Hefner and Judge Baxter Taylor. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

The President appointed Col. George Shirk, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and Mrs. J. Garfield Buell as a committee to collect and count the ballots. The ballot disclosed that the requests for these portraits should be made and the motions of Judge Robert A. Hefner and Judge Baxter Taylor were passed.

The Secretary reported the following list of applicants for membership:

LIFE: Morris H. Barrett, III, Ryan; C. E. Bearse, Okmulgee; Gertrude Ingram Burns, Oklahoma City; J. M. Burton, Dewey; R. M. Eikenberg, Ft. Worth, Tex.; Cooleela M. Faulkner, Claremore; Edward Galt, San Antonio, Tex.; Christine Gann, Oklahoma City; W. E. Harber, Shawnee; V. V. Harris, Oklahoma City; Harry M. House, Oklahoma City; Viola Mae Jayne, Oklahoma City; William G. Johnston, Oklahoma City; H. C. Jones, Tulsa; Wm. W. Keeler, Bartlesville; Russell L. Kurtz, Nowata; Mrs. W. King Larimore, Oklahoma City; J. E. Layden, McAlester; Louis Lenz, Houston, Tex.; William H. McGreevy, Carmen; Charles D. Mitchell, Pryor; R. M. Mountcastle, Muskogee; Milo T. Reed, Wewoka; S. F. Russell, Holdenville; William J. Sherry, Tulsa; Ed. L. Spears, Lawton; D. H. Stone, Waurika; C. Riley Strong, El Reno; Earl W. Robinson, Enid; J. Hiram Tandy, Ketchum; Kenneth R. Teis, Tulsa; Mrs. Virginia Nunn Williams, Tulsa.

ANNUAL: Mrs. Janie Ross Adair, Seminole; Everett T. Alexander, Barnsdall; Mrs. Susie K. Allen, Dewey; Mrs. Fay T. Anderson, Tulsa; T. E. Blackman, Hooker; Mrs. Nola B. Bland, Enid; Walter V. Bowman, Woodward; Mrs. Ora A. Brissey, Oklahoma City; Donald N. Brown, Norman; S. A. Brown, Muskogee; Victor H. Casad, Mooreland; William Shorey Coodey, Minneapolis, Minn.; William Jones Cook, Muskogee; J. B. Cox, Tahlequah; Walter Scott Damron, Konawa; Mrs. Olen Delaney, Oklahoma City; S. B. Dandridge, Norman; O. N. Davidson, Kansas City, Mo.; Tom W. DeVore, Tulsa; Mrs. Lottie Donnellan, El Reno; Mrs. Lloyd Eastman, Long Beach, Calif.; Rhys Evans, Ardmore; Lee C. Francis, Spiro; Ruth Freeman, Hobart; H. D. Goodale, Oklahoma City; Mrs. O. S. Guernsey, Mangum; Bryce N. Harlow, Oklahoma City; John S. Harris, Oklahoma City; John H. Harvey, Heaveney; Paul B. Havenstrite, Tulsa; Hugh Hennen, McAlester; Dan Hunt, Jr., Tulsa; Mrs. Thelma Griffin Hunt, Tulsa; Walter John Hysa, Oklahoma City; Velma Fern Jayne, Enid; Alexander Johnston, Tulsa; Joe E. Karr, Tulsa; Mrs. Katherine R. Kile, Tulsa; R. J. King, Quinlan; Mrs. S. F. Klemme, Oklahoma City; C. W. Lane, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Vera L. LeVoie, Wetumka; Mrs. Felma B. Leahy, Pawhuska; Virginia Lindsey, Elmore City; Wm. R. Lindsey, Clinton; Bill Lipe, Bristow; William Francis Logue, Bartlesville; J. T. Lucas, Wilburton; Mrs. Christian A. Lyles, Fort Worth, Texas; Richard W. McDonald, Oklahoma City; J. S. McEntire, Tulsa; Mrs. Jewell R. Mann, Tulsa; Arthur J. Martin, Okemah; Mrs. Eleanor Moore, Denver, Colo.; John H. Moulder, Hollywood, Calif.; Lawrence Patterson, Shattuck; James D. Porter, Kenwood, Calif.; Mrs. Eugenia Robinson, Chickasha; Mrs. George N. Russell, Oklahoma City; R. P. Rutherford, Muskogee; Charles Francis Sellers, Oklahoma City; Roy V. Sever, Oklahoma City; Frank A. Sewell, Oklahoma City; Mrs. C. E. Shafer, Nowata; Harold D. Smith, Muskogee; Wilbur S. Smith, Oklahoma City; Okla. Mount Spears, Okmulgee; W. L. Spears, Okmulgee; O. W. Starr, Drumright; Paul J. Staibus, Chandler; Fred W. Steiner, Tulsa; Francis Stewart, Muskogee; Mrs. Myrtle F. Stewart, Ardmore; Emily Burris Taylor, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Viva Lon Thacker, Stringtown; Mrs. O. S. Tittle, Sparks; Mrs. Guyston L. Turner, Ardmore; Mary Ellen Twitty, Tulsa; James M. Walling, Tulsa; Jesse Ray Waltrip, Pauls Valley; Michael

S. Ward, Muskogee; J. F. Watrous, Oklahoma City; Agnes Mary Williams, Taunton, Mass.; Mrs. Vernon Williams, Cyril; David C. Wilson, Hampden Sidney, Va.; Geo. F. Wise, Oklahoma City; Mrs. G. Woodward, Tulsa; Claudine Willis, Tulsa; Geraldine Wyatt, Independence, Mo.; Leon J. York, Stillwater; E. T. Hight, Oklahoma City.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made a motion that all the applicants be received and accepted as members of the Oklahoma Historical Society in their proper classification. Mr. Henry Bass seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following gifts and pictures had been received:

GIFTS: A name plate and a document, donor, Mrs. Paul Hill; flag with gold stars, donor, Mrs. Webster L. Benham; document, donor, W. T. Burton; guard's sword and Samurai sword, donor, Mrs. R. A. Conkling; Indian pipe, pipe bag and letter, donor, Lewis A. Robertson; medal, donor, United States Military Academy; bronze bust of Gov. E. W. Marland and framed picture, donor, Mrs. E. W. Marland; jeweled emblems, Masonic badges, 285 Masonic documents, donors, Hal and Fisher Muldrow; two pieces Russian money, donor, George Shirk; china doll and silk dress, donor, James K. Hastings; a museum case, the gift of Divonis Worten, M. D. Pawhuska, Okla.

PICTURES: Photograph of H. L. Muldrow, group picture of prominent Masons, Masonic Dormitory at Norman, Father Murrow on his 90th birthday, Perry Freeman, Geo. W. Dudley, B. C. Schwab, Masonic Temple at McAlester, framed scroll of honor and fifty years certificate, donors, Fisher and Hal Muldrow, Jr.; Annie Oakley's grave, donor, Edward Parin; Claude Hensley and Capt. W. S. Nye, donor, Claude Hensley; group pictures of Gov. Cruce and his officials turning dirt for the Capitol, donor, Mrs. James J. Quinn; Fort Gibson, Pleasant Porter, Wheelock School, Creek Orphans Home Base Ball Team, Tuskahoma Seminary, Cherokee Male Seminary, Indian Territory Summer Normal School, Steamer "City of Muskogee", Harrell Institute, Cherokee Seminary Foot Ball Team, Eufaula Boarding School Basket Ball Team, Jones Academy Teachers, office of Supt. John D. Benedict, office of Dawes Commission, Old Folks Home at Muskogee, Ferry on the Arkansas River, First Presbyterian Church at Muskogee, J. George Wright, Henry Kendall College, presented by J. P. McGrath, through the efforts of Mrs. Carolyn Foreman; photograph of Joseph Vann, Reunion of the Members of the Constitutional Convention, donor, Mrs. Walter Jackson, sister of O.H.P. Brewer; 552 pictures of buildings in Hooker, Beaver, Sapulpa, Bartlesville and Oklahoma City, donor, Cecil Schneir; W. H. Campbell, M. D., donor, W. H. Campbell, M. D.; Robert J. Barker, donor, B. B. Chapman; George Hann, Supt., Ardmore City Schools, donor, George Hann; First Territorial Convention in Oklahoma Territory; Lee Stinchcomb at 87, donor, Lee Stinchcomb.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that the gifts and pictures be received and that a vote of thanks be extended to the donors. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President then introduced Hon. Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, Justice Earl Welch of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, a Chickasaw, and Mr. Frank Stewart, also a Chickasaw.

Governor Maytubby then addressed the members of the Board, thanking them for their action regarding the Chickasaw mural. He then stated that many prominent Chickasaws, as well as members of the other four civilized tribes, over the years have been trying to do something about giving to Oklahoma a memorial for each of the Five Tribes; that the

Chickasaws several years ago secured an appropriation to build a memorial for a famous Chickasaw Governor, Chief Douglas Johnston, at Tishomingo, and when it was dedicated there was a large crowd at Tishomingo, probably 3000 people, showing the interest taken when prominent Indians of Oklahoma are honored. That he had recently talked to the present governor of Oklahoma, Hon. Johnston Murray, of Chickasaw origin, about the project to build appropriate memorials commemorating the part that Indian life had played in the development of this state. He said this had met with Governor Murray's hearty approval. He stated that it was the idea, growing out of contact with the Indian tribal forces of the state, to ask the legislature for appropriations toward this end. He said he merely put these facts forward as a preliminary suggestion to the members of the board of directors of the historical society. The plan was to build a structure in each of the Five Nations cost approximately \$25,000.00 each. He thought it was possible to secure some money from the federal government as they were in sympathy with this project provided it was placed upon a proper basis. He placed before the Board a brief sketch of the nature of this memorial. It would be an edifice, including a small museum with something of the history of the nations and that, perhaps, in time, the remains of some of the more noted Indian tribal chiefs, would be placed in a division of these buildings. He pointed out that there was a false impression over the state, as to the number of enrolled members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma; that the records and census reports revealed that there were more than 600,000 enrolled and heirs of enrolled Indians now living in Oklahoma. At the conclusion of his remarks he paid tribute to the splendid work of the historical society in making the citizens of Oklahoma historically conscious and said that perhaps in the last few years this had been highly accented.

General Key took occasion at this time to point out that it would be the function of the Oklahoma Historical Society to not lead directly in this matter but to constantly assist in every way possible the committees appointed by the tribal councils and the legislature in this splendid project. He thanked Governor Maytubby for his splendid presentation of this historical subject.

Mr. George A. Bowman made a motion that the members of the Board of Directors endorse the remarks by Governor Maytubby about the proposed memorials, and that the President appoint a committee of three to take it up with the Indian Affairs Committee of the Legislature. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The President appointed on said committee: Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Chairman, Mrs. Jessie Moore and Judge N. B. Johnson.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison stated that at a previous meeting, the Board voted to spend \$200.00 for helping to buy the site of Cabin Creek Battle Ground. He then made a motion that the previous motion be changed to read "\$200.00 to buy the right-of-way and erect fence so that the Cabin Creek battle site can be properly entered." Mr. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed.

Mrs. Jessie E. Moore presented an English document, an Indenture entered into in 1610 when Charles II was King of England.

Mr. W. J. Peterson made a motion that the gift of Mrs. Moore be accepted and that it be framed between glass and hung on the walls of the library of this society. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed.

Judge Thomas H. Edwards then presented a book entitled "Frontier Fighter" The Autobiography of George W. Coe who Fought and Rode with

Billy the Kid as related to Nan Hillary Harrison. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour made a motion that Judge Edwards' gift be accepted and that he be thanked for same. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary placed the beautiful bronze bust of Governor E. W. Marland recently given to this society by Mrs. E. W. Marland, together with other historical documents, in the Directors' Room, that it might be seen by the members of the Board. Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that this bust of Governor Marland be accepted and that Mrs. Marland be given profound thanks. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

Mr. H. B. Bass' proposal to bear the expense relating to the proper preservation and maintenance of the Worcester Cemetery in Cherokee County, Oklahoma, should the County Commissioners of said Cherokee County agree to turn said cemetery over to the historical society, was gratefully accepted. It was stated that Col. George Shirk had previously been directed to negotiate with said county commissioners for acquiring said Worcester Cemetery by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle suggested that this society should develop a Revolving Fund for the purpose of maintaining properties acquired by it. Mr. H. Milt Phillips suggested that a committee of three be appointed to study the methods by which the society could find this Revolving Fund, and make a report at the next meeting. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed.

The President appointed Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Chairman, Mr. R. G. Miller and Dr. E. E. Dale as members of said committee.

Col. George Shirk reported that the caretaker of Rose Hill, Mr. Eugene Nash, has defaulted in every sense of his contract, that the statutes of limitations will run out in six weeks, and that the contract should be rescinded. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle made a motion that the recommendation of Col. Shirk be accepted and that the society's contract with Eugene Nash be rescinded. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed.

The report of the Treasurer was read, and Mr. George A. Bowman made a motion that it be approved with highest commendation for the Treasurer, Mrs. Jessie E. Moore. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed.

The Secretary called attention to the Oklahoma Historical Calendars developed by Miss Lucyl Shirk, which the Board, at the April 1952 meeting, endorsed, appropriating \$500.00 out of the private funds for the printing of 250 sets of said Calendar. He said that these had been distributed to the history teachers of the Junior High Schools of the state in accordance with that motion; that they were proving most popular and that many requests had been received, and were still being received, for these Calendars from the schools of the state. He pointed out that the Semco Press, printers of these Calendars had refused to print any more upon their own responsibility to be sold to high schools and others who desire them, but that Semco Press will print another group of said Calendars for \$1.50 a set. Dr. Harbour made a motion that the Society order two hundred (200) additional sets of these Oklahoma Historical Calendars, to be sold to individuals and schools that request them. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed.

The President read a letter from Dr. Mark R. Everett, Secretary, Oklahoma Memorial Association, enclosing a Resolution of that Association reaffirming its objective to initiate plans for the observance of the Fiftieth Anniversary of State, in conjunction with the Oklahoma His-

torical Society. Mrs. Anna B. Korn made a statement as to her views as to how this occasion should be celebrated in 1957, and stated that a meeting would be held November 17, 1952, at two o'clock p. m., in the auditorium of the historical building, at which time this matter would be discussed in full by members of the Oklahoma Memorial Association and others interested.

Dr. I. N. McCash suggested that the Secretary write to all members of the Board of Directors who do not have their pictures on the walls of the Directors' Room and request that they send a picture for placing there. This met unanimous approval.

Mr. R. G. Miller called attention to the tour of historical sites conducted by the Society last April through the southern and southeastern portion of the state, and stated that it had been suggested that the Society sponsor another tour in the Spring of 1953 through the western and northwestern part of the state. He suggested the following as a possible route to follow on the Spring tour: first stop at Anadarko, then Cyril, next Fort Sill, Mt. Scott, north to Fort Cobb, then Colony, then stop with Judge Edwards at Cordell where a meeting should be arranged with Cordell citizens, then Elk City for the night. Then to Cheyenne and the site of the Battle of the Washita, next to Arnett with a little meeting. On the way to Fort Supply, stop at Gage and see one of the largest weather stations in America. Then Fort Supply, then Woodward, then through the Glass Mountains, then to Enid for the night. On the third day the tour would drop south to Hennessey, then to Perry, then Pawnee. From Pawnee the tour would head toward Round Mountain, site of a Civil War battle, then Stillwater, then Edmond, where the tour would end. He suggested that folders and literature be taken and distributed along the route.

Judge Baxter Taylor made a motion that the Society plan to have such an historical tour at the time of the annual meeting in 1953 and that a committee be appointed to arrange the details. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed. The President stated that he believed the historical tour of the Spring of 1952 did more to acquaint the people of Oklahoma with the nature and work of the Society than most anything that had taken place in many years. The President appointed Mr. R. G. Miller, Chairman, Col. George Shirk, Henry Bass, Dr. E. E. Dale and Judge Thomas H. Edwards as a committee to complete plans for the proposed tour.

Mr. R. G. Miller then reported as to the work of the Publication Committee set up in May 1952, stating that said committee began immediately putting out monthly press releases to the weekly and daily newspapers. He exhibited a scrap book which was full of free and valuable publicity about the historical society since last May, the result of this committee's efforts.

The Secretary arose at this point to fortify the value of the press release service. He said that it is clearly plain from the press clippings that some sixty-five or seventy newspapers in Oklahoma carry these releases; this revealed that more than 475,000 readers of newspapers in this state learn of the Society at least once each month; that Mrs. Dorothy Holcomb is in charge of this press release work with the advice of Mr. R. G. Miller; he stated that it is one of the most remarkable things the Board has ever done.

The President then appointed a committee of three composed of Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Chairman, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle and Col. George Shirk, to study the physical needs of the growing historical society with a view to making recommendations for such enlargement and improvement as necessary.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison made a motion that the meeting adjourn.
Dr. E. E. Dale seconded the motion which passed.

WILLIAM S. KEY, President.

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are \$2.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



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